



A N  
INSTITUTION  
O F  
General History:  
OR THE  
HISTORY  
O F T H E  
WORLD.

The THIRD PART.

CONTAINING  
That of the *Constantinopolitan Roman Empire* and the Contemporaries with it: All distinctly by themselves, and yet linked together as the former Parts were.

FROM  
The Taking of *Rome* by *Odoacer*, and the Exile of *Zeno* the Emperour, to the Depositing of *Irene* and Promotion of *Nicephorus*:

WITH

An Account of the several Actions, Polities, Laws and Things of moment, during the Reign of each Emperour, and the Original Achievements and Polity of the *Franks*, the Dominion of the *Goths, Saracens, Arabians* and *Moors* in *Spain* and *Gall* within this Period.

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T O

The High and Mighty P R I N C E

# J A M E S II.

K I N G of *Great Britain, France and Ireland,*  
Defender of the Faith, &c.

*GREAT SIR,*

**A**MONG the Crowds of Loyal Counties and Corporations that Address themselves unto Your M A J E S T Y , vouchsafe to permit a desolate Widow to approach into Your Sacred Presence to Congratulate Your Happy and most Just Possession of the Throne of these Kingdoms , by laying a small Present at Your Royal Feet.

Which is due to Your M A J E S T Y by a double Title, both by right of Succession to our late Gracious Sovereign, by whose Royal Bounty this Work was encouraged ; and also by designation of the Authour, who intended, had not his Death prevented it, to have Dedicated this Book *To His Royal Highnes's J A M E S the Duke of York*, which I now most humbly offer *To the Sacred Majesty of King J A M E S the Second.*

Whom I beseech the King of Kings long to preserve beloved of all his Subjects , dreaded by all his Enemies, and renowned to all Posterity in the History of Future Ages.

*So prayeth with due Reverence*

*Your Majesty's most Loyal Subject*

Mary Howel.

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THE  
P R E F A C E  
TO THE  
R E A D E R.

THE Author having said so much in his Preface to his Second part of this Work, here is little occasion to add much to this, but only to give an Account in short of this Volume.

The Roman share thereof was composed out of Authors, as they are quoted in the Margent; beginning from the fall of Augustulus, and the Ruine of the Empire in the West, (where the Second part ends) to the deposing of the Empress Irene, and promotion of Nicephorus, with an Account of the several Actions, Polities, Laws and Things of moment, during the Reign of each Emperour (in particular, the new Modelling of the Civil Law by Justinian) and setting forth the Original, and all the History of such Nations as are mentioned in this Method, or had nothing memorable, or very little, but what is intermixed with these Affairs: And also such Kingdoms as were at this Period, but lately begun, and little certainty concerning their matters can be known, are (according to the Method of the First part) handled as they be Considerable.

The French part was taken from their own Authors as they are quoted generally, containing the Original and Progress of them, before their passing the Rhine, their Kingdom in Gall, from their passing the Rhine, to the Death of Childerick the last Pagan King, and the promotion of Clodonee the first Christian one, to the Ruine of the Line of the Meroningians, which was succeeded by

## The Preface to the Reader.

the Carloningians, and continued to the Advancement of Charles the Son of Pipin to the Title of Emperour in the West, with the Original and defeat of those Nations and Countries, which were over-run by the Conduct, Courage, or cunning of the Franks; shewing their Polity, Laws, Customs and Antiquities, out of the Original Tongue, with other critical Remarks suitable to the Nature and usefulness of such an undertaking.

The Spanish part was likewise taken out of their own Authors, containing the Kingdom of the Visigoths, or Western Goths in Gall and Spain, to the Death of King Eurick, the Father of Alarick the Great, then from the promotion of Alarick, to the destruction of this Kingdom by the Saracens, the Original of the Saracens, with an Account of their first founding their Kingdom in Spain, to the Rise of new Gothick ones, which at length procured the Ruine of it, being all Contemporary with the Constantinopolitan Roman Empire: Left under his own Hand in writing, which is attested by us,

H. London.

Tho. Roffen.

Sy. Patrick, D.D.

W<sup>m</sup> Denton, M.D.

Rich. Ashfeild, Gent.

# A N INSTITUTION . O F General History: O R The History of the World;

## The Third Part.

### BOOK I. Of the Constantinopolitan Roman Empire.

#### C H A P I.

From the taking of Rome by Odoacer, and the Exile of Zeno the Emperour to the Reign of Justinian the Great.

The space of fifty years.

Zeno the Elder I  
being in Captivity, the Younger  
Succeeded as Head of the  
Empire remaining.

**R**OOME the Elder, being fallen from her ancient Dominion, and now A. D. 476. a Captive, the Right of Succession to all her Empire remaining, was was Baſiliſcus ad Ann. 476. et  
marc. C. 476. Baſiliſcus the Tyrant, who

Provinces were gone into Captivity. Italy with her self was Subject to the *Herruli*; Gall was seized by the *Franks* and *Burgundians*; Spain was become the Inheritance of the *Goths*; Britain to be possessed by *Saxons*, *Scots* and *Picts*; Africk was held by the *Vandals*; and Pannonia by the *Ostrogoths*, *Huns* and other Nations. But thence Eastward as far as the limit of *Melopotamia* the *Roman* Empire remained entire to the young Sovereign *Mitfress*; and the Northern Bounds and also the Southern were much the same; a fair Inheritance, as the Reader may find by that Inventory we have given him, at the beginning of the Second Volume of this Work, and therein otherwise is largely related.

Zeno the right-  
full Emperor  
at this time.

. 2. The true and Rightfull Prince and only *Roman* Emperour was *Zeno*, though now in Exile, being driven away by the Incroachments of *Baſiliſcus* the Tyrant, who usurped for about a year and fix Months. *Procopius* writes that he lost his Power within a year and eight months, after he had driven *Zeno* and his Wife into *Iſauria*; for then he became odious for his Avarice to the *Pretorian* Souldiers. This was not unknown to *Zeno*, who thereupon got an Army together and went against him. *Baſiliſcus* made choice of *Armatus* for his General, who led his Army against *Zeno*, and encamped near unto him, but delivered up himself and all his men into his

Basiliscus made away.

Armatus killed.

Zeno restrains the usurper from procuring of Reccripts.

his hands, on condition that *Basiliscus*, a very Boy the Son of *Armatus*, being at present created *Cesar*, should be owned by *Zeno* for his Successour. *Basiliscus*, thus forsaken by his Soul-siers, betook himself to the same Church to which he had formerly fled; and was delivered up into the hands of *Zeno* by *Acacius*, who inveighed much against him for his Impiety, having been an earnest Defender of the Heretic of *Eutiches*. *Zeno* having recovered his Power, to keep his promise to *Armatus*, created his Son *Cesar*, but in a short time deprived both the Boy of his Dignity, and *Armatus* of his Life. And *Basiliscus* the Usurper with his Wife and Children, he sent into *Cappadocia* in a sharp Winter, forbidding that they should be supplied with Food or Clothes, or other things which Nature required; whereby it came to pass that being oppressed with Hunger and Cold, they imbraced one another and perished together. So was *Basiliscus* punisched for his wicked Actions, being betrayed by *Armatus*, who the foregoing year had been his Companion in the Consulship, though, because of the Usurpation, this following be only known by *Armatus* being after it, or after the Consulship of *Basiliscus* and *Armatus*. To what *Procopius* writes concerning *Armatus* from others. *Baronius* adds, That being in favour both with *Zeno* and *Basiliscus*, as he was the Kinsman of the latter, when by command of *Zeno* he was slain, the Citizens rejoiced, for under *Lea* whatsoever seditions *Thracians* took, he curst their hands: But he was killed by one *Onoulus*, whom coming from his Barbarous Countrey very poor he courteously received, first made him a *comes*, and then *Prefect* of *Illyricum*, and furnished him with much Plate for his Entertainments. But for his kindnes, he so required him by his barbarous treachery and bloody hand. So we bid farewell to the Usurpation of *Basiliscus*, with this only observation farther, that *Enagrius* differs so far from *Procopius* as to his Death, that he writes that being sent into *Cappadocia* to be killed, he was slain in a Station called *Acanthus* with his Wife and Children.

3. *Enagrius* tells us, that *Zeno* after the Death of *Basiliscus* abrogated by a Law his Decrees which he had written in circular Letters: By these Decrees we suppose he means such Ordinances as he had made in reference to Religion, with which we are not to meddle in this place. And no such Law do we now find extant in the Code, though two others made by *Zeno*, and both at the latter end of the year, in December. One of them directs how an Estimation is to be made, of Damage sustained by a forcible Entry. The other ordains that no Recscript procured by the petition of any single Person, (then called *Adnotatio*) nor at the request of a Body incorporate or Society (termed *Pragmatica*) be admitted by any Judge except it manifested that the matter suggested in the petition was true. E. A. D. 477. Every *Quaestor* or *Magister Scrinii* that dictated such Recscripts should undergo Reprehension, and also the Judges that admitted them; and such *Memorials* or any *Scriinium*, *Pragmaticarii*, or *Adjutores Primicerii* as should unlawfully write them so dictated should be punished with the los of their Girdles. To which afterward *Justinian* added that the Subscription of the *Quaestor* should be necessary, in which should be contained, between whom, and to what Judge, and by whom the sacred Oracle (such terms were still used) was directed, otherwise it should not be received by any Judge upon pain of fining in twenty pounds of Gold, and as much by his Office. Of civil matters we meet with nothing more that was memorable this year except a terrible Earthquake, which happened on the twenty fifth day of September at *Constantinople*. Many Churches and Housues were demolished, the *Rosstra* utterly defaced, and a vast number of people overwhelmed in the Ruines. Now also fell a Globus of the Pillar in the ordinary *Forum*, and the Statue of *Theodosius* the Great, placed upon a Pillar in the *Forum of Taurus*, with a great part of the inward Wall. The Earthquake continued long, so that a Stench also seized the City. These mischiefs *Baronius* takes to be fore-tellers of the great Evils that followed, when the Emperour cast off that Wizard of Orthodox Belief, with which at present he was covered.

4. This year following was characterized only with the Consulship of *Illus* who bore the Title at *Constantinople* without a Collegue. For in the West was none created, messages passing betwixt *Zeno* and *Odoacer*, about a Peace and good understanding; and as the Emperour would not intermeddle with the Affairs of that Traitor, to the other not taking that Title upon him, but only of King, would not arrogate to himself so much Power, as one well oberweth. This year, for what we can perceive, was almost barren of civil Transactions, stirs again breeding about Religious matters through the practices of the *Eutichian* Heretics. Only three laws we find bearing the Date of it, and two of them of the same day, or the first of March, directed to the same person *Sebastian*, the *Praefectus Praetorio*

*rio*, though we cannot say they made up one and the same Constitution. "One of them secures theright of Children, so as the propriety of things made over to their Mothers in confideration of Marriage, should descend unto them; and if one of the Sons died, his Children should represent him, and exclude the Brothers of the Deceased. And Sons dying before their Parents, if Nephews by them remained, they should succeed equally to their rights. For hereby Parents were obliged to preferre to their Children profits rising by Marriage in *infinitum*; yet so as they might have the liberty to chuse one of their Children, and on him confer the fair profits; as a Son might confer on one of his Children which he pleased, what descended to him by virtue of a Donation made to his Mother in confideration of Marriage. By the second law he gives greater liberty to the making of Donations than the Emperour *Constantine* was willing to allow, who in his time being acquainted with the great cheats and injuries which were committed by profuse, fraudulent and extorted Deeds of gift, whereby persons made havock of their Estates, gave them away to evade the Laws or cheat their Creditors, and were constrained to doe that to which of themselves they had no Inclination, by several laws he put a restraint upon these practices. As he required a corporal Delivery of the thing so given and granted, (viz. by delivering it into the hands of the Donee, if a moveable, if an immovable by quitting it that he might take possession,) so he would have the Neighbours called to be Witneses of the Act. And besides this, as he would have no Donation to be made contrary to Law, nor against the will and pleasure of the Donee, required moreover that should be contained in Writing, and as to the form, would have the Name of the Donor to be expressed, and the right and Title by which he was seized of the thing so given or granted; so he would have the gift Registered in the Register of a Judge or Magistrate.

5. But as that excellent Prince discharged his duty in obviating the vicious Inclination of the Times wherein he lived, and in reforming the Abuses of use and custome, so now *Zeno* it seems, thought fit after feeling the pulse of his own Time, to take off this "Necessity of the Testimony of Neighbours, or others to such Donations as were insinuated at the Acts, or as we say Registered in the Registers, or entered in the Records of Magistrates. And even in Donations not Registered, he took off the necessity of Witneses by this Law, provided the Instruments were written by a *Tabellio* or publick Notary, or any other, or the Donor himself, if such was the custome of the place, or even if no writing was made thereof, the Donation might be good, provided there were other sufficient Evidence, as *Theodosius* and *Valentinian* had formerly written to *Hierius* the *Prefectus Praetorio*. The third law of those we mentioned to have been enacted this year, was in favour of *Illustrious Persons*, and is directed to one *Alexander* of that Rank, though whether in or out of Office is not expressed in the Direction, a thing rare in the Constitutions of Princes made after the time of *Constantine*. For he hath no Title given him, neither yet doth the Law it self seem to him that he did *Militare* or was in actual Service. "For it declares, that if an Action of Injury be brought by, or against, any *Illustrious Persons*, either in actual Service, ("militantibus") or out of Employment, (*fine cingulo constitutis*) their Wives, Sons, Daughters, (their illustrious Fathers and Husbands being yet alive) if the Action be Criminal, the party accusing shall make the usual Inscription (to undergo the *lex talionis* if found to slander,) and doe other things solemnly which are required in such cases, but the Accuser or Accused may appear by their Procurators, without being bound to doe it in Person, to which privilege he forbids all other persons to aspire, or to petition him for it; requiring that that customary form of proceeding in Judicature be punctually observed. This same privilege, by a Novel of *Valentinian*, was given to Bishops and Presbyters, provided they subscribed also, and the condemnation should be in their Names. Otherwise it was a general Rule, *In criminal causes none can translat by a Procurator*.

6. The next year, or the CCCCLXXIX of our Lord, is marked in the *Faisti*, A. D. 479. with the third Consulship of the Emperour *Zeno*, who, for what we can see, did very little of moment in it. Yet two Constitutions are still extant in the Code of *Justinian*, bearing his Name and the Date of this year, by one of which he took farther care about Donations before Marriage. "By the Second he ordains that Mothers shall be subject to a Necessity of moving for Guardians, as well for their Natural Children, as those born of lawfull Wedlock; and that Ignorance shall not excuse them from such penalties as by Law or Constitutions they are lyable to upon such neglect, that is of being deprived of the Right of succeeding to such Children.

Takes care for Minors.

A. D. 478.  
Illi five Cuius in legibus scribimus  
Ella Conf.

Baron. ad b. Ann.

Takes care for Minors.

L. 7. de Secundis  
Nuptiis, Cod. Just. lib. 5. Tit. 9.

L. 31. de Donati-  
onis, Cod. lib. 8.  
Tit. 54.

L. 1. de Donati-  
onis, Cod. lib. 12.  
Tit. 5. Vide Gathif. in t.

L. 11. de Injuriis,  
Cod. Just. lib. 9.  
Tit. 3. Dat. 5.  
Non. Numer. Alexando vide Illepti.

L. 29. de Injuriis  
of Tefian, lib. 2.  
Tit. 28. Dat. Kal.

L. 1. Qui pe-  
cantes, Cod.  
Judicibus, lib. 1.  
Dat. Kal. Sip.

Relaxes the former Rigour in making Testaments.

Children when nearer Heirs are wanting. As small Intelligence have we concerning any thing transacted in the CCCCLXXX year of our Saviour, wherein *Basilissus Junior* was Consul: But also we find two Constitutions published by *Zeno* on one and the same day, or the first of *May*, though directed to two several Prefects, as to which a mistake might be committed by some Scribe. Whereas Indulgence was by the laws granted to *Minors*, or those under the Age of five and twenty, so as in respect of their want of experience, if they were deceived in Bargains and Transactions, they might be restored in *integrum*; such an abuse was made of this favour, that *Zeno* now declared, That in case they had made use of the Law, and had the benefit of it, and therein received Damage, no restitution should be granted to them. And whereas for weighty reasons, the *Romans* had been wonderfully strict in the making of Testaments, so as such Lawyers or others as dictated Wills, and such as were Witnesses to them, could anciently receive no benefit by such Wills, because of the temptation they had to falsifie their trust, or work upon the weakness of the Testator; now by use and experience to little damage appeared in such cases, that he gives liberty to Testators to leave what they think fit, in a due and lawfull manner to such persons, by way of *Legacy* or *Fideicommissum*.

7. The CCCCLXXXI of our Lord had *Placidius* for Consul, and besides having thence a Consul was very remarkable to the East, for the danger that threatened it and *Constantinople*. The Author of this Danger, as *Euagrius* tells the story, was *Theodoric*, and him he terms a *Syrian* by Nation. He writes that preparing a War against *Zeno*, he raised an Army in *Thrace*; and wasting all the Territories that lay before him, peirced as far as to the entrance of *Pontus*, and was not far from taking *Constantinople*. His design was hindered by those nearest about him, or his most inward Friends, who being vehemently offended at him, conspired his Destruction. This being discovered by him he retreated, but not long after was numbered amongst the Dead though by other means. It happened that in his Camp, his Spear which was double pointed hung aloft according to the barbarous custome; It so hanging, he had a mind to exercise his Body, and his Horse was called for, he leaped upon him hastily, (as his manner was in doing other things) and the Horse being skittish and unbroken, before he could fitly dispose of his Legs, and sit fast in the Saddle, reared on end, so that *Theodoric* was extremely put to it to hold his hold, not daring to curb him, lest he shoud come over with him; and by this means being tossed about, and not commanding either Horse or himself, he lighte upon the Spear and so shook it, that it peirced his side with such a Wound, that taking his Bed he died of it not many days after. Now whereas *Marcellinus* placing this Accident in this year, relates it concerning *Theodoric* the Son of *Triarius*, and writes that he peirced as far as *Anaplus*, a place distant but four Miles from *Constantinople*, and thence purposed to March for *Ilyricum* when he was thus by Death prevented. *Baronius* blames *Jordanes* or *Jordanus* the Gothic Historian, for writing this to have been not *Theodoric* the Son of *Triarius*, but *Walemir Amalus* King of the Goths, the Brother of *Theodosius* who was Father of *Theodoric Amalus*, who this year succeeded in the Kingdom of the Goths.

8. To this story of *Theodoric*, *Euagrius* subjoyns other designs prosecuted against *Zeno*, which fell out about this time, probably, if not in this year, in that which followed, or the CCCCLXXXII of our Lord, which was characterized with the Consulship of *Severinus*. These things being done, saith he, *Martian* the Son of *Anthemius* who had been Emperor at *Rome*, and joyned in Affinity with *Leo* the late Emperor at *Constantinople*, began to exercise Enmity with the Emperor *Zeno*. The truth was, having Married *Leontia*, the younger Daughter of *Leo*, he *Ibid. c. 25.* aspired after the Sovereignty, which proceeded so far, that in the Palace a great Fight there was, many were killed on both sides, and *Martian* had the better, forcing his Adversaries to retire, and had been Master of the Court, if by deferring what he designed till the following day, he had not lost his opportunity, but taken time by the forelock. But the day following, he was betrayed by his followers and left alone, whereupon he fled to the Church of the Holy Apostles, and thence being taken by force, he went to *Cæfarea* in *Cappadocia*, where joyning himself with some Monks, to lie concealed, he was discovered, and sent by the Emperor to *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, and being shaven was designd a Priest. *Euagrius* adds that these things were very Elegantly written by *Eufatius the Syrian*, who moreover related how *Zeno* laid almost infinite Snares to intrap *Berina* his Mother-in-Law, that afterwards he Banished her into *Cilicia*, and then again confined her to

*L. ult. de in integrum restitutio minorum. Cod. Just. lib. 2. Tit. 22.*

*L. 32. de Testam. Cod. Just. lib. 6. Tit. 23.*

evil Ministers he indulged, if *Suidas* be in this matter also to be credited. But he farther writes, that the *Romans* had been sensible of an happy administration, if

*Sebastian an E-*  
*Sebastian*, being most powerfull at Court, had not carried him every way as he listed, selling all things as in a Market, and not suffering any thing to pass in the Palace without money. All Offices he sold, partly keeping the money to himself, and partly dividing it with the Emperour, and who gave most was the man that was preferred. In conclusion, at Court there was nothing that was not sold. If it happened that *Zeno* gave an Office to any of his Friends, he would redeem it out of their hands, as if it had been a Captive, and sell it for a larger Sum. But what

wonder should there be that *Zeno* would suffer such corruption, when he permitted the manners of his Son, and him that was to succeed him to be so corrupted? He, as the same Authour writes, adorned him with Dignities, and commanded him to exercise his Body for the increase of his Stature. But those about him having got an occasion of emptying the Treasury, took care that the Youth should be corrupted with *Sybaritic* Luxury, and by their villainous pimping, provoked him to the love of those that were equal with him in years. Therefore the course of his

Life carrying him to Pride and Luxury, being removed from all honesty, and bearing a lothy Countenance for his expectancy of the Sovereign Command, he began to go stately, and carry his Head high, and indeed to demean himself to all men, as if they had been his very Slaves. But for his depraved disposition, Providence so punished him, that defiling his Bed for many days without any Sense,

*Dies.* he was taken away by Death in an immature Age. As for *Sebastian*, he was *Prefectus Praetorio*, several Laws being found directed to him both already, and hereafter to be mentioned.

12. The following year, or the CCCCLXXXVI of our Saviour, had two Con-

fuls to characterize it, and these were *Decius* and *Longinus*. Their Names we find

to three several Constitutions, published in this Consulship by *Zeno*, one on the

twelfth before the Calends of *June*, whereby he gave authority to Judges to an-

*L. 14. de Testi-*  
*mens, Cod. Just.*  
*lib. 4. Tit. 20.*

madvert upon false Witnesses, ordering that all bearing testimony in civil matters

should be examined aside and not before the Parties, and that without any precep-

*A. D. 486.*  
*Decis & Longi-*  
*nus.*

*tion of Judicature. This is directed to Arcadius, the Prefectus Praetorio;* and the

*L. 1. de Prae-*  
*citoribus in-*  
*diverseibus, Cod.*  
*Just. lib. 5. Tit. 15.*

*second bearing date of the first of July, we find inscribed to Basilius with the same*

*Title of Prefectus, and as it seems of the East, out of which a complaint was*

*brought concerning private men, their using of Prisons. Theodosius the Great*

*had formerly by an Edict, directed to Erytrius the Prefectus Augstalis, ordained*

*L. Vn. Cod. Th.*  
*Cod. Tit.*

*that if any person should confine any Malefactor to a private Prison, he should*

*incur the crime of High Treason. This concerned the Diocese of Egypt, or that*

*of Alexandria, which City as above measure it was apt to breed Seditions, so it*

*feems was fruitful of such a kind of Infolence. That Law was now so far laid*

*aside, and forgot, that Zeno was constrained in many words to reinforce it, com-*

*manding that it should be lawfull to no man in the most splendid City of*

*Alexandria, throughout the Egyptian Diocese, or in any Provinces of his Em-*

*pire, either in their Fields or any where else at Home, to exercise the custo-*

*dy of a private Prison, but that the Spetabilis, the Prefectus Augstalis, for the*

*time being, and the Clarissimi, the Governors of all Provinces, should do their*

*indeavour and be always watchfull, that the said Arrogance of most Wicked*

*men might be suppressed. For after this his most wholesome Constitution the said*

*Prefectus Augstalis, and whatsoever Governor of a Province, shall without*

*doubt incur the crime of High Treason, if he know of such wickedness and do*

*not punish it. The same crime shall be incurred by the Primates of Offices, if*

*knowing of such forbidden practices committed in any place, they do not pre-*

*fently acquaint therewith their own Judges to have them suppressed. For it is*

*evident faith he, that such as commit this sort of crime, even by the tenor of*

*ancient Laws and Constitutions, are to be punished with Death, as Violators of*

*Majesty it self, or Traitors.*

13. By ancient Laws and Constitutions, that Edict lately mentioned of *Theodo-*

*sius* is principally meant, intended for the same *Diocese*, and in both Constitutions

the crime is declared to be High Treason, it being indeed such to bear ones self

for a Magistrate, having no Authority, and so doth who keeps a private Prison,

for which is one mark and Symbol of Royalty amongst others. Before the time of

*Theodosius* private Imprisonment was only restrained and punished by the *lex Julia*

*de vi*; but whereas in his time other sorts of Violence were chastified by Deporta-

*tion, or more light Punishments, he thought fit to inflict Death on this by making*

it High Treason, and for this reason, that whereas other Acts of Violence offended

indeed

*Zeno's Son, a*  
*great Debau-*  
*chic,*

*Zero restrains*  
*false Testimo-*  
*nies.*

*Prohibits the*  
*keeping of pri-*  
*vate Prisons.*

*Which was for-*  
*bidden by anc-*  
*ient Laws and*  
*why.*

*Vide Gabref.*  
*in d. Theodosii.*

*Sempere fun-*  
*ris infelix.*

indeed against the publick Discipline, such as Usurped the Right of Prisons strike at the Majestie of the Emperour himself, whose Prerogative it was by the Magistrates constituted by his Authority to commit to Prison. Indeed of old time such Debtors as could not pay what was adjudged, were wont to be committed to Custody, as appears by the Laws of the twelve Tables; but this Custome was now grown obsolete. By the *Lex Julia*, concerning Adulterers, A man who found an Adulterer with his Wife, might also detain him at his House, or where he first caught him for twenty hours by Day and Night; but this was not by way of Imprisonment, but for testifying and proving the Fact. Moreover by the *Pontifical Law*, Clerks may in private Houses chaste and keep bound their faulty Wives. And *Gothofred* tells us, that by the Custome of his Country, the same was granted to an Husband, after the hearing of the matter, the circumstances of persons being duly weighed; if to be a Judge committed the custody of a wicked and hare-brain'd Wife, to an honest and prudent Husband. Mad-Folks also may be kept up by their Friends and Relations, and the *Ergastula* or Work-Houses of Slaves and Freedmen, or such as fold themselves to Drudgery bore some resemblance to private Prisons; but were not such really and meant by those Laws: For hereby was prohibited that restraint which was put by greater men upon those of meaner Condition in this kind, and particularly by Possessors of Lands upon their *Colonii*, or Tillers, as *Gothofred* shews from an Oration of *Libanius*, written in the time of *Theodosius*. The Emperours were so tender of the Liberty of their Subjects in this point; that the *Stationarii*, as we have formerly seen, who were employed in searching for Malefactours, were forbidden to have a Prison, and keep them in Custody, though for a manifest Offence.

14. However, though this Constitution of *Zeno* was thought fit to be put into the Code of *Justinian*, yet *Justinian* afterwards enacted a milder Punishment for this crime of private Prisons. He forbade them to be used, and subjected such as used them to pain; and to continue as many days in publick Prison, as they kept any in a private one, of whatsoever Condition or Dignity they were. They should also loose the Cause they had against such as they Imprisoned, by the care of the Bishop and the *President*. And if the *President* neglected his Duty herein, he should incur danger both of Estate and Life. The third Law made this year by *Zeno* is concerning the Advocates, which pleaded in the Court of the *Praefectus Praetorio* of *Ilyricum*, and their privileges. "He tells *Paulus* the *Praefect*, that

*Zeno* limits the Number of Advocates in the *Forum* of the *Praefect* of *Ilyricum*.

*L. de Advocatis diversorum Ju-*  
*diciorum, Cod.*  
*lib. 2. Tit. 7.*

"he will allow his *Highnes* an hundred and fifty and no more, as formerly had been ordained, and when their term was expired, or they Died, or otherwise wife their number was diminished, shall be supplied by the choice of his *Magnificient See*. At the close, whatsoever Privileges had been granted to the Advocates of the *Prefecture* throughout the East, without any difference, he confesses on the Pleaders of his *most glorious See* also. As there was a certain and determinate Number of Advocates in each *Forum*, so of that Number none were perpetual but Temporary. Yet scarcity of Lawyers about the time of *Theodosius* the younger caused them to be perpetual. But then again, when there was plenty of Students, *Valentinian* and *Martian* for their Incouragement, reduced the ancient Law, which continued thenceforth to be approved and in use. Having executed

*Advocates not*  
*perpetual.*

*Vide Cracca.*  
*c. 22.*

the young cause them to be perpetual. But then again, when there was plenty of Students, *Valentinian* and *Martian* for their Incouragement, reduced the ancient Law, which continued thenceforth to be approved and in use. Having executed

*Theodosius infests*  
*the Empire.*

*A. D. 487.*  
*Boetius Conf.*

the young cause them to be perpetual. But then again, when there was plenty of Students, *Valentinian* and *Martian* for their Incouragement, reduced the ancient Law, which continued thenceforth to be approved and in use. Having executed

*Noven-*  
*fi*

sis a City of *Mystra*, whence he began his Expedition. As this year was otherwise empty of civil affairs so far as we understand, so that which followed, or the *A. D. 488.* CCCCLXXXVIII of our Lord was quite barren, only it had two Consuls by the *Dinacri & Siphrini Conf.* Names of which it was marked, *viz. Dinacrius and Siphrinus*.

16. In like manner that which followed, or the CCCCLXXXIX of our Lord, *A. D. 489.* had for Consuls *Probinus* and *Eusebius*, and all the Noise being now in the West, *Probinus & Eusebius Conf.* where *Theodoric* at length became Master of the Kingdom of *Italy*, little do we hear of in the East or at *Constantinople*. And though probably *Zeno* not otherwise diverted might be busier with his *Quæstor* in making Laws than we can know, there being many extant in the Code without date of *Conful*, yet find we but one Constitution made this year which was concerning Children, burthened by their Parents with a trust or *Fidei Commission*, concerning their retaining a fourth part allowed by the *Senatusconsultum Trebellianum*. For the year CCCXC only *A. D. 490.* *Fausius Conf.*

*Pelagius the Patriarch made a way.*

His writings.

*Zeno is Buried and Dies.*

Some Laws of his without date

No one to be Procurer in two Judicatories.

17. At length we are arrived at the Year CCCXCII of our Lord, which brought *A. D. 491.* the Punishment along with it prayed for by *Pelagius*, and in which *Olybrius* alone *Olybrius Conf.* was Consul. *Caiudorus* notes in his Chronicon, that *Zeno* died this year, and we cannot say he died and was Buried, but was first Buried and then died in a fearful manner.

Either seized with the Epilepsy, or dead Drunk, or in a fit of a melancholic Apoplexy, which long after brought *Scorus* the great Schoolman to the same end, (if a late Eminent Physician hath made a right Judgment of the Disease,) he *Leg. Seminunt de Apoplexia melancholica.* was laid out for Dead, and as such carried down into a Vault, where recovering his Senes, he cried out and made an horrid Noise. But *Ariadna* his Wife bearing him no good will, either out of hatred to his Vices, or because she desired another Bedfellow, would not suffer him to be relieved, so that if *Cedrenus* tell the truth, he was afterward found to have eaten the Flesh off his Arms, and the Bunkins he had upon his Legs. To some such end came *Zeno* with whom we have not yet done, finding many Laws of his making without Date, and therefore not able to assign them to particular years; but of such as are proper to our design we shall take notice. Observing how many men, to avoid the discharge of civil Duties, sheltered themselves in these days in the Service of the *Magistri militum*, "he declared that supernumeraries or such as were beyond the appointed Number in the *Magistri Militum Conf.* "Officium of him of the East, should be subject to the Sentence of civil Judges in every Affair, even in reference to Tributary Collations; directing the Constitution to *Sebastian* the Prefect.

18. To remove a doubt, whether the same *Proctor* after Sentence given in a Cause, might not prosecute it also in the Court of that Judge to whom it was appealed; "by another Edict he also declared, that one Person should not be *Proctor* in two Judicatories, but that one should practise as such in the greater Auditory, *L. 27. de Procuratore Cod. Iust. lib. 2. Tit. 29.* as for example of the *President* of the Province, and another in that from which a Cause was appealed or referred, as for instance, that of him they called *Judex Pedaneus*; so that the same man who acted before the latter could not doe it too before the former, but should make a Translation of the Cause or the Mandate, to some one of those which practised in the Court of the *President* of the Province, without any charge or expence for a new Caution, the former sufficing. And he inflicts punishment upon both *Proctors* and *Apparitors*, who should neglect this Constitution. For such as were affigned Judges, and not only Magistrates, had also their *Apparitors*. And *Cujacius* further observes from this Constitution, that as of *Advocates*, so also of *Proctors* there was a certain number in every *Forum*, to whom alone such as had Suits might commit their Busines and not to any whatsoever, which holds also at this day. And in the last place, that each Judicatory had its proper and peculiar *Under Judges* or *Judices Pedanei*, to whom Causes were delegated or referred. These did not Act in their own Jurisdiction, nor executed their own Sentences, but to execute them, took some out from

*Observ. lib. 13.*

## CHAP. I. The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire. Zeno.

from among the *Cohortales*, out of the *Schola* or *Scribae*, of which we have formerly spoken. But such Judges as were delegated by the Prince himself might have *Apparitors* of their own, or such as executed their Decrees, as Magistrates themselves; and so it is no wonder that they might delegate others, which the *Pedanei Judices*, or such as were delegated by Magistrates could not do. "This must be said, that *Zeno* of Judicature had a great care, commanding by other Edicts *Zeno had a great care of Judicature.* that Judges should follow strictly the Law, and not what was irregularly commanded by the Prince. That they should dispatch Busines, and if any Judge at the motion of either of the parties protracted the Suite without necessity, the other should batek himself to the Prince and make complaint of his delay. Now from one of the greater Judges the Prince was appealed to after Sentence, but a complaint might be made to him before Sentence of protracting the Tryal. And before contention of the Suite, the Judge might be refused; "but *Zeno* forbade it should be after the Suite was contended. In case such Judge seemed incompetent, as to some Article or point of the Causa, he should by his own decree remit "that matter to some other Judge that was competent indeed.

19. By the old Law, If a man sued for more than was his own, either as *L. 1. de plus petitibus, Cod. Iust. lib. 3. tit. 10.* to time, before it was due, or as to Sum, he lost his Causa. Now this *Zeno* *Just. lib. 3. tit. 10.* thought unreasonable as to time, as afterward *Justinian* did as to the Sum itself, where there was no *dolus malus* or design of him that sued. As he took off the rigour of the old Law in this matter, so he was indulgent to Persons of the greatest Quality about him, and those who were his greatest Officers; or had executed the greatest places of Trust, when they appeared as Criminals. "He ordained that a *Patriarch* or one who had been such, one who had been Illustrious "by executing the *Prefecture* either of the *Prætorium* or *City*, an ordinary "Consul, or one to whom the Honour was given by the Prince his Codicils, "one famous for the having undergone the labour of the *Magisterian Power*, who "had executed the place of *Magister Officiorum* or *Quæstor*, who having been his *Prepositus Cubiculari* had been made a *Senatur*, or one to whom he had committed the Government of the School of the *Domesticks*, or of his Treasures, of the *Res privatae* either of himself or Empress; if such after having laid down should be accused of a publick or private Crime, to which they could not answere by a *Profectus* living either in the City or in the Provinces, none should have cognisance of the same but himself, or only such *Sacred Cognitor* to whom he should commit the hearing of the Busines *vice sua*, by his sacred Letters. Yet so that by such a Judge not being attended by the Ministray of any *Officium* or *School*, after the manner and order of sacred Consultations, without any observance of fatal days, such Causes should be heard, the *Libellenses* (*Viri Devotissimi* he terms them) of his sacred *Scriinium* performing the Solemnities; He who is accused (that before proof no Injury may be done him,) having leave to sit in some part of the *Secretarium*, inferior to that of Judges, but above the ordinary one of such as have Busines there. And out of respect to these Dignities, the very *Sacred Cognitor* himself, after the proof of the Crime, shall not determine any thing against their Persons or Estates, but in the room of the Prince himself hearing the merits of the Causa, if the Offence be proved, he shall certifie him thereof, in whose power alone it shall be to punish offenders of such Quality. But he declares it to be Law, as formerly it was, that such a *Cognitor* may absolve such a person and put a stop to the Calumny of the Accuser, except the Accuser be also of the same Dignity, for then his Calumny is not to be suppressed without consulting the Authority of the Prince.

20. "But as for Illustrious Persons living in the City of *Constantinople*, who without any actual administration were made honourable by Letters or Codicils, although by the Emperour's command, they had obtained such prerogative as to seem to doe what they never did, in Causes Criminal they should be subject to the Judgment of the *Præfectus Prætorii*, the *Prefect* of the City and the *Magister Officiorum*, upon a special Commission issuing out from the Prince, so as those men shall not have the liberty of sitting in Tryals: but such must know that they shall not determine any thing about their Persons or Estates, when the thing is proved without consulting him. As for Illustrious Persons that lived in the Provinces, except such as the Cognisance of whose Crimes belonged to himself, or to such sacred *Cognitor* as he should depute in his room, and were accused of some Crime, they should have liberty to sit in the *Secretarium* at their Tryals, and their Crimes being proved, the Judges should abstain from giving Sentence against them or their Estates, till they had received Anwers from the *C. Prince*

" Prince to their Reports. The punishment also due to Calumniators shall not be deferred by Provincial Judges, though the Parties have not the like dignity as before was spoken of. By this we see the great Privileges enjoyed by Illustrious Persons in this Age, whereof one was great, to have no Fatal times. And the other of sitting in the *Secretarium* we have formerly seen allowed, it being ordinarily indulged to the Illustrious in criminal causes in a place inferior to that of the Judges, both in the City and in the Provinces; but to Honorary or Codicilar Dignities only in the Provinces. Hence some collect that such respect shall be paid to most eminent Persons, as to answer sitting. We see that in the *Secretaria* or Auditories of Judges, there were three degrees or sorts of places; one of the Judges themselves, another of Illustrious Persons, and the third of Pleaders and such as had business to transact. It's observable also that this Law gives one exception to that Rule, That power Condemning and Absolving go together, so as a Judge that doeth one may do the other. In the last place the Offices of Magistrates being Annual, they neither could ordinarily be Plaintiffs nor Defendants till their time was out.

Took great care  
for punishing  
false Witnesses.

21. *Zeno*, besides what we have already said of this subject, took great care for prevention and punishment of false Testimony. A false Witness he would have first impeached of Perjury, and then afterward of the crime of Falshood; of Perjury because Witnesses were not heard except sworn. If in the very time of Testimony a Witness was suspected to lie, he commands him to be subjected to torture. A person cast by a false Witness, if he pleased might bring a criminal Action against him. If he would bring a civil, he should recover all damages, and besides this, the false Witness should be punished according to the Laws. If in the principal matter he was convicted of lying, the Judge might condemn him in the whole or less, and also subject him to punishment, obliterating over and above what formerly the Laws had prescribed concerning false testimonies. Moreover for prevention of a crime so horrible and prejudicial to the publick good, he gave authority even to those called *Judices Pedanei* to correct false Witnesses and subject them to torture, if they were *Plebeians*, taking to their assistance the *Praefectus Vigilum*. And in case such Witnesses were *Decuriones* or of Dignity, that such a Judge could not animadvert upon them, he should report the whole matter to the Magistrate, by whom he was delegated, so as nothing should be paid for the entry of the report; and if the thing was plain, then the Magistrate should give his sentence either for admitting or rejecting the Testimony. But if it required more search and scrutiny, the cognitance of the matter should again be delegated to the Judge, with a non obstante to any Prescription of the Court, and any privilege; for Witnesses when they have given their testimony seem to have renounced all Privileges.

22. "A person who denied his Adversary to be his Kinsman, and that falsely, and required proofs from him of such kindred, he declared should have no right to succeed as Heir to such person so denied, if he died intestate. And he who required such proofs should not be heard, except he took the Oath de *Calumnia*, and the right of Succession was preferred for him that swore. As for proving kindred he required five Witnesses, if there were no private Instruments or Writings, or three if such Writings were found; but if there were publick Instruments or Writings they should suffice without any Witnesses. In the last place one who was Witness to such Writings should be compelled to give testimony of them whenever it was demanded of him, after he had depo sed as such. This care that *Zeno* had to prevent false testimonies, was very commendable, nothing being more prejudicial both to lawfull acquiring, and keeping an Estate. But he made another Law, which was also of very great moment, in order to the first of the two, and nothing is more memorable than that he enacted. The practice of Monopolies had been complained of in all Ages, and under every Prince, as *Pliny* writes, and frequent *Senatus consulta* had been made against them. Yet the Emperor might grant liberty when he saw convenient to a certain person or Body Politick to have the sole sale of certain Wares, under a burthen of such a Tribute or Imposition to the Treasury.

He forbade Mo-  
nopolies.

23. But *Zeno* by a Constitution directed to *Constantine* the *Praefectus Praetorio* thought fit to command, "That no Person whatsoever should dare to exercise a Monopoly of any kind of thing belonging to the sustenance of Man, or to any other use, of any materials whatsoever, by his own Authority, or by virtue of any Sacred Rescript either already procured or to be procured, or by any pragmatical Sanction, or any Sacred Adnotation of the Prince. Neither

*L. un. de Monopoliis*  
*lib. 1. cap. 1. lib. 1. tit. 50.*  
*Et vide Cisit. ob. lib. 10. c. 19.*  
*Ob. lib. 16. s. 23.*

" should

" should any man conspire in any unlawfull Conventions, neither Bargain nor Covenant that the species of divers Bodies belonging to Trade should not be sold for less than they agreed of amongst themselves. Moreover he forbade all Artificers in Building and undertakers, and the Professors of other various works, and Bath-holders to agree by compact that none should perfect a work which another had begun, nor meddle with a Business wherein another man was employed, giving leave to every one to have a work begun by one man, performed by another, without any fear of detriment, and to denounce all such Acts without any fear or Judiciary charges. Upon him that should dare to exercise a Monopoly, he imposed confiscation of Estate and perpetual Banishment. And on the *Primates* of the other Professions, if for the future they shall dare to oblige themselves by any Compacts or Agreements, either for setting the Rates of Commodities, or any other unlawfull matters, a Fine of forty pounds of Gold. In the last place upon the Office of the Prefect a Mulet of fifty; if such punishments, either through bribery, dissimulation or other fault, were not inflicted on Monopolizers and Politick Bodies committing such forbidden things.

24. By another Edict he thought fit to restrain the Marrying of ones Brother's Wife. "Although, he said, some *Egyptians* therefore thought fit to joyn their Wives in Marriage with the Wives of their deceased Brothers, because after their death they were thought to remain Virgins, supposing according to the pleasure of some ancient Law-makers, that Marriage was not contracted without Copulation, and such Marriages in those times had been valid, yet he Ordain'd by that present Constitution, that if thenceforth any such Marriages should be contracted, their contractors, and such as descended from them should be subject to the Tenor of the Ancient Laws; neither according to the example of the *Egyptians* did they seem firm, nor to be confirmed. He farther shewed himself so great an Abhorre of Incestuous Marriages, that by another Edict he commanded all his Subjects to abstain from them. "And whereas in the time of Usurpation, there were certain

*L. 8. de inscrip-  
tione et institutio nis imp-  
erii. Cod. Iust. lib. 5. tit. 5.*

*Rescripts, Pragmatical Terms or Constitutions which put the name of Matrimony upon wicked conjunctions, namely, made it lawfull in wicked Consortship, to embrace the Daughter of a Brother or Sister, or her that lived in the bond of Wedlock with ones Brother, or to commit such like Acts, he declared them as impious to be of no force, least such wicked licentiousness should receive strength by dissimulation. This last of the Edicts beareth indeed in the Inscription the name of *Anastasius* the successor of *Zeno* as its Author; but *Cajacius* judges the Inscription faulty; and that the true one was *Idem Augus tus Sebas tianus P. P.* Forto *Sebastian* (as he hath it, but as it now is to *Soverian*) another Constitution is directed for rescinding the Acts of the Usurper *Basiliscus*, as this also is designed; which *Sebastian*, as *Suidas* writes, was in manners most like to *Tribonian*, of whom hereafter. But as we have shewn already, this matter of Incest had been variably determined of in various Ages, till the time of *Constantius* and *Constans*, by whom it was made death to Marry the daughter either of Brother or Sister. But it seems something of this nature was permitted by *Basiliscus*, during his Usurpation, which *Zeno* after his recovery of his Power again, declared to be null and void. By an Edict directed to *Basiliscus* the *Praefectus Praetorio*, we think we find him to have formerly published another upon this subject of the marriage of a Brother's or Sister's Daughter. "This most grievous wickedness (*nefandissimum felix*) he terms it) which formerly under grievous pain had been by most Sacred Constitutions condemned, he prohibits by his iterated Sanction all manner of Ways. And he denies leave, for the time to come, to Petition him for such like *Conjugation* or *Contagium* rather as he words it, letting every one know that the Impetration of what the Petitioners was denied, though by surreption, after that day shall signify nothing at all.*

25. For ending of Suits, *Zeno* Ordained, "That such as bought of the Treasury any thing challenged by another Person, or obtained such a thing of the Prince himself, as *Fiscus* or belonging to the Treasury, should not be disquieted by the pretended owner or any other laying claim to it; but that for the space of four years any Action should be against the Treasury itself; the prescription of which years should bar any such Suit or claim. Farther if the *Scrinium* (or Procuator *Fisci* as some expound it) confers by Writings that the price is received, the Buyer shall be secured for ever. That every Person might attend his own business and to obviate the rapacity of Officers, he forbade the Governors of Provinces, as also the *Judices spectabiles* (though adorn'd with the illustrious dignity)

*L. 9. five lib. c.  
vid. lib. 8. c. 28.*

*L. 2. de qua-  
drangulari prescrip-  
tionib. Cod. Iust.  
lib. 7. tit. 37.  
Anexa comiti re-  
rum privatarum.*

*L. un. de rati-  
onibus operum pub-  
licorum ex de par-  
titione civitatum.  
Cod. Iust. lib. 8.  
tit. 13. Arcadius  
C. 2*

"nity) to meddle with publick Works or Buildings, or as it seems the custome "has been to receive one *siliqua* for every *solidus* to be laid out, or any other emolu- "ment: but to leave those things to the care and management of the *Recensores*, "or as he terms them, the *Fathers of the Cities*, who were deputed to such Em- "ployments. But if any promise or engage by covenant to raze any publick "Work out of their mere liberality, though they be bound by such promise or "engagement, they shall incur no damage, nor their Heirs, if the whole sum be "not contributed, or the Work happen to be unprofitable.

26. He was so carefull of the Courts of Cities and Bodies Politick, as in some respect to be more strict than had been his Predecessours against pretences of freedom from their service. "For he would have none who from the beginning of his Reign were obnoxious to the said Courts, though *Comites Rei private* to him "moue his Father-in-law, or *Comites Largitionum*, or *Domesiticorum*, *Quæstors*, or *Magistri Officiorum*, though promoted already to execute such Offices, or who "should be promoted, for or in behalf of such Offices, to escape the snares of those *Curiæ* Employments as he terms them; but should be bounden to them "with their children whensoever born, and their Estates after the laying down of their said Offices, except they were fecur'd by other Privileges upon this account "by known Laws. For all other lawfull Indulgences and Privileges granted by Constitutions, he would have remain inviolable. And that persons so indulged "might not seem to enjoy an empty name, if they executed the *Curiæ* Offices by their Substitutes at their own charge, they should have the Privileges of their Dignity entire and without abatement. As for such as obtained the aforesaid Dignities before the beginning of his Reign; he Decreed that they with their Estates and their Children should after such dignity be freed from all obligations "and burthenes of the *Curiæ*. And for those who at any time had been or should be made *Patritians*, *Consuls*, *Consulares*, *Magistri Militum*, *Prefecti Praetorio* "of the *East*, of *Ilyricum*, or *Prefecti of Constantinople*, so as to execute the places "themselves, should to all purposes with their Estates and Sons born after their Dignity be free from such obligations. But Zeno was farther so carefull about these Courts and Corporations, to have their services perform'd, as we see it was the great endeavour of his Predecessours, for such reasons as we have heretofore exprest, "That he made it unlawfull for the *Decuriones* to sell their hereditary Estates without a Decree of the Court, and this Decree should not be taken for valid, if only signified in a Brief or piece of Paper, but it must be made *Verba* "voby the major part, upon which a sentence of a competent Judge must be had "for confirmation of the purchase. Now this Law speaking only of Sale and not "of Donation, is called *Mirabilis* or Wonderfull by *Justinian*, as if there were not "reaso to take care as well of the one as of the other. But this may be said, that "we more easily fell to give, and therefore there was no such occasion; but "however he thought fit by a Constitution to ordain that no Donation, nor any "Alienation should be good without a Decree of the Court; nay, afterward that a "Donation even with Decree (for other reasons of that time then moving him) "should not be valid.

A friend to the Curie.

27. The City of *Constantinople* was again grown so vast and populous, that fresh water was become a very pretious commodity with them, and this put Zeno upon making three several Constitutions for security of the publick Fountains and Aqueducts. "By one he signified to *Amantius*, *Prefect* of the City, that if he "or any of his Successours should alienate the Gold deputed to the repair of Aque- "ducts whereby their Uses, he should restore it out of his own purse. And that there "should be a peculiar *Arcarius* or Treasurer for keeping what Gold belonged to this service either proceeding from the liberality of the *Consuls* or other ways. "By another he declared that a Fountain which either from the beginning was "publick, or afterwards made so, should not be applied to the use of private men "though a Refrict were obtained for that purpose. By a third he forbade the pur- "loyning of publick water by private Pipes, the planting of Trees by the Aque- "ducts whereby their Walls were ruined, and deriving the Water to Housies of Pleasure, Gardens, Watermills, or Baths under such pen of forfeiting the building, "as should not be remitted by the Prince his Letters. And he would have the *Aquariorum* Keepers of those Waters and Aqueducts, to be marked in the Hand as were the *Tirones* and *Fabricenses*, with the Emperour's Name, that being known "they might not be forced by the *Procurators* of the Palaces or others to any other Employment. And if any of them died, he who succeeded, should for the same "reaso, be marked in the same manner.

He was carefull for furnishing the City of Con-  
stantinople with water.

Of

To keep up the honour of Patri- tions.  
*L. 64. de Decu- rioribus. C. Juff. lib. 10. tit. 21. Scholasticus P. P.*

28. Of Dignities he chiefly concerned himself for that of *Patritian*, that it might not become too cheap or common. "He forbade that any should rise to that "sublime honou (which, saith he, is set before all the rest) except he had been *East* or of *Ilyricum*, or was known actually to have exercised the *Prefecture* "of the City, the Office of *Magister Militum* or *Magister Officiorum*. And because, "as he saith, he thought it his part to procure the good of the most glorious City, "which was Head of the World; all ways possible, he Ordain'd that all who afterward should by the Emperour's munificence be adorned with the Ensigns "of the Honorary Consulship, should pay the sum of an hundred pounds of Gold "towards the repairing of the Aqueducts, in like manner as they who during the space of a year gloried in the setting forth of Consular works. For them it also behoved, that the most flourishing City being sustained by the munificence of an hundred pounds of Gold, should also be sensible of the honorary Consulship. But for the encouragement of *Consulares* or Honorary Consuls he declared by another Edict directed to *Sebastian*, that those most excellent Men, as he terms them, either then made or to be made, might proceed and in reality be Consuls for a year, the Prince his judgment or award therein being procured; so as having finished the Procesion so obtained, they should not seem to have got some new thing they had not before; but only to have iterated the right of Consulship which once the Consular procession had derived upon them, and in adoring the Purple, and farther obtaining all the Honours of Consuls and their Privileges they should have them commence from the former time of promotion. Moreover such Consul should not be compelled to pay the hundred pounds of Gold for the Aqueducts of that famous City, enjoyed by a Sacred Constitution, which being but *Consularis* he had formerly paid.

29. Thus we see how carefull Zeno was for preserving the Grandeur of Dignities, especially that of the *Patritian*, and yet *Justinian* thought this was not enough; but out of his rather superabundant care, as he himself confesseth, added unto it. "He Ordained that those high Persons should upon receipt of the "Emperour's Codicils immediately become *Patres familiæ* or Heads of Families, and "be freed from that Paternal power which the *Roman Laws* gave to Fathers over "their Sons not Emancipated, lest they who were honoured as Fathers by the Prince, should be subject unto others, it being a thing not sufferable, he judged, "that a Father should be in capacity by Emancipation to release a Son from such obligations, and that his Imperial Highnes should not be able to free him whom he had chosen for his Father, from the power of another person. But so he will have it, that the Imperial Majestie be not diminished. It being sufficiently certain, "that such a thing rarely happened; for no man, saith he, can easily remember a Son "of a Family to have been promoted to the honour of Patritian, as is usual in the Consulship; but left such a thing in time should happen, and be found without direction of Laws, he thought fit to Ordain. Taking such scope to provide for things which not only did usually happen but might possibly do so, he might well be so numerous in his Laws, as we shall find he was upon his new model. But this reason of the Rarity of the thing caused to be a reaso with him afterward, when he also communicated the same privilege of being freed from the Paternal Power upon other persons; upon better thoughts, as he saith, even upon Consuls really such, and by Codicils; and the *Prefecti Praetorio*, the Prefects of both *Romes*, and the *Magistri Militum*. He esteem'd it a thing, he saith, unbecoming both his Laws and times, that persons who were Judges, over so Great men, and commanded others to continue under the Paternal Power should themselues be subject to it. "He would have this taken for a general Rule, that every Dignity and every Girdle which freed persons from Services of Corporations, should also free them from the power of their Fathers, to whom this should be so great an honour that they had such Sons, that they should with joy give them their *Peculia* and other Rights which were wont to follow Emancipation, the Privileges of which were not to succeed these thus conferred by Imperial Authority. In the last place he will have this Privilege of freedom from Paternal Power to extend to Spiritual Fathers or Bishops, who also from their Ordination were freed from that of the Curie.

30. By other Laws made in behalf of the *Primicerii* of the Notaries, and the ten Tribunes after them, the *Silentiarii*, the *Principes* of the *Agentes in Rebus*, and the *Scholæ*; Zeno much obliged these sorts of his Couriers, moderating Fees to be received of them in Courts of Justice, and gratifying them otherwise in particu- lars.

*Zeno was kind to his Couriers.*

*L. 3. de Consuli- bus. Cod. Iust. lib. 12. tit. 3.*

*L. 5. &c. ult. c. juff.*

*Novel. 81.*

*Vide Titulus 7.*  
*lib. 22. cap. 41.*  
*lib. 12. Cod. Juff.*

lars which are too tedious here to be related. He was so carefull of his Army that it might be furnished with fit Souldiers that should be at his devotion, "That he forbud that any Horseman or Footman in any *Numerus*, or in any Limit should for the future be received or lifted without the *Warrant (Probatoria)* of the Emperor, antiquating the custome which had formerly obtained, which gave to the *Magistris Militum, or Duces* the power of granting such Licences. If the most eminent *Magistris Militum* for the time being, or the *Spectabiles*, the *Duces* thought it necessary to fill the places of the Dead, after the debating of the matter they should signify to the Prince, who and how many were to be added, and in what *Numerus* or Limit, that so they might become Souldiers by his Majestys order and Authority. And he inflicts a mulct of an hundred pounds of Gold upon the Office of the *Magister Militum* to whom he directs his Constitution, if it was violated in any part. Some other Laws we find made by *Zeno*, but they are either of such matters as relate so nearly to the *Ius Primum* that they are not so proper here to be mentioned, or else made in favour of the Officers of the *Seruiti*, of which we have said so much already to give the Reader an insight into those matters that no more is now to be added. It's time to take our farewell of *Zeno*, with this farther note, that he Reigned seventeen years and five months.

31. Zeno being removed, *Longinus*, his Brother having been by him advanced to great Authority, purposed to set up for himself, and little doubted to obtain the Empire. But *Ariadne* the Empress had another man in store, one whom with more love and less noise she could take to her Bed, and make her Partner in the Throne; for she was resolved to play at no smaller a game, *Zeno* having not left her any Children. This was one *Anastasius*; probably a very comely man, as having little else to recommend him to the favour of the Lady, and by her to the greatest of Earthly Dignities. For he had never reached so much as the degree of Senator, only was enrolled in the *Schola* of the *Silentii*, such a company as had little of business and publick employment as we have heretofore seen. He was born as *Eunapius* writes, at *Epidamnum*, afterward called *Dyrrachium* and enjoyed the Imperial Sceptre with the Wife of *Zeno*, in the year CCCCCXCI, and the Consulship of *Olybrius*.

Anastasius succeeds him.

Who making  
great shews of  
goodness.

## Banisheth Info

32. The first thing he did was to send down into *Ifuria*, *Longinus* of whom we now spoke, under what Guard, or upon what security for his peccable demeanour we know not, but *Euagrius*, who tells this story, adds, that to several others of that Countrey who desired it, he gave leave also to depart thither. As he had made a shew of great Piety while a private man, he did not at first throw off that wizard. He was a great maintainer of Peace and Quietnes, not permitting any great alteration either in Church or State, which Principle (if that according to *Euagrius*, was the Principle of his Actions) might make him hold the Maintainers and Oppugners of the *Chalcedonian* Council in equal esteem and balance. The same principle put him at his first coming to the Empire upon such courses as might tend to his own easie and establishment, however he otherwise appeared when he thought himself fast upon his Seat. He banished Informers out of the City, and did another thing, which *Euagrius* terms a wonderfull or Divine Act, and the History of which he cannot but deliver to posterity, though to speak thereof according to the Dignity of the Subject, he stood in need of the Tongue of *Thucydides* or some more eloquent and copious Oratour.

33. There was a wicked Tribute (he calls it) odious to God and Man, highly unpleasing even to the Barbarous Nations and abominable to all professing Christianity, which yet was exacted of all the Subjects of the *Roman Empire*, but not regarded (as such) till this time of *Anastasius*, who acted by Royal and merciful Principles took it away, not without the applause of all people under Heaven. This Tribute, called *Chrysgrym*, was imposed on Whores and Bawdy-houses especially, upon Beggars, Slaves, and Freed-men, Divorced-women, upon all sorts of Men of what condition ever, for their Horses, Mules, Asses, Oxen, Dogs, and such like Creatures, nay, Dung it self, and that with all rigour imaginable. Every fourth year it was paid in to the chief Magistrate by the under Collectors, and by them unto the Prince his Coffers; those that were employed in it, being none of the meanest, nor the Office it self esteemed base and contemptible in the Commonwealth.

Taketh away  
the *Crosses*-  
*rum.*

Commonwealth. 34. *Anastasis* weighing with himself the whole matter, acquainted the Senate with his sentiments, told the Fathers what an heinous and horrible thing it was, commanded it should be quite abolished, and burnt the Rolls and Records made for Levying of it. Having done this, he counterfeited great trouble and anxiety of mind.

*L. ult. de remi-  
tari, Cod. Just.  
lib. 12. tit. 36.*

*Enagrius lib. 3.  
c.c. 28, 29.*

A.D. 491.  
Olybrio Conf.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem ibid.* c. 39.

*S, Vid. si libet Lipsi  
de magnitudine  
Romana, lib. 2.  
S, c. 6.*

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## CHAP. I. The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire. Anastasius.

mind, accused himself of folly and madness, of vain glory and inconsiderateness, in that he had taken away so great a Tribute, and of so long continuance, not foreseeing the inconveniency which would follow thereupon, particularly in the pay of Military men who are the Bulwark of the Commonwealth, and in the subserviance of those who were by it maintained in the service of God, no less conducting by their Prayers to the security of the Empire. Making no man acquainted with the depth of his design, he declared his will to be that the Tribute should wholly be restored, and calling to his presence the old Receivers, told them he was hastily grieved that he had burnt the Records ; that he knew not what to doe, nor how to excuse his folly, they being consumed. They bewailed their los, and deplored the condition into which they were irreparably fallen, not knowing what overture to make for the restitution of their late employment. He, in extremity as it were of passion, begged of them that they would use yet their utmost endeavour, and try whether they could not find some Papers which might give them some light to settle the Tax in such a method as it had formerly been raised. He commanded all the Records in the Country to be searched, and every Scroll wherein mention was made of this Tribute to be brought to him, that he might use the most effectual means for its restitution.

35. He seemed exceedingly to rejoice at the sight of such as they presented to him; demanded where they found them, if they were to any purpose, and if they thought there were yet any more left undiscovered. They answered that their labour and travel had been great; that they had rode about night and day, had searched Town and Country, and they swore by the Emperour's life, that in all his Dominions there was not one Scroll more than what they produced. Then commanded he a Pile to be made, and all the Papers, Registers, Records, Bills, and Bawdy notes to be put thereon and burnt to ashes. When the fire had done its part, he commanded water to be cast upon the Cinders, either quite to oblige them, or to carry them away with the stream, hereby intending so far to abolish the monuments of this filthy Tribute, that neither spark, ashes, letter, nor any thing relating to it might remain to posterity. To this purpose *Enigrius* words it in commendation of *Anastasius*, and in the two following Chapters inveighs against *Zofimus* for malitiously writing that *Constance* the Great first invented the *Cibyargyrum*, and for otherwise flandering that Emperour. How far *Zofimus* is to be credited, we have seen already in the particulars enumerated and aggravated by him.

He confers Offices of Magistracy gratis.

36. Others relate that *Anafastius* at his first coming to the Government farther obliged the State by conferring those Offices of Magistracy *gratis* which had been wont to be sold by his Predecessour. That by other Acts of generosity he so far wrought upon the hearts of his people, that sober and understanding persons conceived great hope of an excellent Prince and a flourishing Commonwealth. But if *Suidas* be to be credited, those godly appearances vanished to nothing as soon as once he thought he had settled himself; His generous humour degenerated into Covetousness, and his good Government into a sort of Oligarchy, by his setting all Offices to Sale, winking at heinous crimes for reward, spoiling the Provinces and exhausting the wealth of his private Subjects. *Eusagrius* also, whom we lately heard playing the Oratour in his commendation, represteth himself as proceeding too far in his Panegyrick, telling us that as the Acts formerly mentioned were noble, worthy of *Anafastius* and the Majestie of an Emperour, so immediately after he did such things as blurr'd the lustre and stain'd the glory of the former. For, he devized another sort of Tribute called *Chrysotelia*, and to the great damage of the Empire, made Merchandise of the Souldiers wages together with other exactions. For he took from the Courts the usual exactiōn of Tributes, and in every City made those that were called *Vindices*, at the instigation, it was said, of *Marinus Syrus* his chief Minister in the Palace. Whence it came to pass that a great part of the publick Revenue was lost, and the reputation of Cities vanisched. Before that time the Names of Nobles were enred in the Registers of all Cities, which esteemed those that were made free of their Courts, and honoured them as a Senate. From a sense of this alteration in him, or upon other occasions, it came to pass, that even in the first year of his Reign a Sedition is said to have happened amongst the *Plebeians* at *Constantinople*, wherein the greatest part of the City and Cirque was burned, at which time it's also thought, that the most sumptuous Hospital of St. *Sampson* perished, as also that incomparable Church of St. *Sophia*, rebuilt afterwards in a more magnificant manner by *Julianian*. Vide Baron b. An.

Good Laws made in his first year, but none extant concerning the Consulship.

37. Now after we have heard Historians, and those little diligent, especially in Civil matters, it would be well if by any Edict or Constitution found in our Law Books, we could give testimony to what they write about his taking away the *Chrysargyrum*. One other Constitution indeed he made in his very first year, and relating to the Revenue, indulgent also to the subject, but nothing of that nature : "For in the first he Ordains that in all Dioceses and Provinces whatsoever hath possessed the Patrimonial lands of the Prince, those anciently belonging to Temples *L. ult. de fundis Patrimonialibus, Cad. Just. lib. 1. t. 61.*" or those called *Agonothetæ* or deputed to sports and pastimes of the Emperor *L. ult. de fundis Patrimonialibus, Cad. Just. lib. 1. t. 61.*" rour by combat, for the space of forty years, shall retain them, whether he hold them by a just or unjust title, or with paying the Canon, or without paying "it, for the said space of forty years, in the same way as before he held them. Nay we find by another Edict dated in this Consulship of *Olybrius*, "That all Actions, though they concerned the Publick, which were not limited by the term of thirty years, or under, should be excluded and extinguished by a prescription of forty ; a Constitution memorable in this respect of forty years, which therefore, he faith, he published, that he might cut off all opportunities of doing mischief. This his Edict was large, and in such general expressions, that this Prescription of forty years was pleaded by certain persons who by their originals *L. 1.5.6. ejusd. tit.* were bound to the service of the *Curia*, and by such as were indebted in publick payments, whom by two other Edicts he undiduced and confirmed their former obligations. We have nothing else of this year agreeable or contradictory to the story of *Eunapius* concerning the *Chrysargyrum*, which *Cedrenus* relates him to have taken away at the Importance of the Monks of *Jerusalem*, and upon occasion of *Zimachus Gazanus* a most wise man, his writing a Tragedy upon this subject.

38. The year following, or the CCCXCII. of our Lord is famous for little, except it be for the first Consulship of this Emperour, which he bore together with *Rufinus*. It's little more memorable for having one Constitution bearing date the first of March, whereby *Anastasius* forbud under severe penalties, "That any should usurp the Offices and Conditions of the Denote men (as he terms them) serving (*Militantes*) in the Sacred *Scrinium Memoriae*. But it also is said to have given original to the *Iaurian War* which continued five or six years, as severall relate, and as *Eunapius* writes was raised by *Longinus* the Brother of *Zeno*. This man, though he had been Competitor for the Sovereignty, he fent as was said into his own Countrey, and with so little Guard and Watch upon him, it seems, that he had opportunity to raise men and make great preparations, and the Bishop of *Apamea in Syria* joyned with him. But in the contest *Anastasius* had the better, and an end was put to the War, partly because the *Iaurians*, who joyned with *Longinus*, were utterly defeated, and partly, *Eunapius* says, because the Heads of *Longinus* and *Theodosius* were by *John a Scythian* sent to *Constantinople*, which Heads the Emperour caused to be set upon Poles over against the City in a place called *Syze* beyond the water, which was, he adds, a gratafull sight to the Citizens who had been formerly much plagued by *Zeno* and the *Iaurians*. Another *Longinus* surnamed *Selanius* (whom others make the same with *Zeno*'s brother, one of the Principal Conspirators) and another called *Judas* were sent alive, and with chains about their necks were led in triumph through the Streets and the Cirque, to the great rejoicing both of the Emperour and Citizens. By this means the Tributes called *Iaurian*, which had been paid yearly to the Barbarians, amounting to five thousand Pounds, were brought into the Emperour's Coffers.

*The Iaurian War.*

*Eunapius his story of its*

Not agreeable to later Writers.

39. Such is the Relation *Eunapius* gives us of these matters, wherein are some particulars which badly agree with the reflexions made on them by later Writers. For whereas he faith that the Heads of *Longinus* and *Theodosius* when set upon Poles were a delighfull spectacle to the Citizens of *Constantinople*; *Suidas* on the contrary writes, that the said *Longinus* the brother of *Zeno* for his profaneness was exceedingly beloved by the multitude ; and the Civil War or Tumult which *Marcellinus* hints to have happened at *Constantinople* against this Emperour in the third year of his Reign, and the Consulship of *Albinus* and *Eusebius* (though *Albinus* is named alone for this year by *Cassiodorus*) is therefore judged by \* *Baronius* to have \* *Quen vide ad h. Ann.* proceeded from this very cause, the Rabble being enraged that it's good Master and Patron was put by the Succession, which as well the Multitude as he himself, despised impatiently. But it seems the Multitude being without an Head, the Tumult came to nothing, though it flew to so sawcy height, that the Statues of Emperour and Empress were by Ropes tied to them dragged about the Streets. This Tumult probably happened at the *Circensian Games* : Yet it's said farther by *Marcellinus* that *Julianus a Magister Militia* fighting by night, was killed by the *Geticks sword in Thrace*.

40. Passing

40. Passing to the year CCCCXIII and the fourth of *Anastasius*, we find two Constitutions made by him, and little or nothing else of moment. Neither is the one of those of such concern here as we think it proper to mention it. By the other he obviates an abuse committed in those times against a wholesome and necessary law and custome. This was in time of want and necessity to impose the finding of Wheat, Oil, and other Species upon particular Provinces, as we have seen heretofore, which sort of Charity and Neighbourly course for one Member of the Empire to relieve another, some persons were so far industrions to evade, as to procure a Brief under the Emperour's hand, a *Pragmatic Sanction* or a *Judicial Decree* to that purpose. "This he so disapproved as to declare all such Licence should be void for the time to come ; and farther declared, that from such furnishing of necessaries, according to their proportion, none should pretend exemption, no not his own *Houfe*, or that of his most Serene Wife or Empress. The succeeding year is remarkable for nothing ; not for the Consulship of one *Viator*, though some joyn to him *Amilianus* as a Colleague. That following, or the CCCXCVI of our Lord, had one *Paulus* for Consul without a Colleague, and several Constitutions of *Anastasius* we find bearing date of it. We have formerly told the Reader how great Privileges, as to making Testaments, Souldiers enjoyed, so as no Solemnities were required of them therein, when in expedition. "Now there were some who attended on the *Magistri Militis* called *Scrinarii*, and *Apparitors* who executed their orders, and their names were alto entered into the *Matricula* or Muster-Rolls, being much of the nature with those who now call Secretaries to Generals, or great Commanders ; and those men as Souldiers pretended to the same Privileges as to making Wills. But such persons seeming, but not being Souldiers in reality, he declares that by no means they shall enjoy that Military Right by an Edict dated on the Ides of February.

41. By another bearing date of the last of April, he partly confirms and partly repeals a former made by *Leo* concerning the Infumation or Registering of Donations. "So far he confirms it as to Decree that they shall be infumated by the *Magister Census*, but whereas *Leo* permitted out of *Constantinople* in the Countryre Infumations also to be made by other Officers, he will have it as well in Countryre as in City by a *Magister Census* alone, under pain of twenty pounds of Gold, to be forfeited as well by them that receive, desire and procure such pretended Infumations, as also the *Tabelliones* shall give their testimony in no incompetent place and Judicatory. On the first day of the same Month, we meet with another Rescript directed to *Anthemius the Praefectus Praetorio*, as the other is to *Euphemius*, which we should have mentioned in the first place. By this he took care for his Revenue that it should not be diminished by Relevations or Relaxations of Impositions upon Cattel, too usually granted it seems at this time. If a Province or City petitioned for any such Relovation, or for an *Inspector* or *Perequator*, it should be by Petition referred to the Prince himself, and upon Oath first made ; and the *Praefectus Praetorio* should give no answser, but after fully having intrusted the Emperour, and by receiving a form from him, which was to be observed in all particulars. But he would not permit a private person to Petition for this Relovation of the Capitation of Animals ; a Corporation or Province might. Other matters transacted in reference to the Tributes he would not have valid without licence of the Prince himself had in Writing, under pain of making good to the Treasury all wherein it was dammified, and inflicting the fine of fifty pounds of Gold upon the breakers of the Law. And he ordains that all Fiscals Dues shall be paid in thrice, as also those called *Armeniacæ*, viz. on the first of January, the first of May, and at the end of the Indiction (which began in September) divided into three equal parts, without any innovation to be made by Collatours in the mean time. But because the Prestation of the *Armenian Tributes* was divided into two Pensions, they might, if they pleased, observe that Customs so as to pay them in two Pensions, and another half in the September of the next Indiction. But if they would pay in at three payments they should be respited the whole September of the future Indiction. But that called the *Beforesent*, should as it ought be paid in at the beginning of every Indiction, even as the very name imported. As by this Law he took care for his own Revenue, so by another in July following, that the Subject should not be harassed by Compulsors as to the payment of it ; but *Compulsors* he did allow after a time, which Officers were afterwards taken quiteaway.

42. The CCCXCVII year of our Lord had for Consul *Anastasius* the second time, and him alone. And we find him to have had so little of other Civil Employment.

D

*Anastasius A. 2. Conf.*

*L. 2. de bonorum possessione. Cod. Just. lib. 5. tit. 13.*

*L. 1. ut nemini licet, etc. Cod. Just. lib. 27.*

*L. 1. de Testamento Militis. Cod. Just. lib. 5. tit. 21.*

*L. 32. de Donati- bus. Cod. Just. lib. 8.*

*Per virum Clae- rissimum. Cod. Just. lib. 5. tit. 54.*

*L. ult. de Anno- nis & Tributis. Cod. Just. lib. 1. tit. 16.*

*L. ult. de exalte- ribus Tributis. Cod. Just. lib. 1. tit. 11.*

He ordains divers things in behalf of Advocates.

ment though with Ecclesiastical he busied himself too much; that he had leisure to give attention to the suggestions of his *Comes rei privatae*, and the Proconsul of *Asia*. “To these Persons had been prefected Petitions by the Advocates of their Courts, desiring that through the liberality of the Prince they might after the time of their Advocacy was expired, be honoured with some Dignity. This he granted, permitting that after their time was out, they should be esteemed and held in the rank of *Clarissimi*, and that of the first Rank or Order of *Comes*. This Privilege he granted to those Advocates at the end of this year, and being so kind to this Profession that by several other Constitutions he enlarged the Privileges also of those that belonged to other Courts, we shall here take notice of them together as they occur in the same title of the *Code*. Four years after he declared, “That such Advocates as belonging to the Court of the *Praefectus Praetorio of Illyricum* were promoted *pro tempore* to the degree and office of Advocate *cemb.* of the Treasury, should together with their Sons born and to be born, be loosed from all bonds and ties of a *Cobortalis* or any worse condition, together with their *Patrimonies*, in like manner as were free the Advocates of the *Praefectus Praetorio* of the East, and of the Prefect of the City. And he gives this reason to *Thomas Justinius* that these three *Praefectships* were *Germanae Potestates*.

43. Four years after this he declared by another Edict, “That the Primate of the Advocates belonging to the Court of the *Comes* of the East, should for two years execute the office of *Patronus Fisci*, or Advocate of the Treasury, and have the Emoluments. That the number of Advocates in that Court should be reduced to forty, so as those that were at present Supernumeraries, should not be rejected. That those who had discharged the Office of *Patronus Fisci* should not be prohibited to plead for themselves and near Relations, though it was against the Treasury itself. That their houses should not be subject to the *Metatus* or Quartering. That the *Sportula* paid for them, for their *Colonii* and Slaves should not be excessive, but according to a Table presented to the Emperor. That none should be added to their number till he had completed the time of Study prescribed by the Laws. That the sons of Advocates and of such as had executed the Office at the Treasury, whether alive or dead, should be preferred before Strangers coming to be admitted, provided they had finished their time of Studies, and that without any expence or Fees. That the Profits due should be acquired not only by such as had been Advocates of the Treasury, but if dead by their Heirs; that such Advocates should not be compelled to employments, molested with the burthen of exhibition without the Authority of the Prince specially intervening, and being sued should be cited by decree of the *Comes* of the East, if in his Province, before whom the cause should be heard as the competent Judge.

44. He was so great a favourer of these *Patroni Fisci*, or Advocates of his Treasury, that he was still adding new honours to them. For, the following year, being farther apprehensive of their merits, as sensible how both laudable and necessary the Office of an Advocate was, he Ordained, “That when in actual service they should be admitted, on the first of January of the year they served, to receive gifts among the *Comites spectabiles* of his Confidory. That after their laying down, if they had Legitimate Sons, they should be admitted amongst the *Clarissimi*, the Notaries, and receive the Letters, without Fees for moving it. That they should confess a Debt without any *Arbiter* before one or two of the present Advocates of the Treasury with the usual solemnity of Registering. So if they had a mind to declare any thing concerning their children, though no Instruments of Dowry had been drawn upon intention of Marriage. That before them Slaves might be manumitted as before the Glorious Consuls. And besides, he confirmed all other Privileges granted them by other Laws. These four Constitutions were directed to *Eusebius the Magister Officiorum*, to *Thomas the Praefectus Praetorio of Illyricum*, and to *Constantine* and *Euaschius* with the additions also of *P. P.* But of what Districts these two last were Prefects is not expressed; it seems the Advocates belonging to the Court of the President of the second *Syria* were not concerned in the former Edicts; for two years after we find them to have petitioned the Emperor that they might also be considered in the like fort. “And to them he granted the Privileges expressed in the third Constitution, reducing their number to that of thirty, so as the present Supernumeraries should also be considered. This is directed to one *Sergius* with the addition too of *P. P.* being, it's to be supposed, Prefect of the East, wherein was this Province of Second *Syria*.

And

*L. 1. de Advo-*  
*tis diversorum*  
*Judicium, Cod.*  
*Justit. lib. 2. tit. 8.*  
*Dat. 11. Cal. Jan.*

*L. 2. ejusd. tit.*  
*Dat. 12. Cal. De-*  
*cembris.*  
*Patritius & Hy-*  
*patici Cofi.*  
*non dubium*  
*in non tantum*  
*comitum etiam*  
*fidei germanae*  
*effe patentes.*

*L. 3. ejusd. tit.*  
*Dat. Cal. Jul.*  
*Sabinianus &*  
*Theodozio Cofi.*

*A. D. 505.*

And thus we thought fit to give the Reader a view of all the five together, because of the same subject, observing out of the third, that whereas the Primate of the Advocates is named, as also in the last; there was a distinction of Advocates, *Vide Annates in l. 1.* Primate being distinguished from the rest. Whereas also in the third Edict mention is made of the time appointed for Advocates to study the Law, it was at first four years, before which expired none were admitted to plead, and afterwards *Justi-*  
*nian* thought fit to enlarge the term to that of five.

45. The Year of our Lord CCCCXCVIII would be as barren of Intelligence as any other, if it were not for a Constitution directed to one *Polycarp a Praefectus Praetorio* on the first of April in the Confidory of *John* (*a Scythian* he is elsewhere called) and *Paulinus*. This Emperor *Anastasius* had by a certain Law formerly given right of Succession, in case of the death of a Brother or Sister Germans, to one who had been Emancipated, (by which Emancipation or discharge from the Paternal Power, a man was understood to be discharged as it were of the Family) so as he should succeed such Relations dying Intestate before all other Kindred. Now it was convenient and just that he who had the profit should also have the burthen, and therefore the Emperor now declared, “That such an Emancipated Brother should be called to be a lawfull Tutor or Guardian to Brothers and Sisters in their minority, without any excuse of such discharge from the Paternal Power, to be admitted. The ensuing year, or the CCCCXCIX, had for Consul one *John* sirnamed *Gibbus*, with whom some joyn *Alepius*, but without any good Authority. *Anastasius* having little of Civil business to attend, was wholly intent upon Church Affairs, and so bent to encourage Heretics, that as *Baronius* observes from the *Chronicon of Marcellinus*, he was this year chastised for so doing by the *Bulgarians*, who invaded and wasted *Thrace*. Against them marched one *Arius*, who commanded the Emperor's Forces in *Illyricum*, with fifteen thousand armed Men, and five hundred and twenty Waggon laden with Instruments necessary for Battel. A fight was fought near the River *Zarta*, where about four thousand of the *Romans* were cut off either in their flight or in falling from the Precipice of a Bank that had no Water running by it. And here the flower of *Illyricum* fell, *Nicopratius*, *Innocentius*, *Tancus* and *Aquilinus*, all *Comites*, being slain. To this los was added another, caused by a great Earthquake, wherewith the Country of *Pontus* was shaken. But *Anastasius* bought off and retrained the incursions of the *Bulgari* with a great sum of Gold.

46. We are now arrived at the year D. which is noted with the joint Confidory of *Patritius* and *Hypatius*, in which meeting with nothing else of Civil concernment, we search for Laws, and find two in the late Edition of *Justinian's Code* marked with this year, but dated in the Confidory of *John* and *Alepius*. The day of the date of both is the very first of the year, and that might give occasion to the mistake of placing them amis. They made up one Constitution, being directed on one and the same day to one and the same perfon, *viz. Antiochus the Praepotus sacri Caliculi*, and are both concerning the *Silentiarii*, their Privileges and Emoluments. By them he declares, “That those *Silentiarii* of his Palace who served (the word is *Militantes*) at his side (*circa latu*) shall be excused from Tuitions and Curations: That what they gen by this service, on *Militia* shall be enjoyed by them as a *Caffrense Peculum*, so as their Fathers, if alive, and their Heirs shall have no right unto it. That if they sell their places they shall enjoy all relating to the fale in the same manner. That their Sons, if they come to be adorned with the Dignity of *Comes spectabilis* or *Tribune* shall not if unwilling be compelled to be *Praetors*. And these Privileges he added, should be enjoyed not only by those in present service, but by such as should succeed them, and not only during the time of their service, but after they had laid down their places. As for the excusing them from Guardianships, he hints that they cannot attend the Affairs of other men, because through the attendance they give to him, they could not diligently manage the concerns of their own Families. But it's observable that he gives them but the title of *Clarissimi*, though elsewhere they have that of *Spectabiles*, but this variety was incident to many Officers, their Dignity being enlarged or diminished according to the pleasure of the prefeant Emperours, the Fountains of their Honour.

47. For the year Dl. *Anienus* and *Pompelius* were Consuls; *Anienus* was surnamed *Fautus*, had been ordinary Consul above ten years since, and was descended from the most noble family of the *Scipio's*, which *Baronius* obserueth to make him some return for his Orthodox and Pious demeanour toward *Symmachus the Roman Bishop*. And on the other side he obserueth concerning *Anastasius* the Emperor, that being of the contrary disposition, the people reviled him openly as an Heretick; and that he to punish

*L. 4. de legi-*  
*matis, Cod.*  
*Justit. lib. 5. tit. 20.*  
*Dat. Cal. April.*

*A. D. 492.*

*Johnannes Gibba*  
*Cofi.*

*A. D. 500.*

*Patritius & Hy-*

*patici Cofi.*

*L. ult. de exca-*  
*tationibus infor-*  
*matum, Cod. Just.*  
*lib. 2. tit. 62. & 63.*  
*L. ult. de Silen-*  
*tariis, Cod. Just.*  
*lib. 12. tit. 16.*

*A. D. 501.*

*Antonius & Pomp-*

*elius Cofi.*

The Bulgarians invading Thrace  
are bought off by Anastasius.

Cabades the Persian  
besieges Amida.

punish them as well for so doing, as to be revenged on them for favouring the Caule of *Longinus* and the *Sassians*, this year took that opportunity which while he was alive he dared not to doe, and caused them to be fall'n upon, while they beheld the *Spectacula* in the Theatre unarmed, with such Violence and Execution, that above three thousand were slain, besides such as got away wounded to their Housues.

One Constitution besides what we have already mentioned we find of this year (if not rather of the foregoing,) but merely belonging to the *Jus privatum*, *admissum, Col. A. D. 502.* *Anato. Jus. & Proba Cof.*

for now the *Bulgari* again invaded *Thrace* without any resistance. And he being accustomed to buy off the Barbarians for a Sum of Gold, diverted them from the Eastern Provinces to the West, where the year after they were defeated by *Theodoric* now King of *Italy*, who took *Syrnumium* and joyned it to that Countrey. This year also was *Amida* a strong Garrison of the *Romans* in *Mesopotamia* taken by *Cabades* the *Persian*, after a Siege of six months, by the Treachery of certain Monks. The occasion of it *Procopius* declares fetching the matter a little higher.

48. *Cabades* the present King of *Persia* became in Debt to the King of the *Ephthalites*, and not being able to pay it, he prayed the Emperour *Anastasius* to lend him the money.

The Emperour consulting with some about him, they dissuaded him from it, telling him how inconvenient it would be, if he should confirm with his money the Friendship of the Barbarians amongst themselves, and that it were better for his Concerns that they should ever clash with one another. Upon his refusall *Cabades* refolved to invade the *Romans*, and into *Armenia* he brought the first News himself with an Army. Having foraged the Countrey, he sate down though in the Winter before *Amida* a City of *Mesopotamia*, the Inhabitants whereof though they had no Garrison (as having lived before peaceably and quietly,) and wanted all manner of Provisions, yet stood out against the dangers and inconveniences of a Siege. At that time one *James a Syrian*, a just and very Religious man, had for many years been a Recluse, at a place distant from *Amida* but one days Journey, that so he might not be interrupted in his godly Contemplations. And those of the Neighbourhood, to be helping to his good intent, had pitched a Pale about him, with spaces wide enough only to see and confer with such as came to him, with a Roof to keep off from him Rain and Snow. And there he had long continued not yielding to Heats or Colds, feeding on Roots, and not of them every day, but fasting sometimes a good while together. Some *Ephthalites* ranging about the Countrey espied this *James* and offered to shoot at him, but their hands were suddenly benummed and they could not draw their Bows. *Cabades* hearing the report would himself be an Eye witness of the Miracle, and seeing it, was affounished as also those that were about him. He humbly besought *James* to pardon his men their offence, which he did at the first word, and they were instantly freed of their fears. *Cabades* then bad him demand something, thinking he would have asked some great Sum of money. But he prayed him only to bestow on him such men as in this War should come to him for Protection. Which *Cabades* granted, and left him Letters for their assurance. And the rumour being spread abroad, many from all parts came and were preserved.

49. But *Cabades* with his Rammes battered *Amida* on every side, and the Inhabitants avoided the strokes of those Engins by crois Beams, in such a manner that the Wall became impregnable, so strong were their Buildings in ancient times. Failing therefore this way, he raised Mount so high that it commanded the Wall. To this the Defendants drew a Mine from the Town, and by carrying out the Earth, from within the Mount made it hollow, the outside retaining still the form it had, and giving no suspition of any design to the Enemy. The *Persians* came upon it, thinking as upon firm Ground to Shoot into the Town; but company preffing upon it, the Mount sunk, and almost all perished. *Cabades* at this deffraied, and resolved to raise the Siege, commanding the Army the next day to retire. But the Townsmen, as now secure, stouted the Barbarians from the Walls, and some common Women drew up their Clothes, shewing *Cabades* those parts which should not be seen by men. Hereupon the *Magi* forbade his Retreat, assuring him that e'er long the *Amidenes* would shew him all their secret and hidden things. The Camp continuing in its former posture upon this their suggestion, some days after a *Persian* near one of the Turrets found the mouth of an old Vault, covered only with a few small Stones, he entered it alone in the Night, and when it was day made the matter known to *Cabades*, who, refolving not to loose the advantage, the

the Night following went with part of his Army and scaling Ladders to the place. The Turret was Guarded by Monks, (the strictest fort of Christians,) who that day obserued an Annual Feast, and being wearied in their Solemn Assembly, and having taken a greater proportion of Meat and Drink than usual, they perceived not the Enemy.

50. The *Persians* entered the Town by a few at a time, and ascending the Turret killed the Monks as they lay fast asleep. Then did *Cabades* set scaling Ladders to the Wall adjoyning to the Turret, and when day appeared the Besieged who guarded the next Turret, perceiving the danger they were in, hasted to the rescue. And after an hot Conflict they had the better of it, for killing many men that were already got up; they kept off those upon the Ladders, and were very near quit of the Danger. But *Cabades* drawing his Scimiter, forced his men up the Ladders, threatening Death to the comers down, and thereby overpowring the Defendants by numbers took the Town after eighty days Siege. Great slaughter was made till *Cabades* riding into the Town, his fury was awfaged by an old Priest of *Amida*, who told him that it was not Royally done to kill men now at his mercy. *Cabades* yet angry, demanded why then they would stand out against him? Because, Sir, replied the Priest, God would give you *Amida*, not by our wills, but your own Valour. *Cabades* pleased with this Reply, suffered no more Execution to be done, but permitted his Soldiers to sack the City and take Prisoners, of which he had the principal to himself. Then leaving in Garrison a thousand *Persians*, under one *Gloves*, and some wretched Citizens to serve them with necessaries; with his Prisoners he Marched home. Yet with the Prisoners he dealt very Princely, for he let them all go home free, and gave out that they ran away. *Anastasius* also dealt kindly with them, remitting to the Countrey their Tribute for seven years, and conferring many Benefits both upon the City and private men; so that they soon forgot the misery they had undergone.

51. But *Anastasius* having the News of the Siege of *Amida*, immediately dispatch'd away an Army against the Enemy. This Army was cheifly Commanded by *Arcobondus* General of the East, who Married the Daughter of *Olyrius* the late Western Emperour, *Celer* who Commanded the two Palatine Cohorts called by the *Romans Magister*, with *Patritius* the *Phrygian* and *Hypatius* the Emperour's Sisters Son, who Commanded the two Legions in *Constantinople*. These were accompanied by *Justin*, who was Emperour after *Anastasius*, by *Patriciolus* and *Vitalianus* his Son, who afterwards rebelled against *Anastasius* *Pharasmenes* of *Colchos* an excellent good Souldier, with *Godisclus* and *Stefas Goths*, both Gallant men and expert Souldiers, who followed not *Theodoric* into *Italy*. Of this Army *Procopius* affirms that so brave one went not against the *Persians* before nor after to his time. The Prefect of Provisions was *Appian an Egyptian*, a principal *Patritian* and Valiant, whom the Emperour declared his Partner in the Empire by Codicills, that he might have absolute Authority in the expence of the Army, which Marched not together, but each of the four Commanders led his own Forces. They found the Enemy gone home with his Spoils after the taking of *Amida*, which now they would not Besiege hearing it to be furnished with all Necessaries, but made an Impression into the Enemies Countrey, Marching not in one Body, but encamping severally. *Cabades* being near and having notice, entred the *Roman* Borders with his whole Army, which being understood by *Arcobondus*, though at first they thought he had with him but some small party, he quitted his Camp and ran to *Constantina* a City distant two days Journey. The Enemy took the Camp and Baggage without any men, and thence with speed went to the Quarters of *Patritius* and *Hypatius*, who having met with eight hundred *Ephthalites*, who were marching before the *Persian* Army, had killed them all; and not dreaming of the Army with *Cabades* were making merry like Conquerours, laying down their Arms and preparing for Dinner. Some wathed their Meats in the adjacent Brook, and others troubled with heat were bathing themselves, which made the Water run foul.

52. *Cabades* having heard of the ill fortune of his *Ephthalites*, Marched apace toward the Enemy, and by the thicknes of the Water gheft at the matter, and that the *Romans* were unprepared. And commanding to drive on with full speed, he came upon them at Dinner and Unarmed; and being so suddenly surprized, and not able to abide the charge, they ran away without making resifence. Some were overtaken and slain, others fled to a Mountain, and for fear leaped down the Rocks, not one of them escaping. This done, *Cabades* standing in fear of his Enemies the *Hunnes*, who now invaded his Territories, went home with his whole Army,

The Romans in  
vade Persia.

Some are deafe-  
ted by Cabades.

Army, and had a long War with them upon his Northern Borders. In the mean time the other Roman Forces came, for *Celer* was not before this Defeat come up to the rest; but they did nothing, having no Commander in chief, and the Generals with their Equality of power ever crossing one another in their opinions. *Celer* passed the River *Nymphaeus*, which ran by *Martyropolis*, and was distant from *Amida* thirty five miles, and having foraged the Country went departed home. The Emperor sent for *Areobodus* to *Constantinople*, and the rest sate down before *Amida* in Winter, where failing to be Conquerours, they resolved to force the place by Famine. The Befigged did really want proviscons, but the Roman Generals knowing it not, and seeing the Souldiers weary of a Winter Siege, imagining also that the *Perfian* Army would e'er long return, made haste some way to ride and be gone. The *Perfians* also were doubtfull of their condition in these straits, though they concealed their wants, and made shew of plenty, but they desired they would make some handlime Retreat. In conclusion, an Agreement was made, that the *Perfians* for ten Centenaries of Gold should surrender the City. The Articles were performed, and the Son of *Gloves*, who was slain in an Ambush by the Treachery of a Peasant that betrayed him, receiving the money gave up *Amida*. He was vexed that he could not stay to revenge his Father's Death, but burnt the Church of St. *Simeon* where he Lodged. Other Buildings neither *Cabades* nor *Gloves* nor any *Perfian* defaced in *Amida*, nor about it.

53. Thus the *Romans* recovered *Amida* by money, two years after the taking of it. Being got within it, their own negligence appeared, and the abfemousneſſeſ of the *Persians*. For it was found by confidering the quantity of the Viſtuſls left, and the Barbarians that went out, that not above ſeven days Provision was remaining; yet *Gloves* and his Son had delivered it out to the *Persians* more sparingly than their need could well endure, and to the *Romans* in the Town nothing at all, fo that they were forced to Eat unusual Food and abominable, and at laſt one another. The Generals finding themſelves thus deceived by the Barbarians, reproached the Soldiery for their Intemperance and Diſobedience, who having it in their power to take the Town with all the *Persians* in it at mercy, had diſhonourably parted with the *Roman* Treasure to Barbarians, and gotten *Amida* as ſome Merchaudize for money. But afterward the War with the *Hunnes* growing long, the *Persians* made a Truce with the *Romans* forfeve years, which was concluded by *Celer* on the part of the *Romans*, and by *Aspevedes* on that of the *Persians*. And fo ended this War about *Amida*, but ſomething farther happened betwixt the *Romans* and *Persians* in the Reign of *Anafafus* concerning the *Caspian* Gates, ſo called; which Gates deſcribed, and the matter it ſelf you shall have from the Relation also of *Procopius*.

54. The Mountain *Taurus* of *Cilicia* passeth first by *Cappadocia*, then *Armenia* and *Persarmenia*, *Albania* and *Iberia* with other Nations that way, then either free or subject to the *Perfons*. Extending thus through many Countries, the farther it goes it grows to a greater height and breadth. But beyond *Iberia* you come to a narrow place, reaching some five Miles, and ending at a steep one unpassable, where for the way out, Nature hath built a kind of Gate, anciently called the *Caspian Gate* or *Straits*; beyond which were then fair Champions well watered, and large Plains for Horses Pasture, where were seated the Nations of the *Hunnes*. These *Hunnes* extended to the lake of *Mæotis*, and passing the Straits in their Inroads into the *Roman* or *Persian* Provinces, came with their Horses freighthand lusty, not fetching a compass about, nor being ingaged in ragged places, those five miles into *Iberia* excepted; whereas such as took other paflages arrived with much toil, and could not make use of the same Horses, having been forced to many circuits and craggy ways. *Alexander the Great* considering this, built Gates there indeed, and by them a Fort, which through the Hands of many Owners came at length to *Ambazulus* a *Hunne*, a friend of the Emperour *Anastasius*. This man now grown old and near his End, offered to *Anastasius* for money to put the *Romans* in possession both of the Gates and of the Fort.

Published by G. & C. ~~baculus~~ soon after Died, and *Cabades* forcing our Sons, possessed himself of the *baculus*.  
*Anastasius* also after the Truce with *Cabades*: was expired, built a very strong City at a place called *Daras*, distant from *Nisibis* about twelve miles, and from the *Perſian* Frontier three miles and an half at moſt, and named it *Anastasias*. This

**Others return  
having done lit-  
tle.**

*Amida* recovered by money

## Dishonourable

A Truce for se-  
ven years,

## The Caspian Gates.

## CHAP. I. *The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire.* Anastasius.

This building the *Persian* desired to hinder but could not, having his Hands full of the *Husses*; but this War being once over, he expostulated with the Emperour for Building so near his Confines as contrary to the Articles of Peace. *Anafafius* put it off, sometimes threatening, sometimes pretending friendship, but especially by large presents. Another City also he Built upon the frontier of *Persemania*, which before had been a Village, and from *Theodosius* was called *Theodosia*. *Anafafius* compassed it with a strong Wall a little before his Death, which no less than the other troubled the *Persians*, being both as Rampiers upon his Country.

56. For the year of our Lord DIII *Dexteratus* and *Volutianus* were Consuls. In this year was the Defeat given by the *Perfian* King to the *Roman* Commanders late mentioned. While they managed their matters unsuccessfully abroad, *Anastasius* at Home managed a War against the Orthodox Christians. But he employed his *Quæstor* in making Edicts in behalf of Emancipations that such as were emancipated by the Reckipt of the Prince shoud enjoy the usual Privileges of Decifent as did other Children, which still continued under paternal power in the Family, contributing their own goods, and shoud also succeed their Brothers dying intestate. These things he enacted by one Constitution divided now, according to the Contents of it, into three severall Laws by the Compilers of *Justinian's Code*. For they have all the same Incription, and all bear date in *July*, though a little alteration there be in the numbers of the days before the Calends of *August*. Of the following year we have nothing here to observe, but that it is marked with the Confuslion of *Cetetus* alone, for which *Baronius* would have *Cetegus* to be read, which was a *Roman* Name. Of which a famous Senator flourished at this time, to whom are Letters found directed from *Ennodius Ticinensis* or of *Pavia*.

57. The year DV. was signalized by the Confuslhip of *Theodorius* and *Sabinianus*. *Vide Baron ad Ann.* The former was surnamed *Mantius*, and being Namefack too is also reported to be *hunc Ann.* descended from that *Theodorius Mantius* or *Mellius* of whom we have so much spoken when Conful, in the Second Volume of this Work. Whereas *Theodorich* who had obtained the Kingdom of *Italy* had along time had for his friend *Anastasius*, at least as some have believed; now they began to be at *opera Enmity*, and its said that this year the Empire was invaded by the *Goths*, under Conduct of one *Mundo* by this Designment, and that *Sabinianus* the Conful being sent against him was defeated, and having lost his Army he himself escaped with a few. The year next ensuing had *Messala* Conful at *Rome* and *Arebundus* at *Constantinople*, and presents us with nothing of civil Concernment though too much of Ecclesiastical, the Emperour concerning himself so far in behalf of Schismatical Persons, that he gave great offence by such his carriage to the People of *Constantinople*. And the year which followed wherein he himself the third time, and *Venantius Decius* were Confuls, we are told things grew to such extremity in the City, that the People fell into a Sedition in the Cirque, where usuall meeting to behold the Sports they were always wont to use licentious freedom toward the Emperours.

58. The year of our Saviour DVIII was known by the Confulship of *Venantius Jun.* & *Celer.* Now were the Differences betwixt *Anastasius* and *Theodoric* *Venantius Jun.* & *Celer.* *Cels.* King of Italy grown into open Enmity. For *Theodoric* endeavoured to get into his hands *Pannonia* which was accounted to belong to the Eastern Empire. And *Anastasius* sent out a Fleet against him, under the Conduct of *Romanus* the *comes Domesticorum*, and *Dafscus* who Commanded the *Schola*, on board of which were eight thousand Armed men. They proceeded as far as *Tarentum*, which they attacked and wafted the Coasts of *Italy*, and so *Romanus* having exercised Piracy against the *Romans*, brought home their Plunder to *Anastasius*. He might be encouraged to this undertaking by the Absence of *Theodoric*, who this year Warred against the *Franks in Gall.* The year DIX had *Importunus* for Conful, and in the West it's thought, being the same with him whom *Theodoric* advanced to the Degree of *Patrician*, being of the ancient Family of the *Decii*. The year that followed was enabled by the Confulship of *Boetius*, that excellent Perfon of whom we have much to say in the History of the *Italian* Kingdom. Of these years little elfe of Civil Concernment do we find in the East, only that the *Saracens* Subject to the *Perfians*, wasted *Arabia* and *Palestine*, while *Anastasius* made great stir at *Constantinople* about Religion, and distresed thoſe of the Orthodox Party which made the people turbulent and ſeditious. The year DXI is for nothing eminent, except it be for the Confulship of *Felix* and *Secundinus*; which *Felix* was a *Gall* by Nation, and was promoted to this Dignity by *Theodoric* as we may fee hereafter.

59. The year D XI. had for Consuls *Paulus* and *Musciarus*; and nothing is it remarkable for, except a Tumult and Sedition of the Citizens of *Constantinople* against the Emperour upon the account of Religion, and his acting still against the Orthodox Christians. And the same we hear of him in that following which was characterized with the Confuslion of *Probus* and *Clementinus*, as the *Chronicon* of *Cassiodorus* hath it, though some call him *Clementianus*. And for the next ensuing, the Authour of that *Chronicon* himself, or *M. Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator*, the great Minister of *Theodoric* attained to this Dignity, of whom much is to be said in the History of that Kingdom of the Goths. Here it is only proper to observe that he was Consul alone, having no Colleague out of the East, though in the East the *Roman Empire*, and consequently the Consulship could only properly be found. All the reason that can be given for this is, that the disturbances about Religion were so great at *Constantinople*, that *Anastasius* had other things to doe, than to think of conferring this titular Dignity. These stirrs arrived at so great an height, that the Orthodox Bishops were expelled from their Sees, and in their places were Heretics preferred by the Emperour, against whom it is observed by *Baronius*, that God Almighty ruffed up *Vitalianus a Scythian*, as *Marcellinus* calls him, who gathering together such *Roman* Horse as he could raise in three days time, came as far as the place called *Septimus*, and encamped himself. There disposing of his men from Sea to Sea, he proceeded as far as the Golden Gate of *Constantinople* without any iofs, affirming he came to assert the Orthodox Faith, and to succour the Bishops of the City, unjustly banished by the Emperour.

60. Yet by the dissembling and perjuries of *Anastasius*, managed by one *Theodorus* whom the Emperour employed, he was prevail'd with to leave the City the eighth day after he came thither; though as *Cedrenus* writes, having seized on all *Thrace*, *Scythia* and *Mygia*, he had following him an Army of *Hunes* and *Bulgari*, and had taken many Cities together with *Cyril* the Gouvernor of *Thrace*. But *Anastasius* being in a desperat condition begged Peace, and swore that together with the Senate he would restore the Banished Bishops to their Sees, and call a Council. *Marcellinus* relates that *Vitalianus*, departing from *Constantinople*, got by craft unto *Odysseus* a Town of *Thrace* in the night time, and there caught *Cyril*, who was more talker than fighter, sleeping betwixt two Whores, and there killed him; after which he shewed himself an open Enemy to *Anastasius*. But *Eusegius* makes this enmity to have been rather, for that *Vitalianus* affected the Sovereignty. He writes that being a *Thracian* with such a design he wafted *Thrace* and *Mygia* as far as *Odysseus* and *Anchialus*, and hasted to *Constantinople* with a mixed multitude of such Nations as were wont to wander about without any fixed habitations. That the Emperour sent *Hyppatius* against him, who was taken Prisoner and ransomed with a great sum of Money. After him *Cyril* undertook the charge, and at first they fought doubtfully, till *Cyril* so besirrified himself that he put the Enemy to flight, and had the better of it; but *Vitalianus* rallying his men, turned back against him, and his Souldiers forsaking him by reason of their ill will to him, he took him in *Odysseus*. After this *Vitalianus* made excursions asfar as *Syce*, and wafted all with Fire and Sword, having no other thoughts but to destroy *Constantinople* and to obtain the Empire.

61. Having encamped himself at the place called *Syce*, the Emperour sent against him *Marius Syrus* with a Fleet, because it seems his strength lay at Sea, and the Navies faced each other, one toward *Syce*, and the other toward *Constantinople*. And at first they only faced and viewed each other, but at length began to play and give the chace as it were in jest, till it came to a Battel in good earnest, fought near *Byzane*. Herein *Vitalianus* was forced to turn tail, and having lost many men, in great fear and astonishment fled, which example of his they followed, which had fought for him; insomuch that the next day not one of them could be found either in the passage, or about the City. The report went that *Vitalianus* himself for some time lay quiet in *Anchialus*. To this Narration *Engrinus* adds that another sort of Barbarians who lived without Houses, passed the Sea, and made an Incursion to the *Pyle* or Gates of *Cappadocia*. And at the same time *Rhodes* was now the third time miserably shattered with an Earthquake happening in the night, and was almost destroyed. So briefly doth this Historian write concerning this War betwixt the Emperour and *Vitalianus*, attributing it to the ambition of a Rebel, and not to any Religious concern; for which *Baronius* leaveth him and follows the account given him by *Marcellinus Comes* in his *Chronicon*, who digests the several particulars he relates according to the years wherein they were done.

## **Disturbances about Religion."**

## *Vitalianus his attempts and design . . .*

Variously re-  
ported.

He is worsted  
at Sea.

## CHAP. I. *The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire.* Anastasius.

**Still active.**

62. The year of our Saviour DXV. had *Anthemius* and *Florentius* for Consuls. This year *Vitalianus* (in behalf of the Catholick Faith say they) became more fierce against *Anastasius*. He sent before a Party of Horse, and some Boats by Water, and he himself with his Foot entred a place called *Praedium Sixtinense*, where he took up the Palace for his Mansion. Now were sent unto him Senators to make a peace. As a Ranforne to *Hypatius* he received ninety pounds of Gold, the Emperour's gifts excepted, besides one thousand and one hundred pounds he had when *Uranus* was taken Prisoner. Being made *Magister Militum in Thrace*, he sent back *Hypatius*, whom he had kept in Chains in a Castle called *Acre*, to his Uncle. To these conditions *Baronius* as an Ecclesiastical Historian adds, that at Oecumenical Council should be called; of which we are not here to give an account. This year also died *Ariadne* the Empress, having passed at Court no fewer than sixty years, and them to the great detriment of the Church, as is observed. Moreover this same year was famous for Wars and devastations, for the *Hunnes* roved through *Armenia*, and wasting all *Cappadocia*, proceeded as far as to *Lycania*. The next that followed, which was characterized with the Consulship of one *Peter* without a Collegue, was passed over without any considerable thing but what relates to the Ecclesiastical Historian. Only *Anastasius* for fear of *Vitalianus* and his Orthodox Army dissembled greatly, and commanded certain Bishops, whom he had formerly banished, to return to their Sees. But when upon his dissimulation *Vitalianus* retired, and he now seemed to be secure; *Baronius* judgeth of him, that as having obtained a glorious Victory, and the Rebel being conquered not by Arms but cunning; the Bishop of *Rome*, being also cheated as to the hope he had of Ecclesiastical concord, the year following he erected it as were a Trophy, and took the Title of Consul; which Title he now bore the fourth time. And to him was given one *Agapitus* a Collegue for the West.

63. He had but a small time to reap the fruits of his conceived Victory, and to pride himself in his triumph, though what time he had, we are told he improved to the advantage of his own and the perfection of the Orthodox Party. This Persecution is said to have proceeded so far, as that it entered into the very Court, where under pretence of a Plot against the Emperour, the throats of many eminent Persons were cut, and *Justin* with *Justinian* his Nephew; both of them famous at home and abroad, were hardly preserved by a terror struck from Heaven into him : For *Zonaras* reports, that when he designed to put them to death, a terrible man appeared to him in a dream, and bade him doe them no harm ; for each of them in his time should serve God. *Eunagris* relates how the people of *Constantinople* being tumultuous against him upon the account of Religion, and for banishing their Bishop *Macedonius*, notonly the Nobility came into extreme danger, but many excellent Buildings were burnt, and barbarous murthers being committed, the flame of Sedition raged so far, as bringing all things into danger , the Emperour by necessity was driven to commiseration. He put off his Crown and came to the Cirque, sending Criers before him to proclaim to the people, That *He was most ready to lay down the Sovereign Power, but all of them could not be placed in that Dignity, which could receive but one who must Reign after him.* The People beholding him suddenly chang'd it's opinion as from a Divine admonishment, and intreated *Anastasius* to resume his Crown, promising upon that condition to be quiet. *Anastasius* after this lived but a very short time, dying when he had governed the Empire twenty seven years, three months, and as many days.

64. But as he lived an impenitent Perfecourte, he did not depart this World without terrible notice given of his dismal end, the same Ecclesiastic a Writers observe. *Marcellinus* relates that in the Province *Dardania* twenty four Castles were ruined by an Earthquake in one moment. Of these, two fank down with the Inhabitants; of four was destroyed one half, and also of those that were in them; of eleven the third part of the Buildings were undermined, and also a third part of the people lost; and seven, by being ruined, a fourth part, with a losf of a fourth part of those that inhabited them, struck a great terror into the Neighbourhood. *Supus* the Metropolis was utterly defaced, though without the destruction of its Citizens who had formerly left it, flying from the Enemy. Many of the Mountains of this Province were by this Earthquake cloven in funder, Rocks were rent, and Trees being torn up by the roots, a great hole was made thereby. In a certain Castle of the Region called *Canisa*, by name *Sarmonto*, the Veins of the Earth were so burften, that the Earth vomited abundance of Water. They recount from *Zonaras* another Dream *Anastasius* had after the discharging of *Julian* and *Justinian*, how again he saw a terrible Man in his sleep, who holding a Book in his hand

*Anathasis persicae*  
watch the Orthodox.

A grievous  
Earthquake pre-  
ceding his death.

Which was before  
told by Proclus,

hand, said, *Look, for the perverseness of thy Faith I blot out fourteen years of thy life.* And to this *Cedrenus* adds, that when he awoke he told his dream to *Anastasius* his *Fræpofitus Cubiculi*; who let him know that he had also dreamt, that standing by him the Emperour, there came a great Hog and plucking him down by his cloathes devoured him. Upon this *Proclus* the Fortune-teller came and declared that both of them in a short time should depart this life.

65. But as for this *Proclus* he was not, as appears from *Zonaras*, a mere Fortune-teller, but the greatest Mathematician of thind many other Ages. He was famous as well for Philosophy as Mechanick knowledge. He not only understood all that was known by that famous Artist *Archimedes*, but he himself found out some new things; for by him was invented that Engine which defeated the Fleet of *Vitalianus*. This was made of Looking-glasses, which being hung upon the wall over against the Navy, reflected the Sun beams with such violence upon it, that it burnt both Navy and the Men that were upon it, which yet *Dion* reported *Archimedes* to have invented, when the *Romans* besieged *Syracuse*. But that you may see what intimate friends *Anastasius* had, and what company he kept. *Baronius* farther tells you out of *Suidas* concerning this *Proclus*, that he was a *Lycian*, the Scholar of *Syrianus*, and an Hearer also of *Plutarch* the Philosopher, the Son of *Neflorius*. That being himself a *Platonick* Philosopher he was overseer of a Philosophick School at *Athens*, where *Anastasius* endeavoured to restore the Academy. That his Disciple and Successour was said to be *Marinus* the *Neopolitan*. And afterwards reckoning up his Writings, he adds, that he wrote eighteen arguments against Christians; that this is that *Proclus* who next to *Porphyrinus* whetted his impure and contumelious tongue against Christians. But *John* the Philosopher most famouly refuted his Propositions, and shewed him to be rude and unskillful in Greek Learning, for which he had a great name. But at this time (that they may not be confounded) lived also another *Proclus* far different from the other, a man most abstinent, and tenacious of the ancient Decrees, the *Quæstor* of the Emperour *Jaslin*.

66. It had been, its said, told to *Anastasius* that he should die by Thunder. To avoid this he caused to be made a Building, which *Baronius* justly termeth a mad Work, whereby he hoped to avoid the danger; and *Proclus* the Philosopher and Mathematician he thinks to have been Author of it, which is probable enough; but let us hear how the end foretold him was brought about. It Thundering and Lightning exceedingly, he was terrified, and went down from one Room into another; and passed from this Chamber into that, but was found dead in his Apartment. Having been told he should die by Fire, he opened a Cistern in the Palace with many windings and turnings, at each of which a Vessel was placed; endeavouring by this means to evade the Oracle, but to no purpose. Such was his end, as it is told by *Zonaras* and *Cedrenus* the later Greek Writers, though *Euagrius* speaks nothing of this manner of it, after he had reigned twenty seven years, three months, and twenty nine days, as say some; though as others, three days over and above twenty seven years and three months. His memory was very odious upon the account of his favouring Heresie, and persecuting the Orthodox Bishops; so as his name, together with that of his Predecessour *Zeno*, are said to have been struck out of the Sacred Diptychs. As for Civil matters we have seen how he took away the *Chrysargyrum*, though it's said he brought up another as severe an Imposition. *Euagrius* farther Writes, as to the good things of his Reign, and his commendation, that the Barbarians called *Secuita*, that sort of *Saracens* (because they lived in Tents) being grown arrogant, rose up against the *Roman* Empire to their own los. They overran *Melopotamia*, both the *Poenicia*'s and *Palestine*, but being grievously beaten by the Commanders in the Provinces made a peace with the *Romans* in the name of all their Nation and then were quiet. In reference to these matters, the *Persian* War about *Amida* and other affairs, its pity that the History of *Eufathius* is lost, which is so far commended by *Euagrius*, that he tells his Country-men, that if any of them had a desire to have a perfect account of them, and to get an accurate knowledge, they should reade that Writer, who with great Eloquence, vast labour and exquisite Elegancy, brought down his Narration to the twelfth year of the Reign of *Anastasius*, and then died.

67. Whether *Euagrius* had it from him or others, he adds that the *Persian War* Lib. 3. c. 26. &c. being over, he built the place called *Daras* (some said from *Darius* his being there utterly overthrown by *Alexander*) in *Mesopotamia*, being situate in the utmost borders of the *Roman* Empire, and as it were the terminus or boundary by which that and the *Persian* Kingdom were distinguished. From a field he changed it in

to

*His Buildings.* to a City. First he compassed it with a most strong wall; then he raised various Structures in it, and thole very goodly, as Churches and other Houles, Royal *Porticus*'s, publick Baths, and such like Works, wherewith famous Cities were wont to be adorned. Farther, this same Emperour was the Authour of a vast structure being an memorable work as any other, and this was the long Wall raised in a convenient place in *Thrace*. It was distant from *Constantinople* at moft two hundred and eighty furlongs. Both Seas, like to fome Strait, it fronted for four hundred and twenty furlongs, and made the City almost an Island from a *Peninsula*; and it conveyed those who had a mind to fai from *Pontus* to the *Propontis* and the Sea of *Thrace* with great security. In conclusion, saith he, it repels such Barbarians as make excursions from the *Euxine* Sea, from *Colchis* and the *Scens of *Mæotis**, as also such as should invade from the places beyond *Caucasus* and from *Europe*. Thus much doth *Euagrius* write concerning the long Wall, which is to be taken notice of, because that in the course of the *Byzantine* History frequent mention is made of it.

*His Character.* 68. As for the general demeanour of *Anastasius*, it's to be feared that the Ecclesiastical Historians are much in the right, though someting be to be allowed to interest and paliion. Of all other testimonies they may well have moft reason to cite what *Suidas* hath written of him, to make good the very evil character they give him. He tells of him that changing for the worse, after some things well performed at the beginning of his Reign, he turned the whole Empire into a kind of Aristocracy. That he sold all Offices of Magistracy, and pardoned Offenders for Money, with an infatiate desire after which he burned. Thence came it to pass that the Military Rolls being exhausted, the Provincials were plagued with things unwonted and Foreign. For he never drove away the Barbarians by force of Arms, but still would redeem Peace with money. Besides this he made enquiry into the Estates of deceased persons, and brought common poverty upon all. To such as he had deprived of their livelihoods, a little after he would be charitable as it were by giving them someting back again. Places that he had made void of Inhabitants he would adorn by repairing their Structures, especially he was kind to his own native place, which he compassed as it were with three Crowns. Under him the Cities of *Libya* were grievously afflicted by those they called *Larici*, for he set over them *Marinus*, his Nephew by his Daughter, one that was young and of a light disposition; and after him *Bassianus* his Son, who exceeding his Predecessour in naughtiness, it happened that the Provincials wifhed for their former condition again, when they remembred what slaughter and spoils they had undergone: So *Suidas* sets him out. But there remains someting more to be said, which will give light to discover the Constitution of the State, if not of the Prince himself, for we have feveral other Laws extant in the Code which bear his name, though they be without day or Conful, and so cannot be certainly affigned to any particular years; we shall make mention of such of them as relate to the Government and the *jus publicum* of the *Roman* Empire.

69. And the first Law we meet with of this sort without Conful or day, is for removing a grievance in the Government proceeding from the Emperours Orders, often surreptitiously and fraudulently obtained. Complaints being urgent upon this account, by an Edict directed to *Matronianus a Praefitus Praetorio*, "he admounish-  
"ed all Judges throughout his Domains that they should suffer no *Refrift*, no  
"Pragmatic Sanction, no Sacred Adnotatiōn, which was againt the general Law,  
"or publick utility to be made uile in the canvasing of any cause; in the mean  
"time not doubting but they were strictly to observe the general Sacred Con-  
"stitutions. Now for an understanding of these feveral terms, *Refrift* was a gen-  
eral one. Of *Refrifts* some were Law and some were not, some were Personal and some were General, some were Temporary and others Perpetual, some were of Force and some not. More particularly a Pragmatic Sanction was solemnly made concerning the judgment of Council at the petition of some other Peron. An *Adnotatiōn* was made briefly, the name of the Prince being noted or written *adnotatio*, to the Petition. That they termed an *Oraculum* was some simple command sub-  
noted by the *Quæstor* alone, or the *Magistris Scriniorum*. A *Mandatum* was given about a Suggelton or a Petition. But as for general Constitutions made to bind all; as this whereof we now write, they being better and of more weight than simple *Refrifts* were to be obeyed.

70. By another of this sort directed to one *John* who was *Magister Militum* L. 4. de officiis through *Ilyricum*, "He forbade Souldiers to be removed from one place to another. *Magistris Militum* cum. Cod. Iust. lib. 1. tit. 22.  
But if it happened that there was some urgent and necessary cause, then he tells him

E 2.

He refrained  
the Cessation.

" him the *Prætorian Praefecture*, and his See, (*viz.* of the *Magister Militum*) ought <sup>Tam ampli-</sup>  
" to provide for the publick utility and security without delay, and send to the Em-<sup>perorum Prae-</sup>  
" perour their suggestions, which should declare as well the places from which the <sup>rum, quoniam tuum</sup>  
" Souldiers should be removed, as those in which they were to quarter, and the <sup>fides, &c.</sup>  
" names of the most valiant *Numeri*, in which the said Souldiers were listed;  
" withhold, the quantity of their *Annonæ*, and especially the cause why they should  
" be removed, that after such suggestion, he might give such orders as he should  
" judge convenient. This also was remarkable and prædict-worthy in *Anastasius*,  
" that he restrained a course which procured great vexation in Law matters, where-  
" by a Suit was told or made over for consideration to one who otherwife was a stran-  
" ger to the *Action*, and this was called *Cessio actions*: This he forbade, except in  
certain cases; and *Justinian* afterward coming to consider of it approved of this  
Constitution first, then regulated the cases wherein *Cession* was permitted, and in  
conclusion would have it absolutely to take place, only in case it was made  
for Donation sake, and for the cause of mere liberality, without disimu-  
lation.

He caused Emancipated persons to be *Curatores* at other Sons.

71. We have formerly seen how kind *Anastasius* was to Emancipated Sons in giving them right to succeed as other Children, though by being out of the Paternal power, they seemed also out of the family. But as he gave them the profit and advantage, he seemed herein unequal that he did not also impose the usual burthens upon them. And this it seems to clamoured, that he found it convenient to satisfy the Subject herein by an Edict directed to the People it self, wherein taking notice of his omission, he decrees that according to the Law of the twelve Tables they should be *Curatores* or Guardians to their Brothers and Sisters that were distracted, as *Legitimi*, or such as were *Tutours* and *Curatores* as nearest a-kin. For of those persons which governed the persons and estates of Infants and others not able to govern themselves, the *Romans* had three sorts, either such as Parents assigned by Testament, or such as they called *Legitimi*, who were by the Law of the twelve Tables of course to take this charge as the next a-kin; or *Datiarii*, which were given and assigned when the other failed by the *Pretor* or other Magistrate. The reason of the custome was to protect and assist those who were not able to help themselves; and this inability proceeded not only from Infancy or Minority, but also from madnes and distraction, by which diseafe they were rendered as infirm and helpless, and in a worse condition than the other; because the prevalency of a diseafe is very dangerous, whereas nature outgrows the infirmities of Infancy or Minority. And because *Justinian*, *Instit. lib. 1. tit. 23.*

72. But such was the care the *Roman State* had of its Members, that not only such as could not, but also some that would not, had also *Curatores* assigned them to take care of their Affairs. And that this is the meaning and sense of this Law is also concluded, the Title in the Book being concerning the *Curatour* both of a Mad-man and of a Prodigal, and as to Emancipated Brothers the reason was the same. And the *Roman Law* esteemed a Mad-man and a Spendthrift to be very little different in their intellectuals, both being acted by distempers and those of the imagination, which produce very suitable effects, though the Prodigal hath not the excuse from vice and sin which may be pleaded for the other. Now he was esteemed a *Prodigus* who neither had any measure nor end of his expences, but tore in pieces and dissipated his Estate. Some indeed are of opinion that nothing expressly was ordered by the Law of the twelve Tables concerning such anone, but that by way of Interpretation it was so taken. But *Justinian* in his Institutions ex-  
*Vide Vinnius com. in Instit.*

into and pronounced to be a Spendthrift by the Magistrate. Now he who is such an one indeed as we have described him, is in reality and morally a Prodigal, forasmuch as virtues and vices do not depend on man's knowledge, approbation or censure, but have their own forms and nature. But yet as to what concerns the management of Estates, no man Politically and with effect of Law ought to be accounted a Prodigal, till such management upon hearing the matter be taken from him by Decree of the Magistrate. For the depriving one of the management of his Estate, or an interdiction, is not properly of Law but of Jurisdiction; that is, the Law doth not specially and particularly interdict any one the government of his concerns, nor can interdict him, but it in general commands that all shall be interdicted their Estates by Decree of the Magistrate, who shall be found to be such upon hearing of the cause, and will have such to remain in Curation of their *Agnati*. Now Madnes is a distemper which sufficiently discovers it self, and there is no such need that a Distracted person be interdicted his goods by the Magistrate, but that a person is a Prodigal ought to appear by many and various circumstances, of which the Magistrate ought to give judgment; for lightly no man is to be forbidden the management of his own affairs, every one being presumed in a condition to doe it till it appear otherwife. Indeed if a man contract with one who is manifestly luxurious, and who he knows will cast away the money he is to receive, he may thank himself for so doing. The Decree of the Magistrate, when he interdicted any such person the management of his Estate, was of this Form; *Porasmuch as thou wast/west wickedly thy Fathers and Grandfathers Estate, and bring- Pauli Sentent.*  
*el thy Children to want, for that cause I interdict thee the medling with and manage- lib. 3. tit. 4.*

74. We do not hear from Historians, but though *Anastasius* was not acceptable to the people, especially of *Constantinople*, upon the account of Religion, yet he well enough pleased his Courtiers and the Nobility. Answerably we find in the view of his Laws, that he chose rather to oblige his great Officers than the *Curia* or Bodies Corporate. For whereas *Zeno* his Predecessor in favour of these Courts obliged such persons as had attained to be *Comites Rei private*, *Comites Largitionum*, *Domesticorum*, *Quæstores*, or *Magistri Officiorum*, but at the beginning of his Reign were obnoxious to the services of the said Courts, to remain with their Children bound to the said services; "He repealed the Constitution of *Zeno*, as to

He favoured his Officers.

L. 4. de Depon-  
tibus. Cod. Jus.  
lib. 10. iii. 51.

" this point, releasing them by an Edict directed to *Polycarp* the *Profectus Praetorio*, "from such obligations, together with their Children born after such administra-  
" tion, and their Estates, although it had happened that they had been subject to  
" and obeyed the said Constitution. Which was to have its effect and force from  
" the day wherein it was promulgated, it being agreeable he faith, that *Laws* set  
" Rules to future things, and not stir up reprehensions to what are past. However  
*Anastasius* might manage his matters by Money rather than Arms, as we are told by some Historians; yet out of desire to be furnished with Weapons, "he forbade  
" the *Fabricenses* or those that belonged to the Forges, to be either Hirers or Ma-  
" nagers of other mens Lands and Estates, under pain to such as employed them  
" if they knew them to be *Fabricenses* of the los of the land or thing so hired,  
" and grievous punishment to the men themselves, with forfeiture of their Estates  
" and perpetual Exile. And farther, for the Removal of the Arms forged by these  
" *Fabricenses*, when there was need thereof, he orders *Eustathius* the *Magister Offi-  
" ciarum* to whom he directs this Law, that his *Sublity*, as he terms him, send  
" out his Letters to the most eminent *Prefectship*, to which he must therein de-  
"clare both the number of the Arms and from what place they are to be removed;  
" that according to the quantity the *Prefect* may issue out his Precept to the  
" *Clarissimi* the Governors of Provinces, on obedience to which *Angaria* (beasts of  
" burthen or carriages) as also Boats might be prepared. In case of failure the  
" *Numerarius* in present attendance at the *Prefect's Office*, and others concerned should  
" incur a Fine of fifty pounds of Gold to be paid into the *Fiscus*; and the Governors  
" of Provinces, and also their Apparitors, one of thirty.

Was careful as to making and conveying of Arms.

L. ult. de Fa-  
bricribus. Cod.  
Jus. lib. 1. i. 1.

He was kind to dignified Persons.

L. ult. de Diplo-  
matibus. Cod. Jus.  
lib. 12. iii. 1.

L. ult. de Pro-  
prietate. Cod. Jus.  
lib. 5. Cod. Jus.  
lib. 12. i. 1.

75. He was farther to civil to dignified Persons, that he permitted both them and such as enjoyed illustrious titles only honorary to return out of the Country to *Constantinople* without Letters revocatory. He permitted the two *Propositi Cubi-  
culi*, *viz.* his own and him belonging to his Empress, though out of Office, if they were in

To the Milites  
Præfatales.

Justin succeeds  
Anastasius.

How he feared  
himself.

were of the Senatorian Rank, when they went into the Country to see their Estates, or upon other occasions to wear the Girdle, it satisfying, as he saith, their desire, and being injurious to no other persons. To the *Confessorian Comites* of the Order of *Spectabilis*, he granted the same Privilege, both as to protection, and acting, as *Zeno* by his Pragmatic Sanction had granted to the *Clarissime Principes* of the School of the *Agentes in Rebus*. These three Constitutions were directed to *Eusebius* the *Magister Officiorum*, and possibly for *Eusebius* lately mentioned, *Eusebius* is to be read. To the same *Eusebius* also he published another Edict in favour of such as served in the *Scrinia*; "If the Sons were unfit to succeed their Fathers, such as were subrogated in their places, should pay to the Heirs or children of the deceased, an hundred *solidi*. Besides this he was kind to them as to the Judicature in which their causes should be tried, whether Criminal or Civil, the caution they were to give, and the Fees, in another Edict directed to one *Celer* by the title also of *Magister Officiorum* who was their proper Judge. And with this Edict another seems to have made up one and the same Constitution being directed to the same Persons, and giving much what the same Privileges, granted to the *Agentes in Rebus* and their *Principes*. "He was favourable to such Souldiers in present attendance, or those they called *Milites præsentales*, as to deciding their Controversies, and paying Fees; and by an Edict directed to one *John*, as *Magister Militum Præsentium*, he Ordained that such Souldiers should not be convened before the *Magister Militum* through the East, but before the *Magistri Militum Præsentales*, and the *Duces*, though the *Duces* themselves were under the command of the *Magistri Militum* through the East.

76. *Anastasius* being dead, *Justin* a Thracian on the Ninth day of the Month *Panemus*, by the Romans called *July*, and in the five hundred sixty sixth year from the time that the City of *Antioch* was so named (according to the computation of *Euagrius*) was proclaimed Emperor by the *Praetorian* Souldiers. He was of a very mean Original. His first employment was the keeping of Cattel, which having changed for that of a Souldier, he managed himself with that personal valour and conduct, that he arofe to the Dignity and Command of a *Tribune*, and afterward we are told to the highest Office of *Praefectus Praetorio*, thence was he Elected to the greatest of Earthly dignities, but by what method and by what means is not so clear and evident. *Euagrius* delivers it for truth, that his advancement was altogether surprising and unexpected to himself, there being many and very worthy Persons allied to *Anastasius* still surviving, who were in a very flourishing condition, and seemed to be qualified with such circumstances as were wont to prefer men to the Imperial Diadem. At this time *Amantius*, a man very Potent, was *Praepositus Cubiculari* to the Emperor. He knowing well that no Eunuch could succeed his Master, and consequently that he himself was incapable, endeavoured by all means to advance *Theodosius* his intimate friend, and for this purpose sending for *Justin*, delivered to him a great sum of money to be distributed amongst such as had greatest power in the Election. *Justin* having got the money made his own markets with it, by purchasing the favour of the Guards, which having done and attained his end, he immediately made away *Amantius*, *Theodosius* and some others.

77. Such is the Relation of *Euagrius* with which some other accounts do not at all agree. *Baronius* acquaints us how from the Letters of *Justin*, written to *Hormisdas* the Roman Bishop, it appears that he was created Emperor by the Nobility, Senate and Army, much contrary to his mind and inclination. Here we may call to mind how *Anastasius* was terrified in a dream, and diverted from his purpose of killing *Justin* and *Justinian* his Nephew, as was reported, which if true he may seem referred and appointed by God for this Dignity in an extraordinary manner. By what way or what steps foever he mounted the Throne, he gave the people such satisfaction in his Government as obliterated the memory of his sinifer and unhand actions, if such they were, as also the depicableness of his Birth and former condition. This he did chiefly by adhering to the Orthodox Faith, and restoring such as had suffered upon that account in the time of his Predecessour. Having hereby obliged the People so as to secure himself from Popular Turnuts and Seditions, it seems he thought not yet his Estate sufficiently settled so long as *Amantius* and the rest continued in being. Therefore did he by one means or other make them away, having a double advantage by so doing. For he both prevented all Turnuts and Dangers, which they might have procured him, and thereby it's thought he farther ingratiated himself with the Multitude, which hated them upon the account of Religion as having been the Instruments of *Anastasius*. Some say *Amantius*

*Amantius* and *Andreas* a Gentleman of his Chamber he caused to be beheaded. *Masicl* and *Ardabures* he banished to *Sardica*, and *Theocritus* the Minion of *Amantius*, whom he purposed to confer the Empire, he caused to be beaten and stoned, and then cast into the Sea, thereby depriving him as well of Sepulture as of the *Regnus & tempore non successione*.

78. In the year of our Lord DIXI *Justin* the Emperour assumed the Consulship, and took to him for Collegue *Eutharick* Surnamed *Cilicia* the Son-in-Law of *Theodorus* King of Italy. He was now very much busied with Church matters, endeavouring to undoe and rectify what had been done amiss by his Predecessour. And not only did he thus act in things purely Ecclesiastical, for one thing we find which had relation to civil Affairs. *Anastasius* had made a Law in his fourth Consulship, which he bore with *Agapitus*, whereby he gave leave to such as having no legitimate Children, kept Women in the place of Wives, to hold the Children begotten of such Women as their own true Sons, in their paternal power, and legitimate, and to transfer upon them their Estates, either by Will, by Donation or any other ways known to the Laws, if so they pleased. If the Parents died Intestate, such Children should succeed them in their Inheritances, without any question or alteration to arise concerning them and the Kindred (*Agnati* or *Cognati*) or any others, upon any pretence or quirk of Laws or Constitutions. Notwithstanding, whoever should have such Woman in the place of a Wife, the Instruments of Dower being made, the same rule should be observed for his Issue, left the liberty of acquiring his own Patrimony after a manner by his Children should be taken from him. Moreover Sons and Daughters adopted (properly arrogated) with the Prince his Licence should enjoy the benefit of this most provident Law, as he himself calls it.

79. From this Law *Justin* would have Children begot in Incest, to have no be-  
L. 6. de Naturam liberi, &c.  
cause. "And for the time to come he admonished all his Subjects to seek for Off-spring in the way of lawfull Matrimony, declaring that unjust and libidinous Conjunctions should find no pardon, as if the Constitution of *Anastasius* had never been, which Piety moved him now to abrogate, and leave the former Laws in force, so as no pretence of Adoption, no craft in procuring the Prince his Letters should avail; forasmuch as fortresses were to be made for Vice, whereby it should be lawfull to serve wantonnes, and the Right and Name of a Father which was indeed denied to such Person should be pretended by the colour of a Law. Afterward *Justinian* approved of this Constitution of his Uncle, for repealing the said Law of *Anastasius*, and prohibiting the Adoption of Natural Children, in that it contained much absurdity, and indiscreetly superinduced them as to many Strangers upon the legitimate. But such as had already received any benefit from that Act of *Anastasius* he did not design to deprive them of it.

80. The year of our Lord DXX had for Consuls in the East *Vitalianus*, and in the West *Ruficus*. Of *Ruficus* who was created in the West, we hear no farther than that he was so honoured; but *Vitalianus* rendered the year remarkable, not only for his Consulship, but the sad end he came to in the seventh month thereof, wherein he was dispatched in the Palace by seventeen wounds, together with *Clarianus* and *Paulus* his Abettors. *Baronius* improves this passage in *Marcellinus*, to shew how he was punished for his patronizing the *Eutychian* Monks against the Legates of the Roman Bishop. But *Euagrius* fetcheth the matter higher, and acribizes his punishment to another sort of guilt. He writes that this *Vitalianus* who lived in Thrace, and indeavour'd to depose *Anastasius*, was sent for by *Justin* to Constantinople; for he stood in fear of his power, and of Fortune which is wont to be doubtful and uncertain in War, of the reputation he was in with all men, and the ardent desire he knew him to have after the Empire. And he rightly conjectured, that by no other means he should be able to bring him under but by a shew of friendship; and therefore composing his Countenance to deceit in a wonderfull manner, he designed him one of those Officers call'd *Præfetes*, and the more powerfully and effectually to overreach him, promoted him to the honour of the Consulship. Being made Consul, and conversant in the Palace, in a certain Gate behind the Court he was slain by treachery, and so received punishment for the wicked Acts he had so inconsiderately committed against the Roman Empire. Those Acts doubtless, *Euagrius* means, which he committed against the Government and Person of *Anastasius*. And yet *Baronius* his principles moved him to affirm, that for them he was to be highly commended, if what he did, he did not out of desire to Reign, but out of respect to true Religion. So that, saith he, it plainly was made to appear, that Things

Things rightly done, if they want a right Intention, are not wont to attain to a right end.

81. The year DXXI was remarkable for the Consulship of *Valarius* in the West, *A.D. 521.* and of *Justinian* the Nephew of the Emperour *Justin* in the East, who indeed rendered it remarkable. For surpassing in magnificence all other Consuls of the East, as

*Justinian* the  
Consul's great  
Shows.

*Marcellinus* notes, he exceeded so much in Consular liberality, that he conferred two hundred and eighty eight *Sexters* of *Soldi* on the People, and upon the *Spectacula*. He exhibited on the Amphitheatre a shew of twenty Lions, and thirty Leopards, besides other Wild Beasts, at one time. He presented also a numerous sight of Horses adorned with their Riders in the Cirque, though he gratified not the mad multitude in all it desired. Upon this occasion *Baronius* observes, that though the bloody *Spectacula* of the Gladiators were taken away, yet still such Shews were retained in the hunting of Wild Beasts, and fighting with them; inhumane practices, and much more unchristian; the Bodies of Christians being torn in pieces, for which Christ had shed his blood. The following year was rather more famous for its Consuls, such a pair as these Ages seldom produced. These were *Syrmachus* named in the East, and *Severinus Boëtius* for the West; of which *Boëtius* thus probably was the third Consulship. For two Consulships of *Severinus Boëtius* are mentioned in the foregoing years, and they might be of the same person.

82. About this time *Cabades* the King of *Perſia* was much troubled in his mind, fearing innovation in his House after his decease. For upon his Sons he could not transfer the Succession without some question. His eldest, by name *Chosroes*, had the *Procuress de iher.* legal claim, but him he could not endure, therein over-ruling both Nature and the ancient Constitutions of that Kingdom. His second Son *Zames* the Laws excluded, because he had lost an Eye, prohibiting a King to be made who had that or any other maim. He chiefly affected *Chosroes*, born of the Sister of *Apsemeses*; but fearing the *Perſians* admire the valour of *Zames* as a good Soldier, and a favourer of Virtue, he feared lest taking Arms against *Chosroes*, they might ruine his Family and his Kingdom. Hereupon he resolved to make a Peace with the *Romans*, by procuring his Son *Chosroes* to be adopted by the Emperour *Justin*; and this he conceived to be the only means to preserve the security of his Empire. To this purpose he dispatched Ambassadors to *Constantinople* with Letters to *Justin*. Therein he told him that He himself knew that the *Romans* had done the *Perſians* wrong, which yet he was resolv'd not to urge; knowing that in reason those ought to have the victory, who being in the right are yet willingly put to the worst to gratify their friends. But for this he must demand a favour; which would bind them to two and their Subjects by Alliance, and consequently by good affection, and so for ever settle the blessings of Peace in their possession. This was, that he would adopt his Son *Chosroes*, who was to succeed him in his Kingdom, for his Son.

*Cabades* the Perſian King  
*Justin* to adopt  
his son *Chosroes*.

*Justin* at first  
likes the mod-  
eon.

83. *Justin* was glad of the propositio[n], and so was *Justinian* his Sisters son and successor designed, urging the speedy dispatch and drawing up of the Adoption after the *Roman* form. But *Proclus* the Aſſeſſour to the Emperour, whom the *Romans*, *Procopius* faith, called *Quæſtor*, a known just man, not to be bribed, nor who hauſtily paſſed Edicts, or altered things ſeſſed, croſſed it. He told the Emperour, that he did not uſe to meddle with Novelties, which of all things he feared moſt, knowing that they could not stand withſafetey. But had he been a very daring man, he thought he ſhould haue ſhrunk and trembled at the ſtorm which was to be expeſted from ſuch an Act. He ſaid he could not perceive but the Conſuſtation was to betray the Empire to the *Perſians* with a fair preſtence, who in plain words without diſguife or modeſty, now prayed them the *Romans* to let them take it away, covering their groſſe deceit with ſimplicity, and their impudent propofal with a pretended deſire of quietneſſ. He told the Uncle and Nephew, that they had both need to oppoſe this deſign of the Barbarians to the utmoſt of their power; the one left he ſhould prove the laſt *Roman* Emperour, and the other New General, left he ſhould block up his own way to the Empire. Some tricks he added, covered with fair preſtences, need an Interpreter to the common ſort: But this Embaſſage bluntly at firſt drafh would have this *Chosroes* Heir to the *Roman* Emperour. He badly at firſt drafh would have this *Chosroes* Heir to the *Roman* Emperour. He badly at firſt drafh would have this *Chosroes* Heir to the *Roman* Emperour. All them conſider, that by nature the Estates of Fathers were due to children. All Laws though differing in other things, yet in this agreeing both among *Romans* and Barbarians, ſo that yielding to their firſt requeſt, the reſt they muſt neceſſarily grant.

84. The Emperour and his Nephew approved of this Diſcourſe, and conſulted what was to be done. In the mean time came other Letters from *Cabades*, deferring *Justin* to ſend to him men of experience for concluding a Peaſe, and to ſiguiſe the form

form that was to be obſerved in the Adoption. Upon this *Proclus* more earnestly oppoſed the propofal of the *Perſians*, and urged that they ſhould rather adopt to themſelves the *Roman* Power and Dominion, declaring it to be his opinion, that it was fit they ſhould conclude a Peaſe as ſpedily as might be; and withall that ſome perſons of eminence ſhould be ſent, who being demanded by *Cabades* in what manner the Adoption ſhould be, ſhould anſwer, as was fit for a Barbarian; for the Barbarians adopted Sons not by Writings, but by Arming them. Accordingly Ambaſſadours were ſent by *Justin* with promife of ſome greater men to follow for conſummatiſg all toward the Peaſe, and concerning *Chosroes*; and shortly after were ſent *Hypatius* a Patriar, Nephew to the late Emperour *Anaſtasius* and General of the East, and *Rufinus* Son of *Sylvanus* a principal Patriar, and one well known to *Cabades*. From the *Perſians* came *Seoses* their moſt powerful man, who had the chief Command over all Armies and Offices, and with him *Mebodes* Maſter of the Palace; theſe met upon the Frontiers and treated. And *Chosroes* came down to the *Tigris*, two days journey from *Nisibis*, that the Peaſe being concluded, he might go to *Constantinople*. Many diſcourses paſſed about their diſſerences; amongst others, *Seoses* alledged that *Colchis*, afterward caſled *Lazica*, anciellly belonged to the *Perſians*, and that the *Romans* held it from them unjustly. On the other ſide, the *Romans* took it very ill that their title to *Lazica* ſhould be queſtioned; and when they ſaid that the Adoption muſt be performed in a manner fit for a Barbarian, the *Perſians* thought it unſufferable: So they broke off and went feverally home. And *Chosroes* returning to his Father vowed to revenge this affront upon the *Romans*.

85. The Ambaſſadours afterward accuſed one another. *Mebodes* accuſed *Seoses* for mentioning *Lazica* without having received any Inſtructions from their Maſter for doing, purpoſely to break the Treaty, and for dealing therein firſt with *Hypatius*, who bearing the King leaſt affection, croſſed the conſclusion of the Peaſe and the Adoption. *Seoses* being charged with theſe and many other things, was caſled to a Trial before the *Perſian* Senate, who all were displeaſed at his new Of‐ice, and offend'd at his behaviour. He was a man free from corruption, and very juſt, but extremely arrogant; which though a vice natural to the great Officers of *Perſia*, yet in him they thought reigned in extremity. Besides what was now mentioned, his Accuſers laid to his charge, that not contenting himſelf with the ancient cuſtoms of the *Perſians*, he worſhipped new Gods, and that lately he had buried his Wife, the *Perſian* Laws prohibiting the burying of dead Bodies in the Earth. They condemned him to death, and it was executed upon him; for, *Cabades* would not pardon him, though he ſeemed to grieve as for a friend, profeſſing that he himſelf was not offend'd at him, but he muſt not infringe the Laws. Indeed he owed his life to *Seoses* who contributed moſt to his living and Reining. But, his Of‐ice as it began to it ended with him, none after him having the like general power over all Offices and Armies. *Rufinus* alſo accuſed *Hypatius* to the Emperour, who upon it diſcharged him of his Of‐ice. He cauſed alſo to be tortured ſome about him, but finding no truth in the accuſation, he diſcovered no other harm unto him.

86. *Cabades* then burned with a deſire to invade the *Romans*, but found this impediment to his deſign. The *Iberians of Asia*, who were ſeated by the *Caspian Gates* to the Southward, had next them to the Weſt *Lazica*, and to the Eaſt part of *Perſia*. Theſe people were Chriſtians as devout as any, and had always been ſubjeſt to the King of *Perſia*. Theſe *Cabades* would needs force from their Religion, writing a command to *Gurgenes* their King, to doe all things as the *Perſians* did, and not to bury their dead Bodies in the Earth, but to caſt them out to the Dogs and Fowles. Hereupon *Gurgenes* revolted to the Emperour *Justin*, and defired aſſiſtance from him that he would not leave him to the mercy of the *Perſians*. He willingly granted his requeſt, and ſent *Probus* the Sifters Son of *Anaſtasius* late Emperour, a Patriar, with Money to raiſe an Army of *Hunnes* for his Aſſiſtance. *Probus* returned without doing any thing, and then the Emperour ſent *Peter* as General into *Lazica* with ſome *Hunnes* to aid *Gurgenes*; at which time alſo *Cabades* ſent an Army againſt him, under the command of *Boes* a *Perſian*, the General of his Forces. *Gurgenes* found the *Roman* Succours not competent, and himſelf too weak for the *Perſians*, and thereupon he fled into *Lazica* with his Wife and Children, the chief men of *Iberia* and his Brothers, whereof *Peranius* was the eldeſt. In the confines of *Lazica* he ſtaid, and fortified himſelf in the Fastnesses, which hindered the *Perſians* that purſued him, from doing any thing to purſue. Afterward ſome *Iberians* came to *Constantinople*, and *Peter* was caſled home. The

*Gurgenes* King  
of the *Iberians*  
revolts to *Justinian*.

But is diſſuaded  
by *Proclus* the  
*Quæſtor*.

The Lazians also refusing to help to guard the Province; the Emperour sent an Army commanded by *Irenaeus*.

87. Formerly the guard of two Forts at the entrance of *Lazica* from *Iberia* was carefully maintained by the Provincials, though they endured much. For no Corn nor Wine grew near, nor other commodity; nor, for the Fastnesses, could be brought thither, but upon mens backs, and they lived, being used to it, upon *Panicum* or Mill-feed there growing. But the Emperour now took thence those Warders, and put *Roman* Garisons to keep those places, and them at first the *Lazians* supplied with Provisions, though hardly; but after they refused the service, and the *Romans* thereupon abandoning the Forts, the *Perfians* seized on them. In the mean time the *Romans*, under conduct of *Sittas* and *Belisarius*, invaded *Perseania*, and having foraged much of the Country, and taken many Prisoners, retired. They were then but youths, their heads springing, and Lancers of the Guard to *Justinian* the chief General, who soon after held the Empire with his Uncle *Justin*. Another inroad *Sittas* and *Belisarius* made into *Armenia*, and were suddenly met and put to the worst by *Narses* and *Aratius*, who not long after revolted to the *Romans*, and served under *Belisarius* in *Italy*. *Licelarius* also a *Thracian* made an Invasion about *Nisibis* with another Army of *Romans*, but they retreated or ran away, none charging them. Thereupon the Emperour discharged *Licelarius*, and gave to *Belisarius* the Command of the Forces in *Dara*, and then was *Procopius* Writer of the History chosen his Counsellor or Assessor. Shortly after, *Justin* died, having before declared *Justinian* his Sifters Son Emperour with him. These things thus falling out betwixt the *Romans* and *Perfians* in the time of *Justin*, we thought convenient to relate altogether, and then to continue our survey of the other year remaining of this Emperour's Reign.

Expeditions of the Romans into the Persian dominions.

88. The year of our Lord DXXIII had *Maximus* Consul alone in the West. A.D. 523. Some wonder it is that we have no certainty of any one named at *Constantinople*; Maximo Consul.

The Consulship almost divinded to nothing.

*Justin* kind Advocate.

for leisure enough they had there, for any thing we can perceive to have been transacted by them of Civil concernment; but this Dignity began now to dwindle so much, that in a short time it was quite extinct. The year following, being the DXXIV of our Saviour, had for Consuls *Justin* himself the second time, and *Ospilio*, such an one by name as he had formerly been by Trade and profession. *Justin* as he had formerly been kind to the Advocates of the Treasury, in restoring to them their Salary given them at first by *Zeno* and taken away by *Anastasius*, so this year was favourable to the Advocates pleading in the Court of the Prefect of the City, defining their number of Eighty, and confirming to them their Privileges; but without regulating their time, and restraining their absence; as he forbade the Advocates of the Treasury should be preferred *per salutem*, the person of *Menander* only excepted. What concerned the Advocates was afterwards extended to those that served in the *Forum* of the Prefect of *Illyricum* by *Justinian*. Besides what concerned Advocates, we find that this year *Justin* Enacted something he found wanting in the matter of Testaments, as he had done three years before. Of what he did we shall give an account altogether.

Grants to blind Perfons. Power to take Nuncupative Wills.

Declares the In- fission of Testaments to be only in the Magister Census.

89. It had formerly been a question, Whether a blind man could make a Testament, because of his imperfection; at length it was resolved he might, because, as *Paulus* faith, he could call Witnesses together, and hear such as would bear him testimony. The Law for the like reason permitted such an one both to adopt and to be adopted, much more to manage his own Estate, insofarin that a *Curator* was not wout to be assigned a blind man, but he himself might make a *Procurator* for the management of his business. Now *Justin* thought fit farther to Ordain, that a blind man whether so born, or by disease or accident, might make a Testament by *Nuncupation*; provided there were present a *Tabularius*, and seven Witnesses, which the Law required in other Testaments. The way and method he prescribes is not so proper here to be inferred; but this liberty thus given, *Leo* one of his successors thought not large enough, but gave to blind persons leave to make Wills secretly as other persons did. By another Edict bearing date of the latter end of November, "Justin was pleased to confirm such Constitutions as had been made by former Emperours, that the last Wills and Testaments of persons dying in *Constantinople*, should be proved or insinuated only in the Office of the Magister Census; and there recorded in the publick Monuments. That where the inheritance exceeded not an hundred Acres, neither the *Magistri* nor their Officers should dare to take any Fees or Reward for the Infumation of them. He admonisheth not only the Judges of Tribunals, but the Defensors of Churches also, among whom a most filthy sort of Intimation had crept, that they meddle not with

"with

"with that which only belonged by Law to the *Magister Census*; affirming it absurd, that Employments should be disturbed by promiscuous Acts, that one should steal from another, and especially Clerks, to whom he faith it is a shame to pretend themselves skillfull in the disputes of Courts. The breakers of this his Sanction, he punishes with a Fine of fifty pounds of Gold. And he adds, that it is not to be permitted that the last Wills and Testaments of the dying, should be rendered any-whit invalid by any improper Infumations, while such as are improper for that work boldly usurp the practice of it. But what this and other former Constitutions enjoin concerning the *Magister Census* in *Constantinople*, was in the Provinces performed by the Presidents, Magistrates, or Defensors. Afterward in the time of *Leo* it was committed to the *Quæstor*. But it will not be amiss here to acquaint the Reader with the ancient form of Infumation of Testaments before the Defensors and the *Curae* of Cities.

90. Such a year and such a day the Defensor and all the Court of that City being present, *Titus* that followed the busines, said; *I desire of you most worthy Vide Notas in Infumationis.*

(Optime)Defensor, and you the laudable *Curiales* and *Municipes*, that you command the publick Records to be laid open to me, for I have some things in mine bands which I desire may be corroborated by the Allegation of those publick Acts. The Defensor then and *Curiales* said, The publick Books are open to thee, proceed according to thine own defret. He then replied, *Gaius* an illfamous person hath employed me to infumate his Testament amongst the Municipal Acts as the Custome is. Then said the Defensor, The Mandate we have heard, but we must also hear the Testament which thou sayest thou hast in thine bands, and then it shall be confirmed by publick Acts as thou requirest. After the reading of the Testament, the Defensor and the *Curiales* said, Let this Testament now recited be put amongst the publick Acts. After this said, the Party implied, Most worthy Defensor, If further desire that the Gefts may be publickly delivered to me. The Defensor and Order of the Court answered, Forasmuch as the Testament and Mandate are rightly made, and we have found them confirmed by the bands of honest men subcribing, it is fitting that the Gefts when they are subcribed by us, and published by the *Amanuensis*, be delivered to thee as the manner is, and at length be preserved in the publick Acts. In like manner were Donations or Deeds of Gift recorded, in the publick Registers.

91. Thus we see Testaments were opened in the life time of the Testators, that they might be regisitered, and so firm belief might be given to them, if to the Testator pleased. They were again opened publicly after the death of them that made them, that so they might be known to Heirs, (or Executors) Legataries, those that had Trusts, Slaves manumitted, the Treasury to which the Testator left twentyith part was due, and others therein concerned. They were opened in the iii. ad. 6. prefence of Witneses or honest Perfons, by those that were present within three or five days, and by the absent within the like space of time after their coming to those places. The Witneses or the greatest part of them that had signed the Testament were there. They having owned their Seals, the thread was broken, the Testament was opened and read, and a Copy of it was permitted to be taken, and then it was clost with a publick Seal, and committed to the Archives; that if the Copy were lost, the los might thence again be supplied. Afterward it was read, the same Perfons of repute being present in the Forum or the Basilica between the hours of Eight and Four. Butto our matter.

92. The year of our Lord, DXXV. had *Probinus* (some have it *Probus*) and *Philozenus* for Consuls, it being the Eighth of *Justin* the Emperour: little we have *Probinus et Philozenus*. of Civil concernment managed this year by our Emperour; who most employed himself in things relating to Religion. His zeal for the Catholick Faith carried him so far as to take the Churches from the *Arians*, which endangered the breeding of very ill blood between him and *Theodoric* King of *Italy*. For, he being of that persuasion caused the Bishop of *Rome* himself accompanied by *Theodorus*, *Impetratus* and *Agapetus* Senatours, and Exconsuls, and another *Agapetus* a Patriarch to undertake an Embassy to the Emperour. Their instructions were to obtain a revocation of the Edicts made against those Hereticks, otherwise he threatened to deal as severly with such Orthodox Christians as had their Abode in his Dominiuns. How *John* the Bishop behaved himself in this Employment, and what his Entertainment was it will be more pertinent to declare upon another occasion, as also that he was at his return cast into prison and so hardly treated that therein he died not long after. But we are told that while he remained at *Constantinople*, he Crowned *Justin*; not but that this ceremony had been formerly performed, but the Emperour would have it again performed out of piety by the Successour of St. Peter, whom

Says about Re- lation betwixt *Justin* and *Theodoric*.

whom he was overjoyed to see within his Dominions. So *Baronius* and others deliver the story, who also observe (and in this justice doth not contradict them) that the City of *Antioch* having been profited to Hereticks, and become the *Afflum*, first of *Nestorians* and *Nestorians*, afterwards of *Eutychians*, and *Theopaschites*, now received double for her sins, and drank deep of the cup of God's wrath. It belongs not to us to affisa such a cause; but for the calamity that *Antioch* underwent at this time, it ought not to escape our obversation.

93. About the time that *John* the Bishop of *Rome* was employed in the message before related, a most dreadfull Earthquake happened at *Antioch*, which as *Euagrius* writes, had been ushered in with frequent and grievous fires, and was attended by other great calamities. In the Seventh year of *Justin*, he saith, though *Baronius* from *Marcellinus* refers it to this, in the tenth month, or *Artemisius*, by the Romans called *May*, on the nine and twentieth, being Friday, at noon time of the day, *Euagrius lib. 4 c. 5. s.* (*Marcellinus* saith just at dinner time) fell out such a ratling, quivering and shaking of the Foundations, as in a manner overthurned the whole City. After it, came Fire again, which joyning as it were in a league offensive with the other calamities almoft madean end of all. For what the Earthquake did not destroy, on that did the Fire prey; and after the raising of moft dreadfull flames, confine to ashes. What parts of the City were consumed, how many men perished both by Fire and the fall of Houfes, and what mischie夫 happened, so strange that no Style could sufficiently describe them, *John* the Rhetorician (he tells us) set forth with lamentation in his History, which concluding with this fire could not but move the passions of the Reader in an extraordinary manner. And for a conclusion, and which was another calamity to this City, *Euphrasius* the Bishop perished in the ruines, that none might be left to provide necessaries for the City.

94. And yet, as he himself observes, the careful and loving Providence of God towards Mankind, which is wont before the arrival of a Plague or punishment to provide a remedy; to blunt the fword of wrath with clemency, and when things grow to a desperate point, to seride open the fountain of mercy, raised up *Euphrasius* Prefect of the East to take care of *Antioch*, so as nothing necessary (afterwards it seems) should be wanting to it. This the Citizens took lo well, as reverencing the man for his Zeal and Clarity they made choice of him for their Bishop, and he obtained the *Apostolical See* as a reward of his forecast. Again after two years and five months *Antioch* was taken with Earthquakes, and then for *Antioch* it was called *Theopolis*, obtaining mo more effects of the Emperour's care and vigilancy. Indeed others give Testimony of the Christian compassion shewed by *Justin* upon occasion of the former Earthquake; how he received the news with grief and affonishment, put off his Purple, laid aside his Diadem, clothed himself with Sackcloth and fate solitary in Athes many days together; and afterward relieved the distressed *Antiochians* with all necessaries to his great charge and trouble. But it appears farther from *Euagrius* that he had several other objects of his pity and compassion, of this c. 8. And other places very fte, thele Calamities being frequent in his time. For *Dyrachium* of old called *Epidamnum* was forely shakken also with a trembling of the Earth. So was *Corduba* in *Greece*, and *Anazarbus* the principal City of *Cilicia* the leſter, which underwent that calamity now the fourth time: which Cities *Justin* repaired not without the expence of vast sums of money. About the same time *Edeſa*, that most ample and happy City of the *Oreenei* as he calls it, was defaced by the overflowing of the River *Seirtius* which ran by its fide, so that many Houfes were carried away by the violence of the Waters, and an infinite number of men was drowned. Both *Edeſa* and *Anazarbus* received a new name from *Justin*, being each of them called *Justinopolis*.

95. The DXXVI year of our Lord was marked with the sole Consulship of *Obrius*. A.D. 526. This year is famous for little transacted by *Justin*, except this be to be observed, that growing toward the end of his own life, he was moved to enact something in favour of the deceased. By the practices of some Persons he was constrained to declare, "That it was unjust, and a thing strange in those times, to offer injury to the Reliques of the Dead by them who pretending the Party deceased was their Debtor, and to Exact their Debt, hindred his Burial: That for the time to come no such injury might proceed, he now took order, imposing a Fine of fifty pounds of Gold upon one that should be found guilty of such wickednes, or if he was not able to pay it, he should undergo Corporal punishment at the award of a competent Judge. This humanity towards the Dead, his Nephew afterwards extended to the Dying, Ordaining that if any going to the house of a dying perfon should molest him or others belonging to him, or not observing a legal proceeding should mark or seal any of his Goods, such an one should lose his Action

Action after the Parties death, the Executors or Heirs of the deceased should recover as much of him; he should forfeit the third part of his Estate, and be noted with infamy. The same punishment should he incur who should hinder the Funeral. Nay he decreed that before Nine days, to be reckoned from the death of the deceased, no molestation should be offered to any belonging to his person, otherwise such Action should be invalid and ineffectual, after those days of mourning, no damage yet hereby coming to the Creditour by reason of the stay of the Nine days. *Novel. 115. c. 5.*

96. The DXXVII of our Saviour had *Mavortius* for Consul without a Colleague. A.D. 527. *Mavortius Conf.* This year was famous for *Justin* his taking *Justinian* to be his Partner in the Empire. This *Justinian* was the Son of *Sabatius* (by the *Ilyrians* called *Išokus*) and of *Bigleniza* the Sister of *Justin*, which Woman the *Romans*, by reason of the likenes of the sound, termed *Vigilantia*. By his Country-men the *Ilyrians* he was called *Uprando*, or Right *Justin*, to exprefs the signification of his Latin name. He was born at *Tauricunum*, and educated at *Bederina* the native place of *Justin*. Towns situate in the Borders of *Ilyricum* near to *Thrace*, upon which account by later Writers he is called a *Thracian*, it being ordinary when Cities are so placed to be reckoned by several Authors as members of both Provinces, especially it being observable, that the Partitions of Provinces are not the same in all Geographers and Historians. Hereupon *Justinian* himself in his ninth Novel, placeth *Justinianus prima*, and *Bederina*, in *Pannonia Secunda*: When a Youth, he was sent an Hoffage to *Ravenna* to *Theodoric* King of the *Goths* by *Justin* his Uncle then General of the Army. He began to learn the Military Art at the beginning of his Uncle's Reign, who about this time adopted him, and gave him the title of *Nobilissimus. Vitalianus* being slain in the Palace, in the place called *Delphicum*; by his Faſtion it's said, and fome say by his procurement, he was made Captain General of the *Roman* Legions in his room. Now when *Justin* had reigned eight yeats, nine months and three days, as *Euagrius* punctually observes, he began to Reign with him, and he received the Title on the first day of the month *Xanthicus*, or of *April*.

97. But what the Title was doth not so clearly appear, whether that of *Augustus* or of *Cæsar* only, betwixt which there was a vail difference, as may be seen by what we have said in the preceding Volume. Some Writers say he created him *Cæsar*, and fome that this day he designed him his Successor in the Empire, which words rather make out to us that he was *Cæsar* not *Augustus*, or the complete Colleague of the Emperour, though Writers generally speak of his making him his Partner, which might be in such fene as we have formerly related; though *Cæsar* as such was a Subject, and we have heard how as a Subject, and even as an Apparitor or servant, *Diocletian* made one of them run by his Chariot. As Polities and Governments with time decay and alter, the *Cæsar* possibly at this time might be in greater Authority than formerly. But let us from Historians beake us to our Law Books, without which, lame Histories must be written both of this and other times. And so it happens that after this his Promotion we find a Constitution still extant in his *Code*, bearing the name both of him and his Uncle: The Contents of it we may declare afterward. It was first restored out of the *Baflica* in *Principium*, by *Cajacius*, and as now it is placed in the *Code* being tranflated into Latin, the Publishers of the Book have prefixed this Inscription *Impp. Justinus & Justinianus A.A.* and not without reaon. For though from the Greek it felfe no such thing appears, as either that *Justinian* was now *Augustus* or indeed joyned with his Uncle in the making of the Edict, yet from another Novel Constitution he made upon this Subject it is evident that he was joyned with him. The matter was

98. Because much inconvenience happened in the Provinces through the empudence of Persons who pretended to have secret Instructions or Mandates from the Emperour, a Law had been made in the time of *Gratian*, *Valentinian* and *Theodosius*, which forbud that any credit shoule be given to any such pretended Instructions or Mandates, except exhibited in Writing, and the Prince his Letters appeared, be the Messengers of what dignety they would, whether making a shew of the dignity of *Tribune*, *Notary* or *comes*. After this another Constitution was made, or that which *Cajacius* restored out of the *Baflica*, and repeats in a manner the same thing, leſt Judges should mention in their Sentences that the Emperour had commanded by word of mouth, that such an one shoule be brought into Judgment, or fome Sentence be given, which shoule be divers from what was wont to be. For the Mandates of Princes fo far bind, as they are reduced into Writings or Letters; but this Constitution excepts when the Emperour Assigns an Affeſſour or Assistant to a Judge,

He was made  
Augustus.

Judge, or commands a Sentence to be rightly given. In such cases they might mention that they had such mandate from the Prince his mouth, or else from the most glorious *Quæstor* of his Palace, or some of the *Spectabiles*, the *Referendaris*, and obedience was to be given to such Mandates without writing. Now in a Novel Constitution made some thirteen years after, *Justinian* expressly makes mention of a Law as well of his Father of pious memory, as of his own Tranquillity; (such was the phrase used at this time,) which disposed that Judges shoud by no means write in their Sentences, as if it had been commanded them by word of mouth from the Emperour and not written, to bring forth certain Persons into Judgment, and to the same purpose as before. Now though the Names of *Cæsars*, as we have seen, were added to those of the Emperours in the Inscriptions of Laws, yet it was with the Distinction of *Cæsars*, and such as had not Sovereign Authority had not legislative power, though to grace and honour them this was done. But *Justinian* makes this Law as much his as his (adoptive) Father *Justin's*. And to confirm this our opinion that he was made *Augustus* and not *Cæsar*; *Baroniūs ad b. A.* hath exhibited the Image of a Coin, to be seen in his Annals, wherein are both the Emperors expressed in shape, both adorned with Diadems, with an Inscription of three *Augusti*, by which he faith its certain that *Justin*, *Justinian* and *Theodora* his Empress are designed. If so, some late Writers though very learned ought to have been more accurate than to say he was created *Cæsar*, betwixt which Title and that of *Augustus* there was so great a difference.

99. But the Title though he had with the usual Concomitants and Effects, how he came by it is not fully agreed. The pretended secret History of *Procopius* makes him to have affected the Empire, to have Exercised a Tyranny, covering violence with a shew of doing businels. Affirms that they saluted him King, or Emperour together with his Uncle, if it was legally done; for the Senate by fear and threats were drawn into that Suffrage. Another writes that *Justin* the Emperour made *Justinian* his *Cæsar* Nephew, at the supplication of the Senate, he being unwilling to doe it. But others say that all the Senate approved of the thing, and *Zonaras Procopi Arcanum Historian & Baroniūs ad b. A.* tells this story how it was performed. The cheif of the Senate desiring the Emperour that he would take *Justinian* for his Colleague, he took hold of the Purple and told them they had reason to desire that no younger Person should have that come on his Back; and at that time he rejected their Petition. However, after some little time they decreed the Title of *Nobilissimus* to *Justinian*, and obtained of the Emperour a confirmation of their Decree by his Letters. Not long after, the Emperour falling ill of a wound in his thigh, and being in danger called *Epiphanius* the Patriarch and the cheif of the Nobility to him, declared *Justinian* his Nephew Emperour, and set the Diadem on his Head with his own Hands. The People being assembled in the Cirque, *Justinian* made his Entry with the Diadem, and was received with lucky acclamations by all, and returned to the Palace being at that time forty five years old. Presently after his Wife *Theodora* was declared Empress, and not long it was before *Justin* died when he had Reigned Nine years and twenty days. Thus much *Zonaras*, who might be mistaken as to the time of making him *Nobilissimus*. To this *Cedrenus* adds that as soon as he was made Emperour, he gave away all his private Estate to the Churches of the Holy Apostles and of the Holy Martyrs *Sergius* and *Bacchus* whom he much revered.

100. *Justin* having promoted thus his Nephew, whether to the good liking of himself and the Senate or not, died of an old wound he had received in Battel by the shot of an Arrow, (in his Foot say some, or as others in his thigh) four months after, about the first of *August*, having Reigned nine years, one month, and three days; and lived seventy seven. A mark of extraordinary Fortune, which wrought so wonderfully, that from a Keeper of Cartel, he shoud rife to be a Commander of men, first of Souldiers, then of the Praetorian Guards, and at last of all men within the *Roman* World, having escaped two Imprisonments. Yet was he *Analphabetus* as the *Greeks* termed him, or one who could not read, or knew no Letters, which had not happened to the *Romans* before in the opinion of the Authour of the secret History ascribed to *Procopius*. Whereas the Emperour, he faith, was wont when he ordained any thing to add to the Paper the Letters of his Name, he could neither ordain, nor was able to doe businels, but *Proclus* who executed the Office of *Quæstor*, and was his Assessor governed as he pleased. But that there might remain some shew of the Emperour's Hand, he that waited or the chief Secretary (who from that thing formed to the shape of a little Dog, wherein the Ink was contained had the Title of a *Canicula*) found out a way. They ingraved in

in a polith peice of wood the form of four Latin Letters, which being laid on a Paper, a pen dipped in the purple Ink with which Emperours were wont to write, was put into *Justin's* Hand, which thofe about holding stirred it about and drew the pen through thofe clifts of the wood or forms of Letters, and so carried away their Writings signed.

101. This Invention by engraving onely four Letters in the Table or piece of wood, did not onely provide for the Convenience of *Justin*, but retained the ancient custome of the *Romans*, who, as *Alamannus* observes from *Plutarch*, were not wont to write their *Prenomina* out in length, but either one single Letter of it, as *N. T. L.* or two as *C. N.* or three as *Sex. Ser.* *Justinian* afterward, as he gathers from *Crippus* the Poet, used the single Letter *I.* to denote his Name; but these customs were a little after intermitted, when the Eastern Emperours put down their whole Names to Writings and Instruments, but Women in certain secret knots and foldings of the Letters, as appears by their ancient *Diplomata*, and otherwife, which our men at this day imitate upon their Coaches. Concerning the *Eucalyptum* or purple Ink made of the Fish *Murex* we have formerly spoken. The Person who attended at it, and from the shape of the Standish wherein it was kept, had the Title of a *Canicula* was usually of the King's blood, and his Dignity and Authority were very great. To return to *Justin*, who is said to have been very ignorant and blockish, his Marriage if possible was lower than his first condition. The Name of his Wife was *Lupilina* or *Lupilia*, derived it seems from *Lupa*, by which the vilest Strumpet was wont to be called. This she brought not with her to Court, for her Husband and the People of *Constantinople* when she came to be Empress changed it for that of *Euphemia*. As she was Barbarous she is said to have been very ignorant and unpolisht; but having taken the Name of the Martyr *Euphemia*, she built a magnificient Church at *Constantinople*, and dedicated it to her, wherein she placed her own

*Vide Alamanus in Notis.*

Statue. 102. We find *Justin* by this time dead, but yet have not done with him, for there being some Laws of his making extant without day or Conful, they cannot properly be placed in any one year of his Reign, and therefore are to be spoken of in gross when his Reign is out; we mean such of them as illustrate the *ius publicum*, and shew the manner of Administration in his time. He was a Souldier, and though otherwife said to be dull and heavy, yet might sufficiently understand what were Clogs and Incumbrances of the Military profession. Yet did not he find out one certain particular of these mischeifs which was too prevalent in his time, till the common observation presented it to his view, as shoud seem by the remedy he preferred, which is not directed to any one private man, but to the Senate it self. In a certain Law or Oration thus directed, he takes notice of it as manifest, that his Predecessours had enacted many things concerning Souldiers, who undertook to manage Estates under the Title of Hiring; but so little were they regarded, that such Souldiers forgetfull of the punishment threatened, dared to undertake such fordid Employments, and neglecting their care for the Publick, and their Victorious Standards, hasted to turn Tenants to other men, and converted the sharphnes of their Weapons not against their Enemies, but to misuse their Neighbours, and perhaps the miserable Husbandmen they had undertaken to manage. Wherefore he was constrained to betake himself to the making of another Constitution, more deeply and fully to remove the Cause. He Commands therefore all that bear Arms, or Souldiers both of greater and lesser Rank for the time to come, to abstain from all hiring of other mens Estates. And by Souldiers he faith he means as well thofe who served under the High *Magistri Militum*, as them who were inrolled in the eleven most denote *Scholæ*, as also such as under divers Options were graced with the Name of Confederates. Such shall know, that upon such Contract they shall *ipso facto*, without any sentence given, forfeit their Military Employment, without possibility of being restored to their former Degree, either by the Emperours Indulgence, or by consent or permission of the Judge, under whom they undertook to discharge the Duty; that so by such new undertaking they may not loose their esteem, being from Souldiers rendered *Paganis*, and Infamous from men of repute; and that after such turning Tenants, which he absolutely forbids, what they had received from the Publick they be compelled to restore without all delay. In conclusion, such as let their Estates out to Souldiers, shoud be deprived of all help to recover them into their own Hands again. There are other Laws bearing his Name without Day or Conful, which relating to Marriage are to be considered of diligently in the place proper to the Character and Marriage of *Justinian* his Nephew and Successour.

## C H A P. II.

## Containing the long and active Reign of Justinian the Great.

The space of Eight and thirty years, three months and thirteen days.

## S E C T. I.

## Containing his Wars especially.

**J**USTINIAN was advanced to the Imperial Dignity, being as some write forty five years old, in the second year of Athalrick King of Italy, the second of Felix the Fourth, the Roman Bishop, fifty years after the Destruction of the Empire in the West, and the fall of Augusulus, the DXXVII of the ordinary Era of Christ, in the sole Confutal of Mavortius.

2. Having vast designs in his Head, he took at his first Establishment a right course to attain unto them. He began with the Service of his Maker, by directing his Subjects into the right way to know and serve him, by supressing such as would lead them out of the way into the by-paths of Heresie, and by several Acts of Charity and Royal Bounty, as our Ecclesiastical Writers observe, though they had no real kindnes for him. His vast designs were of all sorts which a Prince is capable of cherishing, extending both to the security and imbellishment of the Empire he received from his Ancestours, and to the inlargement of it by recovering what had been lost by his Predecessours. The former part he performed both by his Sword and his Pen, by opposing its Enemies and modelling the Laws; and the latter by a vigorous asserting of his Right, for so he esteemed it, to the members which lately had been Provinces; and though they were now become Barbarous Kingdoms, yet he thought the Pretenders to them could not plead such Prescription, as to invalidate his ancient Title, if his Arms could but procure him a reentry. How all these things he discharged, with other matters, is to be shewn in due method and place. And first, e'er his Uncle was well cold in his Grave, and he himself warm in his Seat, he found himself concerned to curb the Insolence of his Neighbours, for such he esteemed the Persians, but grudged to vouchsafe the Title to such Barbarians as had set up for themselves in the Roman Soil. The times requiring that much now should be said of the Transactions of the Persians with the Romans, it may be very convenient to fetch their matters higher, to give an account of the Succession of their Kings, and of such actions as either have been omitted, or only touched at in the Relation of Roman Affairs. For the Dignity of this Kingdom requires that it should here also have a place by it self, if we were furnished, besides the Succession of Kings, with any considerable bulk of History relating merely to it self, and not as conjoin'd and interwoven with the occurrences of the Roman Empire. Forasmuch as since the Conquest of Alexander the Great, and the fall of their Empire with Dariua, their Affairs have been scatteringly related, we shall now take the opportunity to present the Reader with a view of them. But first, it will be requisite to give an account of the Dominion of the Parthians, who not long after the death of Alexander became their Masters; and because the Kingdom of Persians and Parthians may by those that heed not well be confounded together, a clear distinction is necessary to be made of them.

3. It must be observed that the Persians being cast down from the grandeur of Empire and Sovereignty by Alexander and his Macedonians, were first subject to his Successors, and then for a long time Slaves to the Parthians. The Parthians were a Banished Company of Scythians; for in the Scythian Language, the very word is said to signify so much; and during the Empire of the Assyrians and Medes Vide Omphrium de Imperio Romano, p. 257. were most obscure. When the Persians arrived at the supreme power of the East, they were but an abject People, becoming a Prey to the Conquerour. They served the Macedonians in the like sort, as long as they desired they should; but when after

## CHAP. II. The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire. Justinian.

after Alexander's death his Empire came to be divided, none of his Captains would accept of them, and so they were delivered as Booty to Satagene a Stranger Assisted. But the Captains falling into Civil Wars, they together with the rest of the Nations of the upper Asia, followed Eumenes, and being overcome, went over to Antigonus, after whom they came into the Hands of Seleucus Nicanor, and afterwards of Antiochus and his Successors; from whose great Grandson Seleucus they first revolted, at what time the first Punick War depended. C. Attilius Regulus and L. Manlius Vulso both, the second time, being Consuls, in the year of Rome DIII. The Discord of the two Brothers about the Kingdom, viz. of Seleucus and Antiochus, gave them the advantage and opportunity who mutually striving to dispossess each other, regarded not this People which by falling off, diminished what they strove about.

4. The Authour and Procurer of the Revolt was one Arfaces, a man as of uncertain Original, so of manifest Valour, who being accustomed to live by violence and robbing, and believing that Seleucus was overthrown in Asia, without fear of the King's power, with a Number of Robbers entered Parthia, and killing Andragoras the Governor made himself Master of the Nation. Not long after he seized on the Kingdom of the Hyrcanians, and entered into League and Society with Theodotus King of a thousand Bazzian Cities, after which he gave Battel to Seleucus, who came to reduce him and his fellow Revolters; overthrew him and put him to flight. This Day was afterward observed as Solenn, and the beginning of their liberty. Seleucus being gone into Asia, he then formed his new Parthian Kingdom. He raised men, fortified Castles, secured the Cities, and Built a great one called Clara on the Mountain Thabrotenus. By these means Establishing his designed Kingdom, Arfaces became no less famous and memorable to the Parthians than was Cyrus to the Persians, Alexander to the Macedonians or Romulus to the Romans; and moreover lived to be an old man. After his Death, out of reverence to his memory, the Parthians called all their Kings by his Name, as the Romans named their Emperors Cæsars and Augusti. His Son and Successor, Arfaces also by Name, with wonderful valour engaged Antiochus the Son of Seleucus, though followed by an hundred thousand Foot, and twenty thousand Horse, and at last was admitted into his Friendship and Alliance. The Third was Pampacius who had also the Sirname of Arfaces, and dying in the twelfth year of his Reign left two Sons Pharnaces and Mithridates. Pharnaces the Elder succeeding his Father, subdued the Nation of the Mardi, and left his Brother Mithridates his Successor by his Testament, who Conquered the Medi and Blyni, and so many other people, as to extend the Dominion of the Parthians from Mount Caucasus to the River Euphrates.

5. After him came Pharnates his Son, the Sixth King of the Parthians, who first of all desired friendship of the Romans from L. Sulla then Proconsul, who in Asia then carried on the War against Mithridates King of Pontus. He was killed in a War against the Scythians, and was succeeded by his Uncle Artabanus, as was Artabanus by his Son Mithridates. He from the greatness of his preferment, obtained to be called Mithridates the Great; for he waged many Wars with his Neighbours, and brought under the Parthian Yoke several Nations, and fighting sometimes profusely against the Scythians, revenged the Injuries done to his Ancestours. He made War also against the Armenians, but was for his cruelty driven from the Kingdom by the Parthian Senate, and was succeeded by his Brother Orodes. He waged War with the Romans, and destroyed Crassus with his Son and almost the whole Roman Army. Pacorus his Son being sent to dispatch the Roman War did great things in Syria, but was suspected and called back by his Father, and in his absence all the Parthian Army was Cut off in Syria by C. Cassius the Quæstor of Crassus, with all its Captains. During the Roman Civil Wars, the Parthians sent aid to Pompey against Cæsar, as also to Brutus and Cæsarius, against Orlavius and Antonius. The Wars being over under the Conduct of Pacorus and Labienus who had been on Pompey's side, they invaded and seized on all Syria. But P. Ventidius Bassus the Roman General gave them Battel, and killing Pacorus and Labienus destroyed almost the whole Army, neither in any War did the Parthians receive a greater blow; and it is observable that Pacorus the Son of Orodes was slain on the same day that Crassus was destroyed, whose Death they accounted thereby revenged. Not long after Orodes was most wickedly Murthered by his Son Pharnates, who seized on the Kingdom.

6. Against Pharnates M. Antonius the Triumvir made War with sixteen most valiant Legions, because of the Aides that had been sent against Cæsar and himself. The Issue of it was that being tired out with many Battels, with Famine, Pestilence and Tempests, he fled from Parthia with his Army much lessened. With this suc-

**Sect. I.** *ceps Phrabartes* was made more Infolent, and thereupon doing many cruel things, he was driven by the *Parthians* into Banishment, and his Kingdom was delivered to one *Tyridates*, whom yet by the assistance of the *Seythians*, he drove away and recovered his Station. But he scarcely thought himself secure in it, when he heard how *Augustus*, after his dispatching of the War of *Spain*, talkt of making another upon him. It put him into such a fright, that he caused the Captains which had been of *Crassus* or *Antonius* his Army, to be gathered out of all *Parthia*, and with the Military Ensigns to be sent back to *Augustus*. Moreover he delivered over to his Sons and Nephews for Hostages. So that *Augustus* with the mere terror of his Name did more than another Prince could have effected by his Arms. But *Phrabartes* being Dead, his Son of the same Name, and the twelfth King of the *Parthians* succeeded him. And after him followed *Orodes*.

**Orodes 2.** *Orodes* was slain; and then came Messengers or Ambassadors from *Parthia* to *Rome*, to desire that *Vonones* the Eldest of the Sons of *Phrabartes* might Reign amongst them, whom his Father had formerly delivered an Hostage to *Augustus*. He was sent by *Tiberius* accordingly, but shortly after was driven out and had *Artabanus* for his Successour. *Vonones* retired into *Armenia* which then had no King, and *Artabanus* ran the same risque of Fortune, being laid at by his Subjects, and having War with the *Romans*, he was through the endeavour of *Vitellius* the *Legatus of Syria*, driven from his Kingdom by *Tyridates* one of the bloud Royal of the *Arsacidae*. *Tyridates* then became the sixteenth King of the *Parthians*, but not long so continued, for he was driven out by *Artabanus*, whom the *Hyrkanians* and *Caramanians* assisted, and fled to the *Romans* into *Syria*. *Artabanus* having recovered the Kingdom, had again like to have been betrayed by the Treachery of one *Sinaces*, whom having slain, the third time he recovered his Condition, and at length being thus tossed by various Accidents, was with his Wife and Son killed by his Brother *Gotharzes*, who became the Eighteenth King. To make good the Custome, *Gotharzes* was expelled by his Brother *Bardanes*, whom yet having slain he recovered his Estate, and overthrew in Battel *Meherdatus*, whom *Claudius* the Emperor had sent to feize on the *Parthian* Kingdom, and taking him alive only cut off his Ears. He being Dead, *Vonones* who governed *Media* became the twenty-fifth King of the *Parthians*. Of him there is nothing observable, but that he was Father to *Vologeses*, who became most famous in the *Roman* Annals.

**Vologeses.** 8. He waged a long and difficult War with the *Romans*, wherein he was not one-ly sometimes an Equal, but a Superiour alio. In the time of *Nero*, he took from them *Armenia*, and put under the *Jugum* two *Roman* Legions to their great Infamy. Having done extraordinary things he died an old man, and left his Son *Vologeses* his Successour; whose Actions are as obscure as his were remarkable. After him *Chodroes* was King of the *Parthians*, upon whom the Emperour *Trajan* falling, took from him first *Armenia*, and then *Mesopotamia* and *Affrygia*, and him he drove away, so that the *Parthians* were for some time without a King. When they were about to revolt, *Trajan* gave them for King *Parthensates*. Him *Chodroes* expelled, and recovered the Kingdom of his Ancestours. After him *Vologeses* long held it, with whom *Marcus* and *L. Verus* had many Wars, and took from him *Affrygia* and *Armenia* which had been left by *Hadrian*. After him *Artabanus* was the last of the *Arsacidae* that held the Empire of the *Parthians*, who waged War with various succses against *Severus*, *Antonius Caracalla* and *Macrinus* the *Roman* Emperours. At length when *Alexander Severus* Governed the *Roman* Empire, he was overthrown in three Battels by one *Artaxerxes* a *Perisan*, who not only put a period to his Life, but to the Kingdom and Empire of the *Parthians* in the *CCCLXXIII* year from the first *Arsaces*; by which means the *Parthians*, to whom the *Perisans* all this while had been Slaves, were again subjected in Servitude to that People in the *CMLXXVIII* year of *Rome*; of our Lord the *CCXXXVI*.

**Overthrown by Artaxerxes a Perisan, together with the Parthian Kingdom.** 9. *Artaxerxes* is said as *Arsaces* formerly to have been of obscure Original, but a man of great Spirit and valour. That he might restore the *Perisans* to their ancient Name and Repute, he solicited the several Nations of them to revolt, and when *Artabanus* came to chafisise the Rebellion, overthrew him thrice in Battel, killed him, and moreover restored the Empire of the East to the *Perisans*. Elevated by his Success, he fell upon the Neighbour Nations, to bring them also under the Yoke, and having caufed all that had formerly served the *Parthians* to submit, he would not keep himself within the Boundary of *Tigris*, but passing the River, and the *Roman* Limit, overran *Mesopotamia*, threatened *Syria* and laid claim to that Countrey lying opposite to *Europe*, the *Egean* Sea and Strait of *Propontis*, and known by the Name of *Aisa* (the Leis,) as having been governed by the *Perisan*

**Sapir Succeeds Artaxerxes,** *fan Satrapæ* from the time of *Cyrus* to *Darius* the last King in that Succession. For **Sect. I.** he boasted that it was his Duty to recover all the ancient Empire to the *Perians*. Having procured a great Name by his Arms, he died after he had Reigned fourteen years wanting two Months, and left a peaceable Kingdom to his Son *Sapor*. This is that *Sapor*, the most cruel of all others, who brought so much disgrace and prejudice to the *Roman* Empire and Name, who defeating them in a great and bloody Battel, took from them *Mesopotamia*, and *Valerian* their Emperour alive, as the Reader may remember. *Agathias* relates, how having wasted *Mesopotamia*, he fell upon the *Cilician*, *Syrians* and *Cappadocians*, whom he overthrew with so great slaughter, that he filled up with dead Bodies the Holes and distances of Mountains, thereby made the Hills even, and so Rode over them as on plain ground. But returning home, he was humbled by *Odenathus* of *Palmyrena*, and died when he had Reigned one and thirty years.

**Ormida.** 10. After *Sapor* succeeded *Ormida* his Son, who held the Kingdom not long, dying without having any thing performed worthy of memory, after a year and ten days. The next to him was *Vararanes*, who having Reigned three years, gave place to his Son of the same name. *Vararanes* the Second Reigned sixteen years, after whom succeeded *Vararanes* the Third, but only tasted of Sovereignty, which he enjoyed but four months. He was surnamed *Seganesma*, as *Agathias* judges, from the Nation of the *Segani* which his Father had Conquered. For when the *Perians* conquered a People they only put to death the principal Persons, and reserved the rest to Till the Ground and pay them Tribute; but as a Trophy or mark of Conquest they would have their Sons take the name of the place, as *Seganesma* King of the *Segani*. But he being quickly gone, *Narces* succeeded for seven years and nine months, who left his Son *Misdates* his Successour, so truly his Successour, that he not only Reigned over the same Nation but exactly the same time, seven years and nine months. After him Reigned *Sapor* the Ninth King of the *Perians*, whose Reign and Life was of the same extent; for his Mother having newly conceived him, upon prediction that it was a Male, they put the *Cidaris* upon her belly. He lived and reigned together seventy years, and this is he in whose day *Julian* invaded *Persia*, and in his twenty fourth year was *Nisibis* delivered up by *Jovian* into his hands. He left his Kingdom to his Brother *Artaxerxes* who died after four years, and had for Successour his Son *Sapor* the Third who Reigned five. In the next place came *Vararanes* the Son of *Sapor*, who, as *Agathias* writes, doubled his Fathers years, and added one more to them. He was surnamed *Cermasat*, from a certain Nation called *Cerma* which had been subdued. In like manner our Author tells us, as the *Romans* gave the Additions of *Africanus* and *Germanicus* from the Conquest of those Countries.

**Idigertes.** 11. After him *Idigertes* his Son was King of the *Perians*, and of great Name amongst the *Romans*. This is he whom *Arcadius* at his death is said to have made Guardian to his Son *Theodosius*. So it was delivered by Tradition *Agathias* confesseth, and to his time the report went both amongst the Learned and Ignorant persons. But he affirms it was not to be found in any Writings; not in the Histories of those who wrote of *Arcadius* his death, only in the Book of *Procopius* the Rhetorician. He expresseth himself hard of belief, and wonders that *Procopius* not telling how he came to the knowledge of the matter, should fall into commendation of *Arcadius* for his Prudence. Whereas the man being a Barbarian, an enemy to the Provinces, and of Manners, and opinion quite different from those of the *Romans*, the event was only to be admired. And if *Idigertes* kept faith with *Theodosius*, who was but now a fucking Infant, and discharged his Trust, he was more to be commended for his Goodnes than *Arcadius* was for his Wifedom, whom *Procopius* makes to have been only wife in this particular. However *Agathias* confesseth that *Idigertes*, though he Reigned one and twenty years, yet never undertook any War against the *Romans*, neither ever molested them with any injury, but was peaceable and kind to them; whether it happened so by chance, or that he spared the Boys, and was for preserving both Nations. His Son and Successor *Vararane* invaded the *Roman* Territories with a great Army, but did no hurt, being overcome with the Civility of *Anatolius* the Emperour's Ambassador. The *Perian* being come near the Army, *Anatolius* leaped from his Horse, and alone and on Foot went toward him, who demanded of the Company what he was; they said it was the *Roman* General; at which the King amazed as at an excessive Honour, turned his Horse and rode away, and after him followed his Army. Being in his Country he entertained the Ambassador with much Courtefe, and yielded to the terms of Peace he desired. That neither People should erect any Fortification

Sect. I. tion near the Borders of the other ; which if done they gave either fide opportunity of doing what they pleased.

Vararanes 6. 12. When *Vararanes* had Reigned twenty years , he left his Kingdom to his Son *Vararanes* the Sixth, who after seventeen years and four months gave way to *Perozes*. This *Perozes* was Valiant and Warlike, but with more Courage than Discretion made War against the *Ephthalites*, as *Procopius*, or *Nephthalites* as *Agathias* calls them, about their Boundaries. They were a Nation of *Hunnes*, known by the Name of *White Hunnes*, not mingled with the rest, as having no part of their Country bordering upon them. Their dwelling was to the North of *Perseia*, being no *Nomades* or wanderers as the other *Hunnes*, but seated in a good Land, where was a City called *Gorga*, and it seems it so contented them, that they made no Inroads into the *Roman Territories*, but with the *Perseian Armies*. As these *Hunnes* had white Bodies and Vifages not uncomely, their course of Life was not, as that of the rest, brutifi. They were under one King in a lawfull Government, and dealt justly amongst themselves and with their Neighbours, no les than the *Romans* or any other People. Their rich men had each twenty or more Companions, to be their perpetual Comrades, and to partake in a community of their Goods. When any of the Principals died, the Retainers were wont to be put into the same Graves with them. Those *Ephthalites* *Perozes* invaded, when *Eusebius* the Ambassador of the Emperour *Zeno* was with him. They pretended fear and to flee before him, and thereby drawing him into a place beset with Mountains and Thickets, from which there was no passage forward, they stopped his Retreat and forced him to submit to hard Conditions. Their King upbraiding him for his Raibnifs, said he would grant him and his Men their Lives, if he would adore him, being now his Lord, and swear his Country Oath, that the *Perseians* should no more invade the *Ephthalites*. *Perozes* consulting the *Magi*, they answered that for the Oath he might do what he pleased ; but in the thing he might delude the Enemy by a Trick. They having a Custom every morning to adore the Rizing Sun, he shold observe the hour, and meet the King of the *Ephthalites* with his Face to the Sun rising, and so adore, and hereby avoid the disgrace. *Perozes* accordingly swore the Peace, adored his Enemy, and then went home with his Army.

Perseis overthrown by them. 13. But not long after, neglecting his Oath he resolued to be revenged on the *Ephthalites*, and with all his own men and Confederates went against them ; of his thirty Sons taking all along with him except *Cabades* the youngest, but then grown a man. They hearing of his design, reviled their King for loosing the former opportunity, and required he shold go and meet the Enemy. He refused to doe it, the *Perseians* being yet in their own Country ; but, within his own Borders upon a Plain, through which they were to enter, he digged in a great space of ground a deep Pit extreme broad, leaving in the middle a narrow pallage for ten Horle a breadth ; over the Pit he laid Reeds, and upon the Reeds Turfis which concealed the Hole, directing his people when they should flee from the Enemy, to keep clost and few in Ranks upon the firm ground, and avoid the Pit. Then on his Palace he hung out his *Holas* or Gods by whom *Perozes* swore, and breaking his Oath invaded now the *Hunnes*. He sturd not so long asthe Enemy was within his own Countrey, but understanding by his Scouts that they were come to *Gorga*, on the Borders and marching toward him, he himself with most of his Army staid short of the Pit, sending out a Party to shew themselves upon the plain at a good distane ; and no sooner seen by the Enemy but to retreat again, remembiring the Pit. They did so, and the *Perseians* pursued upon full speedas in an open plain, and so fell into the Pit, not onely the foremost, but the Rere also ; for purusing furiously, they perceived not the mischief of those of the Front, but falling down upon them with Horfes and Lances, killed them, and were destroyed for Company. Amongt whom was *Perozes* and all his Sons. Such as escaped the Pit, fell into the Enemies Hands.

Defeated by a Strategeme and Slain. 14. Upon this dreadfull Disaster, the *Perseians* made a Law, Not to follow the chace in full speed, though the Enemy shoud run away in that haife. And to put themselves into order, they made King, *Cabades*, the only Son of *Perozes* surviving. Two years they served the *Ephthalites*, and paid them Tribute, till *Cabades* being confirmed in his Seat refused it. Heafterwards governed tyrannically, made many alterations, and particularly one Law, that the *Perseians* shoud have their Women in common, which the People misliked, and taking Arms depoised him and kept him in Prison. They chose *Blaeses* (*Agathias* calls him *Valens*) the Brother of *Perozes* for King, all his other Sons being dead. For of a private Race the *Perseians* might not chuse one, if the bloud Royal was not quite extint. *Blaeses* succeeding assembled

*Cabades* his Son made King.

And depoised.

*Blaeses* Successing.

assembled the cheif men of *Perseia*, and propounded in Council concerning *Cabades*, S. Et. 1. whom the Multitude would not endure to be put to Death. Many opinions being spoken, *Gusanahades* a principal man and by Office a *Chanaranges* or General upon the Borders of the *Ephthalites*, shewed them his Knife, such as the *Perseians* were wont to pair their Nails with, of a finger length, and an inch thick. See, faith he, this Knife is a very short one, yet can it doe that now, which within a while twenty thousand men will not be able : intimating that if they did not now dispatch *Cabades* he would get abroad and trouble them again. But they thought not fit to kill one of the Bloud Royal, but rather to keep him in the Tower of Oblivion ; where if a man was imprisioned, it was not lawfull to mention him, once to name him was death, and thence the Tower had its Name. Thought at one time the law of it was broken, in the Person of *Arsaces* King of *Armenia* therein a Prisoner, as *Procopius* tells the story out of the *Armenian Histories*.

*Cabades* escapes out of Prison. 15. *Cabades*, being in Prison, consented that his Wife should yield to the Lust of the Captain of the Capple, that she might have free access to him, which advantage he so improved as that changing Clothes with her, he got out of Prison, and being received by one *Seoset*, who had prepared Horses for him, escaped away into the Countrey of the *Ephthalites*. There he Married the King's Daughter, and brought an Army against the *Perseians*, who finding themselves too weak, fled from the *Hunnes*. Coming where *Gusanahades* was Goverour, he said that such *Perseian* as that day first came to offer his Service he would make *Chanaranges* ; and he repented of what he had said, when he remembered the *Perseian Law*, that no Government should be conferred upon Strangers in Bloud, but such onely were to have the place to whose race it did belong. But by chance his word was kept without Injury to the Law, *Adergudanahades* appearing first, a young man, Cousin to *Gusanahades*, and very expert in Marshal Affairs. He first saluted *Cabades* as his Lord, adored him as King, and befoignt him to Command him as his Slave. So he entred the Palace, and finding *Blaeses* without a Guard, put out his Eyes, as the *Perseians* were wont to deal with Malefactours, pouring into them boyling Oil, or with a Bodkin red hot, melting an Ointment into the insides of them, and he ever after kept him in Prison. After two years he put *Gusanahades* to Death, and made *Adergudanahades* General. *Seoset* he created *Adrafa-daras Salenes*, or Superintendent over all Offices and Armies, an Office first held by him in *Perseia*. None before nor ever after had it. *Cabades* Established himself and fecured his Empire, being witty and valiant, no man more. His restituation happened in or about the DI year of our Lord. This is that *Cabades* who two years after Quarrelled with *Anastasius*, because he would not lend him money, wherewith to pay a Debt due it seems to his Father-in-Law. And this is he, who also fell out with *Justin* the Emperour, because he refused to adopt his Son after the *Roman* manner. It concerned the Reader that he shoud have this Account, concerning the Succession both of the *Parthian* and *Perseian* Kings. Else this History would have been deficient, and he could not have well distinguished concerning *Parthians* and *Perseians*, the greatness of which Kingdoms, and that great part they acted in the World, who would have required a Chapter or Section by themselves, if we could have had Intelligence sufficient of their matters, which were transacted amongst themselves.

16. To omit then what we have already written of such Actions as fell out betwixt *Cabades* and those two Princes, *Justinian* being sole Emperour, directed *Belisarius* to build a Fort at *Mindon* upon the Confines, on the left hand of the way to *Nisibis*, who having advanced it to a considerable height, the *Perseians* with threats commanded him to desist. The Emperour perceiving he shoud be too weak for them, Commanded *Cutes* and *Buzes* the *Duces* of the Limits of *Phoenicia* *Tibani*, one of the fifteen Provinces subject to the Prefect of the *East*, to march to his Aftisstance with another Army. These Officers were *Thracians* and Brothers, and being young and rash were worsted, lost many of their men, and they themselves at length being taken Prisoners were shut up in a Cave, and no Forts defending the Building, the *Perseians* demolishit it. After this *Justinian* made *Belisarius* General of the *East*, Commanding him to make an Inroad into *Perseia*, and joyn with him *Hermogenes* Captain of his Guard, sometime *Quæstor* to *Vitalianus* when he rebelled against *Anastasius*. He also nominated *Rufinus* his Ambassador, in case a Treaty, of which there were made some Overtures, should proceed. *Belisarius* having evicted a good Army came to *Dara*, and *Perozes*, by Office a *Mirranes*, with an Army of *Perseians* advanced within two miles of it. *Belisarius* and *Hermogenes* wrote to him, advising him to forbear Hostilities and expect the coming of

Sect. I. of *Rufinus*, but he answered he could not trust them being *Romans* though upon Oath, and bad *Belisarius* make ready a Bath for him; for he intended the next day to bathe in *Daras*. The *Romans* had drawn a Line before the Town, and were ranged in such Order as amazed the *Perfians*, who though they faced them forbore to fight, only some slight Skirmishes had passed, and two *Perfians* who challenged any *Roman* to single Combats were killed, the one after the other, by one *Andrew* the Master of a Wrestling School in *Constantinople*. *Belisarius* desired a suspension of Arms, but what moved him to desire a Ceasation, moved also the *Mirranes* to deny it. Thereupon both prepared for a Battel.

17. The Battel they began with shourees of Arrows, which darkned the Air, and did great Execution on both sides. The *Perfians* herein had the Advantage that their Numbers were greater, and their fresh men still let fly upon the *Romans*, who at first did not consider it. Yet a strong Wind blew upon them, which suffered not their shot to do much more mischief than they received. When their Arrows were spent, they came to their Lances, and the left Wing of the *Romans* was much distrest, till relieved by three hundred *Hervili*, who being placed on purpose on an adjoining Hillcock, fell in upon the Rere of the Enemy, which being charged also by another Party on the Flank, gave ground, and at length ran away, about three thousand men being lost in their Right Wing. But their left together with their *Immortal Band* charged their Opposites with such Violence, that they put them to the rout. But then from the Angle of the right hand line, which the *Roman* Generals had caused to be drawn, a party ordered by *Belisarius* fell with fury on the Flank of the Barbarians as they pursued, and cut their Army in two. The *Perfians* who gave the chace foremost perceiving their Disadvantage, faced about and fell upon their pursuers, whereby they came to be charged both ways by the *Romans*, they that had fled before them now turning head. When the *Immortal Band* and the other *Perfians* near them saw the great Ensign lying upon the ground, acted by Indignation they charged the *Romans* a-freh, who received them so warmly, that they soon had enough, and fled away in Confusion. The Foot surprized with terror and amazement, cast away their Bucklers and were cut in pieces. The *Romans* killed about five thousand, yet the chace lasted not long, their Generals causing them to retreat, lest the Enemy should rally and worst them thus pursuing without order. They thought it enough to have got the Victory in this manner, for before that day it had been long since the *Perfians* were defeated by the *Romans*, so they parted for this time, neither would the *Perfians* come to any more Battels. There only followed some Skirmishes upon Inroads, wherein the *Romans* had not the worst.

The *Perfians* defeated,

18. Such was the Succels *Cabades* found in *Mesopotamia*, who had sent another Army into the *Roman Armenia*. This confisst of *Perfarmenians* and *Suites* who bordered upon the *Alans*, and three thousand *Sabrian Hunnes*, a very Warlike Nation, Commanded by *Mermereos* a *Perfian*. Intelligence being given where they lay to *Dorotheus* the Commander in *Armenia*, and *Sittas* General of the Forces, they fell on a sudden upon them, and killing many, rised their Camp. Not long after their Return, *Mermereos* to be even with them, invaded the *Roman* Territories, and overpowering his Enemies in Numbers had destroyed them in their Camp, but that *Sittas* placed with a Reserve behind an Hill, came upon his Rere in good time, and the *Perfians* by reason of the Dust, not being able to discover how many men he had, and fearing they might be more numerous than they were, left the Camp, and retiring into a Body were defeated and fled. But because they exceeded the *Romans* in number, they rallied, and coming to dint of Sword the Fight was very sharp, till *Florentius* a *Thracian*, and Captain of a Troop of Horse, with the los of his Life seized the *Perfian* Standard and cast it to the ground. The Barbarians loosing sight of their cheif Ensign fell into fear and disorder, and retiring to their Camp the next day marched home. And none pursued them, the *Romans* thinking they had done enough, having first beaten them in their own Country, and now sent them home worsted by a smaller number, without having any thing performed. Afterwards they took in some Towns in *Perfarmenia* with two Forts called *Bolus* and *Pharangium*, whence the King had a Revenue of Gold Mines. *Sittas* before this War had also subdued the *Tzaniens*, who Inhabiting the Inacessible Mountains covered with perpetual Snow, had lived by picking and stealing, but now by him civilized were inrolled in the *Roman* Troops, marched with their Armies and turned *Christians*. About the same time *Narses* and *Aratius*, who had formerly fought against *Belisarius* and *Sittas*, revolted to the *Romans*, and were entertained

And Retreat with los.

entertained by *Narses* the Emperours *Quasfor* who was also a *Perfarmenian*. This their younger Brother *Isaac* hearing, held secret Intelligence with the *Romans*, and delivered into their Hands the Fort *Bolus*, which was not far distant from *Theodosiopolis*, letting in the Souldiers by a Postern. And so he also came to *Constantinople*.

19. But the *Perfians* who lay about *Daras*, though defeated by *Belisarius*, yet kept together about these Parts, till *Rufinus* the Ambassador coming to *Cabades*, solicited him about a Peace as most conduable to the flourishing Estate of both Nations. *Cabades* laid the load upon the *Romans*, urging that the rearing of the several Forts of *Daras*, *Mindon* and the rest, were quite contrary to the Articles of the Agreement concluded with *Anaphasis* the Emperour, and he alledged that the *Romans* ought to contribute half of the expence toward the keeping of the *Caspian Gates*, through which the Neighbouring Nations were wont to forage both Countries. He dismissed the Ambassador with publick Answer, that he was resolv'd not to lay down Arms till the *Romans* either joyned in the Guard of the Gates, or dismantled *Dara*, yet privately he intimated to him that for a Sum of money he would be content to lay aside all Quarrels, wherewith *Rufinus* acquainted the Emperour at his return to *Constantinople*. Thirther soon after came *Hermogenes*, and so together with the Winter ended the fourth year of the Reign of *Justinian*. The Occurrences of these years being thus interwoven by the Author, so as not to be diffore us, and must now prosecute what remains till the conclusion of this present War.

20. In the beginning then of the following Spring, seventre thousand *Perfian* Horse under the Command of *Azarethas* their Countryman invaded the *Roman* Territories, and with them *Alamundarus* King of the *Saracens*, followed by great numbers of his Subjects, not as they were wont by the way of *Mesopotamia*, but by *Comagena* at that time called *Euphrates*. This way they took by the Advice of *Alamundarus*, who was now become chief Councillor to *Cabades*; for *Perozes*Mirranes having los most of his Army was in disgrace, the King having taken from him the Head-Tire of Gold and Pearl which tied up his hair, a mark of the greatest honour in *Perfia*, next to the King, where none might wear Ring, Belt, Buckle or any thing of Gold, but by the King's express Licence. To trust *Alamundarus* he had good reaon, both in respect of his Abilities being a very wife man, and an experienced Souldier, as also because his Emnity to the *Romans* was remarkable, he having for the space of fifty years, much indamaged them by foraging their Country, from *Egypt* to *Mesopotamia*, burning, killing and making an innumerable company of Slaves, being indeed the most circumspect and dangerous Enemy the Empire had. His great advantage was his having Command of the *Saracens*, under the *Perfian* Dominion, with the Title and Authority of King, whereby he could make his Invasion when, where and as he pleased. Neither the *Duces* of the *Limits*, nor the *Phylarche* or Princes of the *Saracen Tribes*, in League with the *Romans* were able to oppose him. *Justinian* put many of these Tribes under *Aretas* Cheifain of the *Saracens* in *Arabia*, to whom he gave the Title of King, though this was a thing not usual with the Emperours, and it profited nothing, either through the ill fortune or treachery of *Aretas*. For, *Alamundarus* continued to make Inroads and Depredations as far into the East as ever, so long till he was become very old. He told *Cabades* that if he invaded the *Roman* Domions as formerly, by the way of *Mesopotamia* and *Orene*, he could have no sure bargaine of it. That the Country about *Euphrates* and *Syria*, next it, had neither any fortified City, nor considerable Forces, but he shoud find *Antioch* the chief City of the East with no Souldiers to secure it, and the Inhabitants only intent upon Feasts and Past-times. He urged that he might easily take it by surprize, and return home securely before the Forces in *Mesopotamia* could have the News. For Water and Provisions he shoud take no care, for he himself would lead the Army the most convenient and securest way.

21. These *Perfians* being the fift that ever made an Invasion this way, much surprised the *Romans* and perplexed *Belisarius*. Notwithstanding he having left a sloop, which they understanding, resolved not to hazard themselves, and fairly treated. *Belisarius* overtook them as they were trussing up their Baggage on by a speech he indeavour'd to shew them how improper a thing it would be to set upon a flying Enemy, and provoke him by necessity and desperation to doe that which

**Sect. I.** which he had formerly neither desired nor thought: and the ingagement would be unreasonable at this time especially, when they were all fasting, and according to the Christian Custome, were to Eat nothing all that day and the Night following. But the Army reproached him for his Speech, not muttering but with open clamour to his Face calling him Fainhearted Man, and a Discourager of them; so that he plainly saw he must dissemble the matter and comply, and amazed at their impudence he turned his Discourse to encourage them, saying that he knew not their Alacrity before, but now he took Courage, and should lead them against the Enemy with more hope. *Azarethes* seeing the *Romans* Embattled, exhorted his men to shew themselves *Perians* by arguments drawn from necessity and despair, which are wont to make even Cowards Valiant. At the first Encounter more *Perians* than *Romans* fell by Arrows, though they shot thicker being almost all Archers, and the most dextrous then living; but their shafts coming from weak Bows little bent, and lighting upon the Armour of their Enemies, broke without doing much harm, whereas the shot of the *Romans*, though it was slower, coming from stiff Bows much bent, and stronger Armes than those of the *Perians*, sped where it lighted, no Armour resisting its force. Two thirds of the Day passed, and the fight was equal; but then the best Souldiers amongst the *Perians*, agreed to charge the Right wing of the *Romans*, where stood *Aretas* and his *Saracens*. They opened their Battel, and probably out of design to betray *Belisarius*, ran away.

**22.** The *Roman* Horse spent with toiling and fasting, and now overcharged on all sides, gave it over and betook them to their Heels. Some that gallantry of mind staled, died with grinning honour. The *Iaurians* and *Lycanians* making no resistance were cut in peices, for they were men utterly unexperienced, newly taken from the Plough, knew not what a Battel meant, and yet they were hotter for the fight than any, and reproached *Belisarius* with Cowardise not long before. He having for some time successfully made head, and defended himself from being run down by the *Perian* Horse, Night came on, whereupon the Enemy returning to his Camp, he passed into an Island of *Euphrates*, and with the remainder of his Army was conveyed to *Callinicum*, in Boats from thence for that purpose. The *Perians* coming to plunder the Field, found they had no cause to brag of the Victory, having lost as many of their own men, as they had slain of the *Romans*. And when *Azarethes* returned to Court, he had no thanks for what he had done, having neither taken *Antioch*, nor any other place as the King expected. It had been an ancient custome in *Peria*, that when an Army was levied, the King sat upon his Throne, having by him the General designd for the expedition. And certain Baskets were placed there, into which as the Army passed before the King man by man, each cast an Arrow, which done, they were sealed up with the King's own Seal. When the Army returned from the Expedition, each Souldier took out his Arrow, and certain Persons were intrusted to number the Arrows remaining, who thereby informed the King concerning the number of the Souldiers come home, and thence he knew how many had perished in the War. This course being now taken, when *Cabades* understood how many Arrows were left in the Baskets, he reviled *Azarethes* and ever after held him in disgrace.

**23.** *Justinian* seeing he had work enough made him by the *Perians*, bethought himself of some Assistance; and for that purpose resolved to try if he could draw the *Homerites* and *Ethiopians* to joyn with him against them. The *Homerites* Inhabited to the East of *Palestine* upon the *Red-Sea*, which taking its beginning from *India* according to the Hydrography of *Procopius*, terminated in that part of the *Roman* Empire, having upon the Coast, where it ends in a narrow Strait, the City *Ælas* with the Mountains of *Egypt* to the South, and toward the North a City *Ætas* with the Mountains of *Arabia* to the North. Opposite to the *Homerites* on the other shore, Inhabiteth the *Ethiopians* called *Auxomis* from the City *Auxomis* their King's Residence. The Sea betwixt them (by some called the *Red Sea*, as the rest towards *Ælas* the *Arabian Gulf*) was five days and nights Sail over with a reasonable gale, there being no danger by Night from any Shelves or Rocks in the passage. The Haven whence they sailed into *Ethiopia* was called *Boulcas*, and they of the *Homerites* whence they sailed into *Ethiopia* was called *Boulcas*, and they landed at an Haven of the *Adulites*, distant from the City *Adulis* only two miles and an half, and from *Auxomis* twelve days Journey: The Vessells of *India* and others, which in those days sailed these Seas, were not built like other Ships, neither trimmed with Pitch or such like stuff, nor were the Planks fastened with Iron, but tied together with Cords. Not because of Iron-drawing Rocks as was then vulgarly thought, the *Roman* Ships on the same Sea finding no such matter though built with Iron; but because neither *Indians* nor *Ethiopians* had Iron, nor other materials

materials for that use, neither could they buy any of the *Romans* who forbade it on pain of Death.

**24.** During the War with *Peria*, *Helliphæus* King of *Ethiopia* being a very devout Christian, and hearing that many of the *Homerites* were Jews, and some Heathens laying excessive burthenes upon Christians, sent out a Fleet and an Army against them, and slew their King with much People. He made King one *Esimphæus* one of their own Nation and a Christian, and imposed on them a Tribute, many of his own Souldiers also liking well the Country, would not return but fixed there. Not long after, the People imprisoned *Esimphæus*, and made one *Abram* King, a Christian, who had been slave to a *Roman* Merchant at *Adulis*. To punish these Innovators *Helliphæus* sent two Armies, but one revolted alared with the goodnes of the Land, and the other returned with los, so that he forbore to meddle any more with *Abram*, who yet after his death was content to pay the Tribute to his Successour, and so was confirmed in his place. During the Reigns of *Helliphæus* and *Esimphæus*, the Emperor *Justinian* sent his Ambassadour *Julian*, to defire their Confederacy with the *Romans* against the *Perians*. Besidest that they were of the same Religion, he propounded to the *Ethiopians*, that they might make themselves Masters of a very rich Trade, by dealing with the *Indians* for their Silk and selling it to the *Romans*, for of this Silk were then made the anciently called *Perian*, and afterward *Seric* Clothes. He defired of the *Homerites*, that they would set over the *Maadeni Saracens* one *Caius* descended from the *Phylarchæ*, and an ancient Souldier, who was fled into the Wildernes for having killed a Kinman of *Esimphæus*, and he prayed that together with these *Saracens* they would invade the *Perians*.

**25.** Each of them dismissed the Ambassadour with fair promises, but never performed them. The *Ethiopians* were not able to buy the Silk, because the *Perian* Merchants being the next Borderers, came first to the Havens where the *Indians* unladed, and bought up all. The *Homerites* thought it too much to travell through a Defart many days Journey, to fight with a more Warlike People than themselves; and *Abram* afterward often promised and once began the Journey, but returned home again. About the same time *Hermogenes*, being sent on an Embassie to *Cabades*, had as bad or worse succes, not being able to procure a peace, the King was so enraged after the Battel of *Euphrates*. *Belisarius* was sent for home to make War upon the *Vandals*, and *Sittas* was ordered to take care of the East. The *Perians* with a fresh Army Commanded by *Chanaranges*, *Apfendes* and *Mermeroes* entered *Mesopotamia*, and there being none to resist them, late down before *Martyropolis* in the Province of *Sophanene*, thirty miles to the North of *Amida*, and situate upon the River *Nymphaeus*, which bounded the *Roman* and *Perian* Dominions. They were valiantly received by the Defendants, though the Town was not at all fortified for a Seige, and wanted all sorts of Provisions. *Sittas* was then abroad with a *Roman* Army, but durst not come within twelve miles, being accompanied by *Hermogenes*, who was now sent on another Embassie.

*Martyropolis* Be-  
fighted by  
*Perians*.

*Cabades* dies.

The Seige ra-  
fed.

**26.** In the mean time one of the *Perian* Spies discouers to *Justinian* much of their affairs, and that a Nation of *Massegetes* was coming into *Peria*, and thence were to invade the *Romans* with an Army of that Kingdom. The Emperor having had experiance of the Man's truth, perswaded him for a reward, to go and report to the Army lying before *Martyropolis*, that these *Massegetes* were hired by the Emperor, and were instantly to come and raise the Seige, upon which story they were sore afraid and doubtful what to doe, when in the mean time a matter of great concernment fell out, which expedited their Buffles. *Cabades* the *Perian* King died, after he had Reigned thirty years from his Imprisonment, and on his Death-bed by advice of *Mebodes* his cheif Favorite, ordained *Cosroes* his Son his Successour by Testament. The Will being kept close, *Cosroes* the Eldest presuming upon the Law assumed the Title, but *Mebodes* checked him for so doing, alledging that none of himself might take the Kingdom, but by the Votes of the principal *Perians*. *Cosroes* never suspecting the great Officers, gladly referred the matter to their Cognizance, who when they perceived what was the determination of *Cabades*, out of reverence to his Virtues declared *Cosroes* King of *Peria*. The Report hereof being carried to the Camp before *Martyropolis*, the *Perian* Generals not knowing in what condition the affairs of their Country stood, and still being afraid of the *Massegetes*, began to listen to *Sittas* and *Hermogenes*, who not being able to relieve the Town, preffed them much to suspend all Acts of Hostility, and retiring home to suffer Ambassadours to take up the Quarrel, and for the reality of the Embassie they offered Hostages. The Hostages being received, the Army drew

Sect. I. drew off and returned home. Which done, the *Hunes*, or *Massagetes*, shortly after entered the *Roman Territories*, and finding no *Perisan Forces* to joyn with them, in a few days also returned home.

27. *Herogenes* with his fellow Ambassadors, *Rufinus*, *Alexander* and *Thomas*, had Audience of the *Perisan King* at the *Tigris*, who upon their Arrival released the Hostages. To make him tractable they used flatteries, little becoming the Character they bore, which moved him to conclude a perpetual Peace for an hundred and ten Centenaries, on condition that the Commanders of the Forces in *Mesopotamia* should reside no longer at *Daras*, but at *Constantina*, as formerly they had done. But the Forts in *Lazica* were resolved to restore, and yet demanded of the *Romans* restitution of *Bolus* and *Pharangium*. Now a Centenary weighed one hundred pound weight, so called of *Centum* in Latin, (containing of our money, as some reckon, three hundred forty six thousand, and five hundred pounds,) and this Gold he demanded to quit the *Romans* from demolishing *Daras*, and sharing in the charge of the Garrison at the *Caspian Gates*. The Ambassadors agreed to all but the Forts, alledging that they could not deliver them without express Licence first had from the Emperour. It was resolved therefore to send *Rufinus* to *Constantinople*, about these particulars, prefixing him for his Journey seventy days, the rest being to stay till his return. *Justinian* hearing the terms, the *Perisan* stood upon, gave his consent; but *Chosroes* having a false story, how that he was offended with *Rufinus*, and had put him to death, in great Anger invaded the *Roman Territories* with an Army. When *Rufinus* returned and met him near *Nisibis*, it was resolved to consummate the Peace, and the money was brought into Town by the Ambassadors.

28. But now again, *Justinian* repenting the quitting of the two Forts, wrote to his Ambassadors not to part with them, whereupon *Chosroes* refused to conclude the Treaty; *Rufinus* considering how unluckily he had brought the money into the *Perisan Dominions*, cast himself at the King's Feet, begging of him safe conduct for the money, and to defer his designed Invasion. *Chosroes* granted all for his sake, so that the Ambassadors carried the money back to *Daras*, and the *Perisan Army* retreated, which made them jealous of *Rufinus*, and accuse him to the Emperour, because the King had yielded to every thing at his perswasion. But the Emperour neglected the complaint, and sent him shortly after back to the *Perisan* with *Herogenes*, and they concluded that each should restore what had been taken in this War, viz. The *Romans* the Forts of *Bolus* and *Pharangium*, and the *Perians* the places in *Lazica*. That there should be no Commanders of Forces residing in *Daras*. And for the *Iberians* now at *Constantinople*, they had free liberty either there still to continue or return home. Thus was concluded the perpetual Peace, as it was called in the sixth year of *Justinian's Reign*, the DXXXII of the ordinary *Aera* of *Pergae ad hinc* <sup>Sect. paragraph 128.</sup>

A perpetual  
Peace concluded,

*Justinian* con-  
firms about a  
War against the  
*Vandals*.

*John the Prefect*  
against the War  
a *Cappadocian*, being the boldest and smartest man of his time, who laid before the Emperour the difficulty of the Enterprise. For his Army must either march

by

by Land an hundred and forty days Journey, or Sail to the utmost bounds of the Great Sea, as he called it; so that the very News of the succels must be a year coming to him. Grant he should have the better, he could not be Master of *Africk*, both *Sicily* and *Italy* being in other Hands. And if Fortune should prove Crofs, he must needs draw the War upon his own Dominions, and indanger his Affairs now well settled. The Emperour for these Reasons let fall his eagerness for the War. But a Bishop out of the East got Acces to him and told him, that God had charged him in a Dream, to blame him for having undertaken to deliver the Christians of *Africk* from Tyranny, and now to grow cold upon no ground at all, whereas I will assist him, said he, and make him Master of that Countrey. Upon this the Emperour could hold no longer, but made preparations both by Sea and Land, requiring *Belisarius* to fit himself for the Expedition.

30. Here being ready with him to pass over into *Africk*, where we are to make some stay, we must first fit all in order at home in point of Hisfory, and discharge our selves of a tumult which happened at *Constantinople*, a little before the Conclusion of the Peace with *Perfa*. *Marcellinus* Writs that it happened in *January* on *Vide Baronium ab d. A.*

A great Tumult  
happened before  
the Peace at Con-  
stantinople.

But the Emperor is pre-  
pared with a  
Bishop to un-  
derstand it.

The Fabulous in  
Cities diffin-  
guished by Co-  
lours.

Prasini, the Blewe and the Greens; but of late about these Names and Colours wherein they stood to see Sights, they confund their Estates, abandoned their Bodies to Tortures, and refuted not the most shamefull Death. They would run the danger of fighting with their Opposites, being sure, shoud they get the better, to be haled to Prison, and after extreme torturing, to be killed. There grew so ridiculous an hatred betwix them, that it was without ground, and no Kindred, Alliance, Religion, or indeed Divine or Humane things or consideracion whatsoeuer could withstand it. What became of themselfes or any thing else they cared not, to their Party did prosper. The very Women did partake in this Abomination, not only as the followers of their Husbands, but often being their Oppofites, though they were never wont to go to the Theatre, nor had other Inducements. Our Authorour knows not what to call it, but believes that it was a Distemper of the Imagination or fancy; however this it was in every City and Corporation, and this gave original to that Mutiny, he thence proceeds to describe.

31. But before we follow him, seeing that this madnes did so ordinarily rage, and was of such consequence as to produce strange and dismal effects in the Common Wealth, it will be convenient to inquire farther into the Original and manner of these Distinctions. Some have Written that *Onomous* first found out these Colours of the *Circus*, by which the Factious People distinguisht themselves, and that

thereby he as it were represented the Context of the Earth and Sea. They call Lots, and he who happened to act the part of the Earth in the Context, put on a *Green Garment*; but he that was for the Sea, was Clothed with one of a *blewish Colour*. That this Context *Onomous* infinituted on the twenty fourth day of *March*. If so be the *Green Colour* had the better, all hoped for plenty from the Earth, if the *Blew*, they expected Serene and safe Navigation; therefore Husbandmen wished for the Succes of the *Green*, and Seamen of the *Blew*. But as the People thus distinguisht themselves by these Colours, so did the Chariot drivers that ran the Races in the *Circus*. And *Terullian* tells us, that at first there were only two of these Colours, viz. the *White* and the *Rufe*, or *Reddih*. The *White* was devoted to Winter, by reason of the Snow, and the *Rufe* (so he calls it) to Summer, because of the redness of the Sun. But afterwards as both Pleasure and Superstition increased, others Consecrated the *Rufe* to *Mars*, others the *White* to the *Zephiri*, the *Green* to *Mother Earth* or *Spring*, and the *Blew* to *Heaven* and *Sea* or *Autumn*. But whereas, faith he, all Idolatry is Condemned by God; that is also condemned which is profaned by the worldly Elements.

32. It seems therefore, that at the first these Colours were taken up by such as made Contexts, or celebrated Games in honour of these Elements, (which *Terullian* accounts Idolatrous,) and that time and Custome bringing these heathenish Solemnities into every City and place any whit considerable, they continued such contentions

*Vide que citat At-*  
*lantina ex an-*  
*tiquis Hisforiis*  
*rum Collectanias,*  
*Cod. Vat. in No-*  
*ta ad Arcane*  
*Hift. p. 30.*

*De Speciebus*  
*c. 9.*

Sect. 1. contentions in their Cirques or Hippodromes, and at length the Spectators took upon them the Names, if not the Colours which at first the Actors only wore, and divided themselves as their Affections or other Inclinations carried them, to that prodigious excess as Procopius relates. In Rome these four Factions had been from the beginning of the *Cæsars*, and before. The colour they called *Prasinus* was *Vide Onuphrius de ludi circensis, c. 1.2.*

The *Fatigio Praefixa*.  
Rufata.  
Alba.  
Veneta.

*Caius Caligula* was so extremely addicted to this Faction, that he supped and was commonly to be found in the Stable belonging to the Chariot drivers, and he would drive himself in the place which was called *Caiamus* after him. Its also reported of *Verus* that he loved these *Aurige*, favouring this Faction of the *Prafini*. Of *Commodus* that at his own House he would drive Chariots clothed in this colour, where he killed a great number of wild Beasts, as he did many also publicly. And of *Elagabalus* that he did the same thing. The Faction called *Rufata* as also *Rufa*, and *Rubea* or *Ruffa*, was also of old in *Rome*; *Livy* making mention of one of those Drivers or a *Rufatus Auriga*: and *Pliny* relates that it was found in the Acts of *Felix*, another of this sort (*Rufati Auriga*) that fire being put to his Funeral pile, one of his favours cast himself upon it. This Faction is called by *Martial*, *Coccina*. And *Onuphrius Panninius* mentions two Marbles with their Inscriptions dedicated to the memory of two Drivers, or as they are there called *Agitatores* of this same Faction.

33. Of the third Faction called *Alba* or *Albata*, because the Drivers were Clothed in white, mention also is made by *Pliny*, as *Onuphrius* observes, as also in an ancient Table of Stone described by him. Of that of the *Veneti* or *Venetiani*, as sometimes it is read, there is a large account, for which *Vitellius* the Emperour had so much respect that he killed some of the multitude for openly cursing it, as done in contempt of himself, and out of the presumption of some new hope. *Verus* was abused by them because he most idly fided against them. *Caracalla* drove Chariots himself in this colour. These four Factions had their Stables for their Horses which ran Races in the *Circus*, near the *Circus Flaminius*. To these four ancient, *Domitian* added two more, one of a Golden and the other of a Silver, (some say Purple) colour; but after his Death, when all his Acts for his Cruelty were recinded by the Senate, its probable they were again abolished, and so four remained as before, though *Dio* speaks of six Chariots which ran in the *Circensian* Games in the days of *Commodus* and *Severus*. But whether four or more than four, the principal Factions most taken notice of, most daring, pertulant, and indeed in a manner only factious and factitious, were the *Prasinii* and *Veneti*, especially toward and in the time whereof we now write. The whole People in a manner was divided into them, and when met in the *Circus*, broke out into unspeakable impudence and violence, taking occasion to vent other Acts of emulation and malice, than what related to the Races run by their several Drivers. The Emperour had a particular Officer, who was his mouth to them, as was the *Quæstor* in the Senate, who prescribed what he would have done, and checked their tumultuous humour. But the Emperours might thank themselves for the Disorders that happened, most of the Debauched and Extravagant Princes having of old driven Chariots themselves, and others of them addicted themselves with too much zeal and favour to one of the Factions against the other.

The beginning of the Mutiny called *Nica*.  
John the Prefect.

34. So is *Justinian* reported to have done, as we shall hear with both Ears, from the pretended History of *Procopius*; let us now attend this Author in his unquestionable Relation of this Mutiny. At this time, then, he saith the Prefect of the City led some *Fatigios* to Execution. Thereat both Parties took Allarm and agreeing betwixt themselves, first rescued the men, then broke the Prisons, and let out all sorts of Malefactours; and at last without any respect to Authority, killed the Officers of the Prefect. The Citizens who were of neither Faction, fled to the opposite Continent, and the City as if under an Enemy was set on Fire. The Temple of St. *Sophia*, the Bath of *Zeuxippus*, the Emperour's Court from the Porch to the Temple of *Mars*, the great *Porticus* reaching to *Constantine's Forum*, and the Houses of many great men, with much wealth were consumed. The Emperour and Empress with some Senators shut themselves up in the Palace, and flurried not. The word of the Mutineers was *Nica* or overcome, and thence this Mutiny was afterward called by that Name. At this same time one *John a Capadocian* was *Praefectus Praetorio* of the East, and *Tribonian* a *Pamphylian* was *Quæstor* to the Emperour. *John* was a man altogether unlearned, scarcely able to Write, but of excellent natural Abilities, the most powerfull man *Procopius* ever knew, both to discern what was fit to be done, and in doubtfull things to find a Resolution,

solution, but the wickedest man alive, in wickednes he employed the strength of his Parts, without respect to God or men; for gain studying, the Ruine both of the Estates of private men, and of whole Cities. Growing suddenly to excessive Wealth, he fell into boundles luxury, preying upon the Subjects till Dinner time, and then spending the rest of the day in Gluttony, Drunkennes and Lecherie: In Sum, a man greedy to get money, and more lavish in spending it. *Tribonian* on the other side, over and above his great natural Abilities, had attained to such excellency of Learning, as he was inferiour to none of his time. But in the methods of Covetousnes, as indolent as the other, being ever ready to sell Justice for gain, making and repealing Edicts every day, ever selling them to any one who had occaison to use them.

35. During the Quarrels of the People about Names and Colours, there was little said concerning the misgovernement of these men. But when they consented, and were now formed into a Mutiny, they openly railed upon them, and consulted how they might kill them. The Emperour to appease the Turnut put them both out of their Places. To that of Prefect he advanced *Phocas a Patritian*, a wife man and naturally addicted to Justice, and *Basilides* also a *Patritian* and a famous honest man he made *Quæstor*. But the Mutiny raged nothing less. On the fifth day thereof towards Evening, the Emperour caused *Hypatius* and *Pompeius*, Nephews of *Anastasius*, to retire from Court to their own Houses. At first they delayed to do it, which made him more earnest they should, though they pretended it was not fit to leave him; for he was jealous of them, and they feared that the People would force them to the Empire. And so it came to pass; for the Mutineers hearing that they were retired from the Palace, the next morning ran to them, and saluting *Hypatius* Emperour, conducted him to the *Forum* to take the Government upon him; *Maria* his Wife, a sober discreet Woman, crying, lamenting, and protesting that they were leading him to his Death, and hanging upon him to stay him till they forced him from her. Having by plain constraint brought him to the *Forum of Constantine*, they proclaimed him Emperour of the Romans, binding about his Head a Golden wreath, for want of a Diadem.

36. The Senatours, as many as were not in the Palace, joyned, and the opinions of many were to tri their Fortunes at the Palace; but *Origen* a Senator perswaded them not to hazard all at one push, but carry their businesse leasurely, not doubting but *Justinian* would run away. *Hypatius* then bade them lead on to the *Circus*, as some thought purposely out of affection to the Emperour, who now consulted whether he should stay or fly by Sea. Many speeches were made, but

The Empress Theodora with a manly Courage dissuaded him from stirring, affirming Death better than Exile or Depoing, and sticking to that old saying, How brave a Sepulchre is a Kingdom? Hereat taking Courage, they considered how they might defend themselves. All the Souldiers who lay Quartered about the Palace or elsewhere, neither affected the Emperour nor joyned in the Murmy, but expected the Event. All his hope was in *Belsarius*, who being newly come from the *Perian War*, had brought with him a strong Guard of Lanciers, Targetiers and others, all old Souldiers. And *Mundus* the *Magister Militum of Illyricum*, being sent for to *Constantinople*, chanced to bring with him a Troop of *Heruli*. *Hypatius* in the *Circus*, went directly and fate down in the Emperour's Seat, where he was wont to behold the Horseraces and other Exercises. But out came *Mundus* by the Gate *Cochlea*, so called from its round shape like the shell of a Snail. *Belsarius* first resolued to set upon *Hypatius* in the Imperial Seat, and called at an Hall where was wont to be a Guard of Souldiers, bidding them open the Doors for him to go against the Usurer. But they resoluing to expect who shold be Conquerour, made as if they heard him not, upon which he returning to *Justinian*, cried out that all was undone, because the Souldiers had revolted.

37. But being directed by the Emperour through the Brazen Gate and the Portal, and passing with much danger and toil, through Rubbith and places half burnt, he got to the *Circus*. Being come to the Gallery of the *Veneti*, which was to the right hand of the Emperour's Seat, he thought to set upon *Hypatius*, but fearing to be cut in pieces in a narrow passage, he resolued to fall on the innumerable Multitude which crowded together. Drawing his Sword, and bidding the rest doe the like, he ran upon them with a great Shout, who seeing Armour, and old Souldiers hewing them down unmercifully, fell to running away. A fearfull cry being made, *Mundus* rush into the *Circus* also at the Gate called *Neera*, and so between *Belsarius* and *Mundus* quell the Mutineers.

*Hypatius and Pompeius killed.* Sect. I. *raides* and *Justus* the Emperour's Nephews, and led together with *Pompeius* to *Justinian* who commanded them to Prison. *Pompeius* little versed in Affairs of the World, could not refrain from weeping, but *Hypatius* chid him, saying, that men who perished unjustly, ought not to be lamented, as they being forced by the People first, and then coming to the *Circus* for no hurt to the Emperour. However the Souldiers killed them both the next day, and cast their Bodies into the Sea. *Justinian* confiscated their Estates, as of all the Senators that had joyned in the Mutiny, and afterward when he had given away all their best Lands and Goods, restored to them and the Sons of *Hypatius* and *Pompeius* their former Dignities, with so much of their Estates as he had not given away: so ended this Mutiny. *Tribonian* and *John* were restored to their Places. *Tribonian* being a pleafant fair spoken man, and able to veil his Covetousnes with abundance of Learning, died in his Bed without any other disgrace, of whom we are to speak upon a better occasion. *John* was troublefome to the World, and being both a publick grieved and terror, at length after feveral years came to such an end as he had deserved. Of which hereafter.

38. Such is the Relation made by *Procopius*, concerning this Mutiny, thenceforth called *Nica*. This is strange in it that both the Factions, *Veneti* and *Prafini*, shou'd joyn against the Emperour. For, he is exceedingly blamed, even as a madman, for siding with the *Veneti* against the other. We have another story told concerning the Mutiny being begun by the *Prafini*, who clamorously demanded Justice against *Calapodius* a Bed-chamber-man, and a *Spatharius*. But *Procopius* himself distinguishes as to the time, betwixt that space wherein these Mutineers contended about Names and Colours, which it seems was three or four days together, and that wherein the Factions joyned together, and then demanded Justice against *John* and *Tribonian*. During the Contention betwixt themselves, and while they were divided, the *Prafini* found occasion to quarrel with the Emperour about *Calapodius* a Bed-chamber-man, and a *Spatharius*, as *Theophanes* relateth out of the ancient and publick Monuments of *Constantinople*. Now because from this sparke proceeded so great a flame as was that of *Nica*; and because as in forme Picture, *Alamannus* tells us, may therein be discovered the State of the Empire as now it stood, the humour of *Justinian*, the licentious demeanour of the multitude, in the *Circus* and Theatre, and other things relating to the clearing of the History of these times, we shall transcribe the Relation as we find it worded, Dialogue or scolding-wife, betwixt the Emperour's *Mandator* and the Factionists, though the style and expreſſions be very rude and bald.

39. The Rebellion (it begins) called *Nica*, happened after this manner. Both the Factions met in the *Circus*, and the *Prafini* or *Greens* with great clamours required that *Calapodius* of the Bed Chamber, and a *Spatharius*, might be proceeded against according to Law. *Prafini*. Long mayst thou live, *Justinian Augustus*. I suffer unjust things. Good *Cesar*, neither can I bear them, God is my witness, but I dare not mention any Person, lest I should procure him better fortune and, for so doing, danger to my self. *Mandator*. Who is that? For I am ignorant of the matter. *Proc*. He that injures me lives in the Region of Tailors, most August Prince. *Mand*. No body injures you. *Proc*. One there is and he alone who deals unjustly with me. So may he never lift up his Head, O Mother of God. *Mand*. Who is this? for we know nothing of it. *Proc*. *Calapodius* the *Spatharius*, my Sovereign, it is he that injures me. *Mand*. But *Calapodius* hurts no body. *Proc*. Whosoever he is, let him perish as *Judas*. Let God punish him that injures me, and that speedily. *Mand*. Ye come not hither to behold the Shews, but to revile your Governors. *Proc*. Whosoever, I say, vexeth me with Injuries let him perish as *Judas*. *Mand*. Be quiet, ye Jews, *Manicheans* and *Samaritans*. *Proc*. Do you call us Jews and Samaritans, and the Mother of God is propitious to us? *Mand*. How long will ye pour out Curse upon your own Heads? *Proc*. Whosoever faith not that the Emperour doth believeth right, Anathema to him as to *Judas*. *Mand*. If ye will hear me, be all baptized into One. *Proc*. They tumultuously cry out, as *Antas* Commanded, I am baptized into One. *Mand*. Absolutely, if ye will not be quiet it shall cost you your Lives. *Proc*. Every one indeavours to usurp that he may be secure. But if we who are afflicted, if we say any thing, let it be interpreted in the best Sense by your Majesty, for the Divine power beareth with all. We have a Tryal to be, O Emperour, and therefore we speak all. Forasmuch, Mighty *Augustus*, as there is neither Court nor any Establishment of Polity; then I go only forth into the City when I am at *Burdene*, and I wish, Mighty *Augustus*, not then neither. *Mand*. Every Freeman may freely go whither he pleaueth. *Proc*.

*Apud Almannum.  
Natis p. 62.*

*The cluding Lan-*  
*guage betwixt the*  
*Emperour's*  
*Mandator,* and  
*the Mutinous*  
*Prafini.*

I am confident of my liberty, yet am not permitted to come abroad. What Freeman forever he be, if he be suspected to be of the Faction of the *Prafini*, he is openly punished with los of the Light.

40. *Mand*. Ye that are near to destruction, spare ye not your own lives! *Prafini*. Let us indeed that bear this Colour be cut off; And let there be no such thing as that called Justice. Abstain from slaughters, and then let us be punished. As those Waters flow from the Fountain, so let their Blood flow, whom thou wouldest have punished. But those two things (*Injustice* and *Cruelty*) humane Nature absolutely abhors. O would *Sabatius* (the Father of *Justinian*) had never been born, and then he had not had a Son of blood. Now the six and twentieth Murther hath been committed at *Zemga*. In the Morning he was a Spectator, and in the Evening he was killed. O Sovereign! *Veneti*. Amongst you one is to be found Murtherers in the *Circus*. *Prafini*. And when diſt thou part hence without blood? *Ven*. As for thee, thou without any caufe falſet on killing. For as I said of such as meet in the *Circus*, those that kill are onely to be found amongst you. *Proc*. Our Lord *Justinian*, They provoke others, and no body kills them. I think he that hath no mind to it, understands this. O Emperour, who killed the Carpenter at *Zemga*? *Mand*. Ye killed him. *Prafini*. Who killed the Son of *Epagathus*, O Emperour? *Mand*. And that did ye; but ye draw the *Veneti* into the guilt. *Proc*. Now, Lord have mercy upon us. How is Truth opprefſed! And one would almost now dispute with them who contend that humane Affairs are governed by Providence. How comes this Misfortune? *Mand*. God is no Tempter of evil things. *Proc*. True, God is no Tempter of evil things. But who opprefſes me unjustly? Go to. Whether thou beſt a Philosopher, or an Hermite, give a diſtinction of both. *Mand*. Ye Blafphemers and impious, when will ye be quiet? *Proc*. Seeing ſuch is your pleasure, moft *August Sir*, I am quiet, though unwilling. I know all and every thing, but I am ſilent. Justice farewell. There's no place left for thee now. I will be gone, that I may turn Jew. It's absolutely better, and to be initiated in the Rites of the *Gentiles*, God knows, than to agree with the *Veneti*. *Ven*. Let me not ſee such wickednes; yet the hatred of you provokes me to with it. *Proc*. Let their Bones be digged up after death that will ſtay here to gaze. So the *Prafini* departed, leaving the Emperour and the *Veneti* in the *Circus*. It ſeems however that both Factions afterward agreed to join againſt the Emperour; a wonderfull thing! But how infirm muſt this Government have been, which was continually in danger from the Meetings of ſuch multitudes together, where ſo many thoufands, though of one Faction, were unanimous, as we ſee they ſpeak as one man in the firſt Perfon singular. Their boldnes was ſuch as scarcely could a Prince bear, who had life and death in his power, ſo long at leaſt as they were pleased to permit it. Now we have cleared all at home, though long ſtirr, and left no disturbance behind us; we muſt therefore launch forth, and attend upon *Belisarius* into *Africk*. But we muſt first clear the way for him, by declaring who they were he was to conquer; and what Dominion, Kingdom or Power it was that he was ſent to ſubdue.

41. *Africk* then, the Reader may remember, was feized by *Genefrick* or *Gizerick* and his *Vandals*, who were called in by *Boniface* the Roman General, diſobliged by *Placidia*, the Emperour *Valentinian*'s Mother, through the tricks of *Atius*. They were both great Souldiers, inferior to none of their time, and ſo high in worth and ſpirit, that in the opinion of *Procopius*, he ſhall not err who calls either of them the laſt of the *Romans*; but they always diſferred in publick Affairs, and the emulation of *Etius* procured the los of *Africk*. How *Boniface* too late repented he had called in the *Vandals*, and was beaten by *Genefrick*, we have ſeen; as also how *Genefrick*, proceeding in his deſign, subdued *Africk*, ſettled his Interell therein, took *Rome*, and became troublefome to all his Neighbours. How the vast Army and Fleet ſent to chaffe his Infolence by *Leo*, miscarried through the treachery of *Basilicus* we have alſo heard, moreover of the Deſign of *Majorianus* to recover *Africk*; how he diſguifed himſelf as the Emperour's Ambaſſadour to make a diſcovery, but diſcovered when the *Romans* had good hope to recover that Country. *Genefrick* having either by force or artifice ſlaken off his Enemies, harrafled the *Roman* Provinces more than ever, till *Zeno* came to a Treaty with him, and a perpetual Peace was concluded; That the *Vandals* ſhould commit no Acts of Hostility againſt the *Romans*, nor from them receive any. This Treaty was obſerved all the time of *Zeno* and *Anastasius* his Successour, and during the Reign of *Justin*. *Genefrick* at length died a very old man, having reigned over the *Vandals*, from the taking of *Carthage*, ſeven and thirty years.

*Belisarius* ſent a  
againſt the *Vandals*.

Sect. I.  
Honoric.

42. By his Testament he charged the *Vandals* that the Kingdom should fall ever to such Male descended from himself as was eldest in years. *Honorick* his eldest Son succeeded him, *Genzo* being lately dead; and during his Reign the *Vandals* had war only with the *Moors*, who being rid of *Genericick* who kept them in awe, did the *Vandals* much mischief, and received much from them. But this *Honorick* was most cruel and unjust to the Christians of *Africk*, forcing them to turn *Arians*, or for refusal, burning, and in several sorts destroying them. From many he cut out their Tongues by the roots, who, *Procopius* writes, to his time lived in *Constantinople*, speaking perfectly, and feeling no manner of inconvenience from that torture. Two of these medling with light Women after it, lost their Speech. *Honorick* having reigned eight years, died of sicknes, at which time the *Moors* held *Aurafum* a Mountain of *Numidia*, thirteen days journey Southward from *Carthage*, and there lived in liberty, having shaken off the yoke of the *Vandals*, who could not make war against so high and craggy a Mountain. By the death of *Honorick* the Kingdom came to *Gundamund*, the Son of *Genzo*, and Grandson of *Genericick*, having the advantage of years above any of his Racc. He had many Battels with the *Moors*, vexed the Christians in the most extreme manner, and died in the twelfth year of his Reign. His Brother *Trasamund* succeeded, a goodly man, wife and magnanimous. He also laboured to make the Christians change their Religion, not by Tortures, as his Predecessours, but by courting them with Honours and Offices, and with large Gifts; taking no notice of such as would not submit. If he found a man in a great crime, he offered him impunity to change his Religion.

43. Having lost his Wife, and being without Children, out of desire to establish the Succession, he asked in marriage *Amalafrida*, the Sister of *Theoderich*, King of the *Goths*, whose Husband was lately dead. He sent him his Sister with a Guard of one thousand selected *Goths*, who were followed by five thousand more fighting Men; and he gave her *Lelybaum*, one of the Promontories of *Sicily*. *Trasamund* feirned the most powerful of all those who had governed the *Vandals*, and most illustrious; yet in his Reign they received a great overthrow from the *Moors*. *Cabaon* who was Prince of the *Moors*, inhabiting about *Tripolis*, a man experienced in many Wars, and very witty, hearing that the *Vandals* would be upon him, first enjoined his People to forbear unjust dealings, delicious diet, and especially the company of Women. He made two Intrenchments; in the one he lodged himself and his Men; and in the other he shut up the Women, making it death for any Men to go into their Intrenchments. This done, he sent Spies to *Carthage*, with direction to observe what indignities the *Vandals* in their march offered to Christian Churches, and when they were gone from the place, that they should doe the quite contrary. And he said he was ignorant indeed of the God whom the Christians worshipped; But it was likely, if he was so powerful as they said he was, that he would punish those that scorned him, and defend those that honoured him. The Spies having observed the preparations of the *Vandals* at *Carthage*, followed the Army in a poor disguise toward *Tripolis*. The *Vandals* in their first days march lodged in the Churches of the Christians, put into them their Horses, and other Beasts, and spared no kind of indignity. They practised therein all lewdnes, and beat and whipt the Priests they found, commanding them Duties which they imposed on their meanest Slaves.

44. So soon as they were gone, the Spies of *Cabaon*, according to their order, cleaned the Churches, lighted the Lamps, did low reverence to the Priests, and used them courteouly, and to many Poor about these Churches gave Money, and then followed the *Vandals*. In all the Journey they mended what the *Vandals* did amiss; and getting before to *Cabaon*, told him how far off the Enemy was, and what they had done to the Churches. He presently then prepared for a Fight. The Field he chose to intrench in, he took in with a circle, and placed his Camels side-long in a round to fence his Camp, making the Front twelve Camels deep. The Women and Children, unserviceable Men and Baggage he put in the middle, and his fighting Men he placed within the Legs of those Beasts, having Shields to ward with. To such a kind of Battalion he *Vandal* knew not what to doe, being neither Archers, nor Darters, nor good Infantry, but moft Horsemen, using the Lance and Sword, and not able to hurt an Enemy afar off. Their Horses not enduring the fight of the Camels, would not approach the Enemy, who plying them with Darts from a safe place did such execution upon them and their Horses, that they ran away. The *Moors* followed the chafe, and took and killed so many, that few got home. Such fortune had *Trasamund* with the *Moors*, and after seven and twenty years died.

45. *Hilde-*

Hilderick.

45. *Hilderick* the Son of *Honorick*, and Grandson of *Genericick*, succeeded, a Prince mild to his Subjects, and not harsh to Christians or any else, but fainthearted, not enduring to hear of War. *Hoamer* was his General, his Nephew, and a good Souldier, whom they called the *Achilles* of the *Vandals*. In his Reign the *Vandals* left Battel against the *Moors of Byzacium*, commanded by *Antallas*, and quarrelled with *Theoderich* and the *Goths in Italy*. For *Amalafrida* they kept in prifon, and put all the *Goths* that attended her to death; pretending they preached against their King and State. And this *Theoderich* was not in capacity to puniſh, wanting a Navy to make war upon *Africk*; and *Hilderick* was an ancient Friend of *Justinian*, who then had the Government in his own Hands, (his Uncle *Justin* being very old, and not skilled in Affairs of State) and they courted each other with Prefents. But there was of the Race of *Genericick* one *Gelimer*, the Son of *Gelilac*, the Son (or Nephew by his Son *Gensom*) to *Genericick*, who being next in years expected to succeed *Hilderick*. For War he was renowned, but wicked of disposition, and skilfull in Mutinies and Rapines. *Hilderick* had yielded to him the management of Affairs; but perceiving his Reign to come slowly, he could not content himself with that condition, but made a Party, and perfuded the Principal *Vandals* to depose *Hilderick* as a Coward, and beaten by the *Moors*, and one who betrayed the State to the Emperour *Justin*, to keep the Kingdom from him who was of the other Houfe; and this he faid was the intent of the late Embaffy to *Constantinople*. Upon these persuasions they did so. And *Gelimer* being advanced to the Kingdom, shut up *Hilderick* in Prifon in the seventh year of his Reign; as also *Hoamer* and his Brother *Euages*.

Sect. I.  
*Hilderick, viris extimis poterat.*

46. *Justinian*, who was now Emperour, having notice of it, sent Ambassadors, and wrote to *Gelimer*. He told him that he acted not religiously, nor as was due to the Testament of *Genericick*, to keep in prifon an old Man of his Bloud, and his King too, if *Genericick's* wife *Constitution* was worth any thing; and to force him from a Kingdom, which shortly he would have by Law. He advised him not to proceed in Evil, nor change the Title of a King for that of an *Usurper* for a little advantage of time; but to let him carry the Image of Royalty to his Grave (into which he was stepping) he having the management of it already; and having the Substance to attend upon the Law of *Genericick* for the Name. If so he did, he would find God propitious, and him his Friend. *Gelimer* herewith was only to far concerned, as to fend away the Ambassadors dissatisfied, to put out *Hoamer's* Eyes, and to keep *Hilderick* and *Euages* in straiter prifon, accusing them to have attempted an escape to *Constantinople*. Upon this *Justinian* sent other Ambassadors, and told him that he did not think he would have done quite contrary to his Advice. But seeing it pleased him thus to get a Kingdom, he bid him take what Fortune gave him; but he would have him fend *Hilderick*, and blind *Hoamer* and his Brother to *Constantinople*, to get such comfort as men were capable of, who had lost Kingdoms and Eyeight. If this he refused to doe, he would not endure it. The hope they had in his Friendship, he said, induced him thus to act in their behalf; and the Treaties with *Genericick* could be no obfaice, being not to make war upon, but to vindicate his Succesour.

*Gelimer, Cognitorum Princeps, Euages, prope fortis.*

47. To this *Gelimer* gave an Anfwer, which had this direction; King *Gelimer* to the Emperour *Justinian*. He told him he had neither taken the Kingdom by force, nor committed impiety againt his own Bloud. That the *Vandals* deposed *Hilderick* for practising against the Houfe of *Genericick*. That time had called him to the Kingdom, giving him his right of Eldership according to Law. That it was good for a man to govern what he himself had, and not incroach upon other Mens Cares; and twas just in him who had a Kingdom of his own, not to be thus meddling. If he broke the Treaties and invaded, he would oppote him to his power, calling to witness the Oath sworn by *Zeno*, whose Succesour he was. *Justinian* was angry before, but these Letters more excited him to revenge. And being, *Procopius* faith, an acute Devifer, and nimble in execution, he refolved to conclude the *Persian* War speedily, and then to invade *Africk*. *Belisarius* General of the East was then at Court, and fent for; but not a word of his leading an Army into *Africk*. It was given out that he was discharged of his Command; and the *Persian* perpetual Peace was newly made. But all being well at home, and with *Perfa*, the Consultation was held with the great Officers we lately mentioned, whereby the Emperour was diverted, till animated again to the Enterprize by the Eastern Bishop.

48. *Tripolis* was already in the Emperour's Hands, being betrayed by *Pudentius* a Native. *Pudentius* was protected by *Godas a Goth*, and Servant of *Gelimer*, a man

man

Sect. 1. man pragmatical and courageous, and seeming most affected to his Master. To him *Gelimer* had committed the care of *Sardinia*, and to collect the Tributes there; but his mind not digesting such a Fortune, he usurped the Island, and denied to send the Tributes, keeping them to himself. Understanding that *Justinian* fought occasion of a War with *Gelimer*, he wrote to him, and told him that not out of ingratitude, or suffering any disfavour from his Master, he had thought upon a Revolt: But considering the Man's cruelty, both to Kindred and Subjects, he would not willingly be a partaker of the fame. He said it was better to serve a Rightfull Emperor, than a Tyrant who commanded things unlawfull. He prayed him therefore to consider the weightiness of the Enterprize, and to send him Forces to defend him from an Invasion. The Emperour sent *Eulogius* to him, and in an Answer commended his Wifedom and Zeal to Justice, and promised Aides, and a General sufficient to keep the Island, with assistance otherwise, that the *Vandals* should not hurt him. *Eulogius* being come into *Sardinia*, found *Godas* had taken the Title and Habit of a King, and got a Guard about him. To the Emperour's Letters he replied, that for Souldiers, he desired them, but had no need of a General; and dismiss'd *Eulogius*.

*Justinian's preparations for the War.* 49. *Justinian* had prepared four hundred Men, commanded by *Cyril*, to defend the Island for *Godas*. He had in readiness for the Expedition of *Carthage* ten thousand Foot, and five thousand Horse, levied of the Legionaries and Confederates; for transporting of whom were appointed five hundred Vessels, of which none were of more burthen than fifty thousand *Medimni*, nor of less than thirty thousand; now a *Medimnus* contained six *Modi*, in weight one hundred and eighty pounds. They were manned with twenty thousand Mariners, most *Egyptians*, *Ioniens* and *Cilicians*: the Admiral of the whole Fleet being *Calonymus*, an *Alexandrian*. In case of a Sea-fight, they had ninety two Pinnares, called then *Dromones* for their swiftness (for the use and names of *Triremes* and *Liburnae* were then grown out of date;) with one row of Oars and Decks over the head to cover them from the Enemies Shot, having aboard no Passengers but two thousand Rowers from *Constantinople*. *Archelaus* a Patrician, formerly *Præfetūs Prætorio*, in *Constantinople* and *Ilyricum*, went Prefect of the Camp; for so they called the Officer who made provision for the Army. Over them all was *Belisarius* Commander in chief, with absolute authority, whom by a special Commission the Emperour impowered to act and doe as he shoulde think fit; ratifying and confirming all things so acted and done, as if he himself had given the orders. He was attended by many Launciers and Targeiers, old tried Soldiery. He was born, not in *Germany*, as some of that Nation would have it, but in *Germania*, a City of *Thrace*, in the Confines of *Ilyricum*, which was a Metropolis, and is mentioned in the Sanctions of the Eastern Bishops. *Procopius* faith exprefly that this *Germania* lay betwixt the *Thracians* and *Ilyrians*; and he had reaſon to know, being both his Contemporary, and his Aſſessor in this very expedition; being at first afraid of the Voyage, but afterward encouraged and made eager upon it by a Dream, which he himſelf relateth.

*Selisarius the  
General taketh  
Ship.*

made eager upon it by a Discourse which he delivered to them. In the seventh year of *Festina's Reign*, about the Summer Solstice, the Army imbarkeſt, and *Belisarius* commanded the Admiral Gally to ride under the Palace. Thither came *Epiphanius* the Patriarch, and having made ſuch Prayers as were fitful to the occation, put aboard a Souldier newly baptizet, whose Godfather and Godmother were *Belisarius*, and his Wife *Antonina*, who named him *Theodosius*, the Man being one of their own Retainers, and much valued by them. Thus the ſaid General and his Wife put to Sea, with *Procopius* in their company, having received the Patriarch's benediction in the manner related; for the Ancient Christians put a great ſtreſt upon Baptiſm, holding that by all Sins were forgiven to the Parties, (which made them defend it till the period of their lives;) and that an Action could not better be hallowd and bleſſed than by celebrazione of that Sacrament. The Fleet following the Admiral, and coming to *Perinthus* (at that time called *Heraclia*) laid there five days, whence failing to *Abydus* they were becalmed four days, and fo had time to ſcutting about two *Maffages*, whom the General had cauſt to be crucified for killing in their drink one of their Countrymen. Having by a Speech appeaſed the minds of the Souldiers, and perſuaded them to live soberly, he painted the Mafts of his own Ship and two others, aboard of which was his Train, with red from the top about a third part, and fet up high Poles in the Stern, on which he hung Lanthorns that they might be ſeen both by day and night, and thereby the Fleet be kept together. By this means he pro cured that not one Veffel was caſt behind; and when they weighed Anchor from any Harbor, the Trumpets were sounded to give warning. From *Abydus* a ſtiff gale brought them to *Sige-*

- Joan. Leoncl. pro  
œmio in Zozim.  
vide Aleman. in  
Procopii Histor.  
secret.

- Procop. de bello  
Vandal. lib. I.  
S ex Hist. se-  
cunda.

## CHAP. II. *The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire.* Justinian.

to *Sigeum*, whence, being becalmed, they came to *Malea*, where the calm flood  
them in good stead, the want of Sea-room for so great a Fleet so much indangering  
the Ships by night, that although the Mariners behaved themselves very well, calling  
out, and with their long Poles thrusting and keeping distance from one another,  
yet had the Wind been great, they could hardly have kept from falling foul,  
and indangering the Fleet. Getting clear, they reached *Tenarus*, at that time cal-  
led *Cenoplos*; whence coming to *Methone*, and the wind not serving, the General  
landed his whole Army.

51. Here he modelled the Army, and distributed the Commands thereof, where-  
in when he busied himself, lying Wind-bound, many of his Souldiers died of a sick-  
ness, occasioned by the avarice of *John the Cappadocian* lately mentioned. The  
Bread for the Army, that it might not quickly corrupt, was wont to be twice bak-  
ed (whereupon it was called *panis biscoctus*, or Bisket) so that of necessity the  
Souldiers must have a fourth part leſs in weight. Now this *John the Prefect*, that  
he might ſpend leſs wood and wages upon the Bakers, and alſo gain by the weight,  
brought the Loaves unbaked to the publick Bath, called *Achili*, where putting  
them into the Stove, under which the fire was made; when they were thus forrily  
baked, he ſent it in facks to the Fleet. Being come to *Methone*, the Bread turned to  
dough, grew mouldy, corrupt and muſty; but such as it was, the Officers diſtri-  
buted it to the Souldiers, who feeding on it in Summer, in a place of extreme  
heat, fell ſick, and more than five hundred died; and more had, but that *Belisa-  
rius* pro cured Bread of the Countray adjoining, for which he received thanks from  
the Emperour, but as then could not get *John* to be puniſhed. From *Methone* they  
failed to the Port of *Zante*, where taking in freſh Water, and other neceſſaries, in fix-  
teen dayes they paſſed the *Adriatick Sea*, (ſo *Procopius* calls that which others know by  
the name of *Ionian*) and with a flack wind arrived at a deſart place of *Sicily*, near to  
Mount *Etna*, having all their Water corrupted, except what was drank at the General's  
Table, which his Wife had preſerved in ſix Vefels of *Glaſ*, covered thick with Sand  
in the Hold, where no Sun could come. *Belisarius* was now got hither, but he  
wifht not well himſelf to what purpoſe, neither knowing what Souldiers the *Vandals*  
were, nor how, nor whence to make the war upon them; the Souldiers alſo were  
ſo fearfull, that they ſhamed not to profeſ, that as on Land they would doe their  
beſt, ſo if the Enemies Fleet ſhould appear, they would fly, not being able to fight  
with them and the Waters too. In this perplexity he ſent *Procopius*, his Aſſeffor, to  
*Syracuse*, to make what enquiries he could, and then to meet him at *Caucana*, twenty  
seven miles diſtant from *Syracuse*, where the Fleet ſhould ride at Anchor.  
He was fully informed by an old Friend of his, concerning all circumſtances; as that  
there was no fear of the *Vandals* way-laying them, because there was not any report  
of an Army coming, their beſt Souldiers being ſent againſt *Godas*, and *Gelimer* be-  
ing to ſecure, that neglecting *Carthage*, and the Sea Towns, he made his abode at  
*Hermione*, near *Bizacium*, four days journey from any Sea. The General receiving  
this intelligence with great joy, weighed Anchor, and failed by the Islands of *Gaula*  
and *Malta*, whence with an Eaſterly wind they came the ſecond day upon the Coast  
of *Africk*, to a place called *Caputruada*, five days journey from *Carthage*.

*Belifarius lands.* probability he must come to an engagement, resolv'd to land forthwith ; and taking the Horse they had brought with them, Arms and other necessaries, to intrench within a good Rampire, and thence to begin the War. The Rampire was finisht the same day, and their succ'ss therein was double, lighting upon a Spring in digging, which supplied both Men and Beasts with water, a thing never heard of before in that dry Tract of *Byzantium*. Having secured the Ships by appointing eight Archers to each, and the light Gallies to lie round about them ; by *Boraeus*, one of his Life-guard, he took in *Syrritus*, a Sea-town in the way to *Carthage*, the Townsmen willingly delivering up the Keys. The same day the Maister of *Gelimer's* Potts revolted, giving up his Horses ; and one of the *Veredarrii*, or Potts themselves was taken, whom the General would not suffer to receive any hurt, but giving him a good quantity of Gold, took his oath to deliver *Fuljinian's* Letters, which he had written to the *Vandals*, into the hands of the Gouvernours. They were written to this purpose ; that, *It was not his intent to make war upon the Vandals, nor infringe the*

*Sect. 1. Treaty formerly made between Geneserick and his Predecessors, but to free them from an Usurper, who neglecting that King's Leftarm, kept their Lawfull Prince in Prison, and otherwife afflicted and tormented those of his Blood. He exhorted them to join with him in this good work, to the end that they might enjoy peace and liberty, which to observe inviolably to them, he made Oath to Almighty God. The Man took the Letters, but durst not shew them to any, except some private Friends, and so nothing material came of this Project.*

*53. Belisarius beginning his march for Carthage, ordered it in this manner. To the Right hand was the Sea, and therefore on that side was no danger, the Fleet by his order keeping them company. A Forlorn-hope; consisting of three hundred Targetiers, he committed to John the Controller of his Household, by the Romans called Optio, being an Armenian, and a man eminent both for valour and conduct. Directing him to march some two miles and a half before, he commanded the Massagetes to keep on the left hand of the Army, himself bringing up the Rere, with his best Men, and expecting Gelimer to come forthly from Hermone. He governed his Souldiers so well in his passage, that by their sobriety and temperance he gained much upon the Africans, so that he marched as in his own Country, the People neither removing themselves nor goods, but giving free Market, and doing all offices of kindness to his Men. Gelimer hearing of their approach, wrote to his Brother Ammatas at Carthage, to kill Hilderick with his Relations, and arming such Vandals as well he might, at a Town called Decimum, about eight miles from Carthage, where was a narrow Passage, to charge the Enemy on both sides, and intrap-  
Ammatas five  
Ambras, Mi-  
nisteris Impe-  
ranti,*

*him. He accordingly killed Hilderick with Evagges his Cousin, Oamer being dead before; and prepared his Men for the design of Decimum. Gelimer also sent his Nephew Gibamund with two thousand Vandals to keep on the Enemies left hand, that so Ammatas from Carthage, he himself in their Rere, and Gibamund on their left hand charging together might encompass them. Thus was the Plot laid. As to the succels, Ammatas came to Decimum three hours before his time, both the Armies of Romans and Vandals being then short of the Place. And he came but with a few, and those not of the best neither, leaving the main Body in Carthage to follow after. He killed twelve stout Fellows in the head of John's Troops, but fighting valiantly was himself slain, at the sight whereof his Men were disengaged, and running away, caused the main Body to fly, who marching out of order, and seeing their Fellows running, turned head, and imagining great numbers pursued, fled back for company. In the pursuit John's Troops did great execution, killing up to the Gates of Carthage for eight miles length such a number, that one would have guesst it a work of twenty thousand Men at least.*

*54. At the same time Gibamund with his two thousand Men falling into the hands of the Massagetes, perished every Mother's Son without any resistance, at the Salt Plains, five miles from Decimum. Belisarius having no notice of any of these Accidents marched towards Decimum; four miles from which, in a convenient place, he intrenched himself. There having made an encouraging Speech to his Army, and a Prayer to Almighty God, he left the guard of his Wife and Camp to the Foot, and fellid with his Horse, sending the Confederates before him. The Confederates had not long continued their march when they were encountered by the Vandals, and Gelimer at the head of them, by whom they were easily put to flight, running away to a Town less than a mile from Decimum, where was Viliaris, one of Belisarius his Life-guard, and eight hundred of his Targetiers. Here the Vandals, concluding that Viliaris would receive them stoutly, made an hault, although his Troops fled amain to Belisarius; and Gelimer having the Victory in his hands, carelessly quitted it. If he had followed on the chafe, the General himself had not stood him, but all had been utterly ruined, so vast seemed the number of the Vandals, and so great was the fear of the Romans. Had he rode on towards Carthage, he had defeated the Troops of John, then wholly disordered and intent upon the Plunder of the Field; whereby he should have saved the City, become Master of the Enemies Ships, and cut off both all victory and hope of a safe return. But he did none of these things, riding loitly down the Hill, and then in the Plain, spending the time in lamentations after he had found his Brother's Body, and neglecting such an opportunity, as thenceforth he could never recover. For Belisarius caused his flying and dispersed Men to rally, and animated upon report of the succels of John against Ammatas, after he was sufficiently informed, both concerning the Enemy and the Place, marched against Gelimer and his Vandals. They being unprepared, and in disorder, ran away amain; and the execution lasting till night, many of them fell. The rest fled not to Carthage, nor Byzacium, whence they came, but towards*

*towards the Plains of Bule, and the way to Numidia. In the Evening John and the Massagetes came up with the Army, and both telling and receiving joyfull News, lodged with it that night at Decimum.*

*55. The next day, the Foot coming up with the General's Lady, they marcht toward Carthage, and arriving within night, lodged abroad without the City, although they might have safely enough entred, for the Carthaginians had set open their Gates, the City shined all night with Lights and Bonfires, and the Vandals were fled to the Churches. The same day the Fleet having made the Promontory, the Citizens opened the Iron Chain of their Haven Mandracium to let it in, yet the Admiral not knowing of their intent, put into the Bay, called the Pool, five miles distant from the City, very commodious to harbour in, and capable of receiving the whole Fleet, of which the Haven was not. The next day the General commanded the Men ahoire, and fearing the Ambusles of the Enemy, marched to Carthage in order of batel, but entred without resitence, having first put the Souldiers in mind what effects their moderation toward the Africans had produced; and ad-  
Enters Carthage monished them to continue their good order, especially in Carthage. Pasing directly to the Court, he sat down in Gelimer's Throne, and commanded his Dinner to be given him in the place where Gelimer was wont to make his great Feasts, by the Romans called Delphica, from a threefooted Table standing in the Palace at Rome, which served for the Emperour's Cupboard, first sted at Delphos, and now at Constantinople, and thence wheresoever the Emperour's Table stod, they called the Room Delphica. Here the General dined with his Officers of that Provifion which the day before had been made for Gelimer, whose Servants brought in the Meat, and waited at the Table, so that he attained (all circumstances considered) an Honour scarcely to be parallel'd; moreover the Souldiers were not wont to enter into any Roman City, if but five hundred together, without some sudden disorder; yet did he so manage his Matters, that there was not the leat infolence nor menacing word used. There was no interruption of Trade; but in a City newly taken, and full of Souldiers, in a State quite changed, all things rat in their former chanel, not a Man having his Houfe or Shop either shut up, or molefted. The publick Scribes affigned Quarters to the Souldiers by Tickets, who bought what they liked in the Market, as when all things are in deep silence and security, and not a syllable spoken of War.*

*56. Thus was the old Prophecy, frequently in the mouths of the Boyes, verified in Africk; that Gamma must expell Beta, and Beta should expell Gamma again; Geneserick having first driven out Boniface, and now Belisarius having ouled Gelimer. The General gave his word to the Vandals that were fled to the Churches, and took order for repairing the Walls of Carthage, which were so ruinous, that Gelimer did not think it safe to trust himself in the City. Gelimer in the mean time playing at small games, procured by money and fair words the Peafants to kill many stragling Slaves and Attendants upon the Army, who pilfered about the Villages, at the sight of their Heads much rejoicing, as at the los of so many Souldiers. His Brother Izazon, who having arrived with his Fleet in Sardinia, at the Port of Carnalus, had taken the Town at the first onset and slain Godas with his Souldiers, hearing that the Emperour's Fleet was upon the Coast of Africk, but nothing of the Succels. Therefore did he write to Gelimer a triumphant Letter, the Bearers whereof failed into the Haven of Carthage without the leat thought of an Enemy, and were brought by the Watch before Belisarius, who took their Letters, and dismissed them in safety. This Passage resembled another done much upon the same time in Spain, whither, before the arrival of the Romans, Gelimer had sent two Ambassadours to Theudis, Prince of the Visigoths, about a League and Alliance. Theudis had heard all before, by reaon of their flow Journeys, from a Merchant-man, who fel fail from Carthage the same day, that the Romans entred it with a fair gale of Wind, and him he commanded not to divulge the News. When he asked the Ambassadours their busines, and they propounded a League; he bid them go to the Seaside, and there they should hear how their Affairs stood at home, which they taking for an idle Speech of a Man in drink, neglected it, returning no reply. But the day following, when they propounded the same thing, and had the very same answere, they perceived there was some great change in Africk; yet not imagining that any thing had happened at Carthage, failed thither, and landing near the Town, fell among the Souldiers. Being brought to the General, they revealed their busines, and were also dismissed without receiving any harm.*

*57. During these Motions and Changes in Africk, Cyril, whom Justinian had ordered to the affilse of Godas, came to Sardinia; but hearing what was become of him,*

*Tato, Tato, Tato,  
and Paulini,  
Traz apud Pro-  
copia —  
Atem, Talo, Tat-  
to cacciorum.  
Goda bona.*

*Theud-hair. Po-  
pulus Imperans.*

Gelimer makes  
the best of the  
worst of Fortunes.

Ensigns of prin-  
cipality among  
the Moors.

of him, he failed to *Carthage*, where he found *Belisarius* and the *Roman* Army victorious. *Solomon* the Assistant of *Belisarius*, such an Officer as the *Romans* called *Domesticus*, being an Eunuch not by design, but by accident in his swathing Clouts, was sent to the Emperour to give him an account of the Success. As for *Gelimer*, he made the best of the worst of Fortunes, in the Plains of *Bule*, near the Border of *Numidia*, and four days journey from *Carthage*, gathering together the *Vandals*, and such *Moors* as were well affected to him, though *Jews*, and without discipline. For their Governors throughout *Mauritania*, *Numidia* and *Bysacum* had proffered by their Ambassadors their Service to the Emperour, some of them sending their Sons to *Belisarius* for Hostages, and desiring to receive from him Ensigns of Principality. It was an ancient Custome, that none might govern those *Moors* before he had received those Badges from the Emperour, yea, though he were an Enemy to the *Romans*; and taking them now from the *Vandals*, they did not esteem their Government firm and lucky. These Ensigns were a silver Rod gilt, a silver Cap, not covering the whole Head, but set upright like a Crown with silver Wire; a white Covering, fastened together with a golden Clasp over the Right Shoulder, in the manner of a *Thessalian* Mantle; a white Robe embroidered; and a gilt Shoe. *Belisarius* both sent them all these, and Money also, yet did they not join with him, but stood aloof as Neuters, watching the event of the War. *Gelimer* wrote a lamentable Letter to his Brother *Tzazon*, wherein having given an account how *Africk* was become a Prey to the *Romans*, through the cowardize and negligence of the *Vandals*, he desired him to quit *Sardinia*, and come to him with his whole Fleet. *Tzazon* and his *Vandals* with grief and lamentations obeyed his Orders; and when they came up to the Army on the Plains of *Bule*, so sad a greeting was betwixt them, as cannot be express, and as would have moved the Enemy with compassion and a sense of the slippery condition of Mankind. The two Brothers embracing each other, could not be parted, saying nothing but by tears, expressing their inward grief. In like manner did the others embrace them that came from *Sardinia*, being all struck with such consternation and amazement at the present posture of their Affairs, that what at another time would have been very important, was not now so much as thought of. For *Gelimer* neither enquired any thing concerning *Godas*, nor *Tzazon* after what had happened in *Africk*, although the Place where they now were, hinted those and such like things sufficiently to them. There was not a word spoken of their Wives or Children, they well enough perceiving that such as they saw not in that Place, were either certainly dead, or in captivity; with which words *Procopius* concludes the First Book of his History of the *Vandal* Wars.

58. Nevertheless, when a little time had disburthened their grief, and made way for consideration, *Gelimer* led them against *Carthage*, where he cut off the Aqueduct of the City, a Piece of excellent Workmanhip; and after a little stay, when no Enemy failed out, he retired, quartering his Men in the adjoining Towns, and blocking up the City, as he supposed. His Men expecting that the *Carthaginians* would betray it into their Hands, and looking upon the Countrey no otherwise than their own, kept very good order; they hoped that such *Romans* as were *Ariani* would join with them, and by large promises invited the Commanders of the *Hunnes* to their side, who were nothing affected to the *Romans*, complaining that they had been trepanned into *Constantinople* by *Peter* the General. They agreed to the Proposals of the *Vandals*, and promised when they came to fight, to turn their Power against the *Romans*. But *Belisarius* having smelt out the Plot, first nailed to a Crois one *Laurus a Carthaginian*, convicted of Treason, and then so won upon the *Massagetes*, or *Hunnes*, by courtship, and inviting them to his Table, that he got out of them the whole matter propounded by *Gelimer*; and whereas the apprehension of two things disgusted their minds, and aliened them from the service of the Emperour; the one a Jealousie, that though the *Vandals* were subdued, they should not be dismissed to their own Countrey, but be worn out in *Africk*; the other, that their Booty should be taken from them; he by Oath assured them, that neither of these things should be done; and in like manner bound them by Oath to assist him with all alacrity. Having then by a Speech exhorted his Army not to suffer the Conquest which was even almost achieved, to fall out of their Hands, he sent out all the Horse, except five hundred, under Command of *John the Armenian*, to attaunce the Enemy as he should see occasion. He himself, the day following, with these five hundred Horse and all the Foot followed. The *Massagetes* resolved to keep their word so with both Parties, as to expect the event, and join with the Conquerours. The *Roman* Army overtook the *Vandals* at *Tricamar*, seventeen miles from *Carthage*, and encamping at a reasonable distance from them, about midnight

*Procop. Hist.  
Vandal. lib. 2.*

midnight some of them were troubled at the sight of a great Prodigy. Fire seemed to fasten upon the points of their Spears, the heads of them appearing red and glowing hot. Those few that saw it were amazed, solicitous about the Event. But when the same happened afterward in *Italy*, they were encouraged, and took it for an undoubted sign of Victory and good success.

59. The next day *Gelimer* placed the Wives and Children of his *Vandals*, with all their Wealth in the midst of the Camp, which was not fortified by any Work, and then calling them together, propounded that object to them as alone sufficient to excite their Valour, the Contest being as he said not for Empire, Dominion or Honour; but what was their All, their utmost hopes and dearest Pledges. He caused his Brother *Tzazon* to use the same exhortations to his men apart, and then moving toward the Enemy about Noon, when the *Romans* took their Dinner, faced them upon the Bank of a Brook, keeping his men in good order. The *Romans* on the opposite Bank put themselves also in order, and so they stood facing each other a good while, till *John* by *Belisarius* his order with a few select men passed the Brook, and charged the main Body of the *Vandals*, but was so warmly received by *Tzazon* that he was glad to retreat, being pursued by the Brook by the *Vandals*, who yet durst not venture over; *John* renewed the charge the second time, and was repulsed, but at the third onset had better Fortune, though the Barbarians valiantly received them, fighting only with their Swords according to *Gelimer's* Command. The Fight growing sharp many *Vandals* fell, and amongst them *Tzazon* himself, after which came on the whole *Roman* Cavalry, and passing the Brook charged the Enemy. Now was the Quarrel quickly determined, each one with ease routing his Opposite, which the *Hunnes* perceiving, according to their former resolution joined with the *Romans* in the chase, though it lasted not long, the *Vandals* recovering their Camp, and the other not thinking themselves able to grapple with them in their Entrenchment. The *Vandals* lost eight hundred of their men, and the *Romans* fifty, who retired also to their Camp. But *Belisarius* when his Foot was come up, in the Evening marcht with his whole Army to the Camp of the *Vandals*, which *Gelimer* seeing, without speaking one word, or giving any directions, took Horse and fled toward *Numidia*, accompanied only with a few of his *Domestics* and Relations, who covered all with a confusd silence. When

*Belisarius* again the *Vandals* perceived he was gone, and the Evening coming upon them, the were in a tumult, the Women shrieked, the Children cried, and every one forgetting

his natural affection for others, made what shift he could for himself. The *Romans* following the Chase all Night, killed the men they could reach, and made Slaves of their Women and Children. In the Camp they found to great a mafs of Wealth, as never the like had been seen in any other. For the *Vandals* had long ransackt the *Roman* Provinces, besides what riches they had hoarded up for the space of ninety five years, out of the Commodities of that plentiful Country. But thus were they utterly defeated, and deprived of all they had scraped together, three months after the Arrival of the *Romans* at *Carthage*, at the end of December, in the seventh year of *Justinian's* Reign, of our Lord the DXXXIII, the Emperour himself the third time being Conful.

60. The *Roman* Souldiers being so suddenly and unexpectedly become Masters of so great Riches, were intoxicated with their good Fortune to such a height, that they strangled up and down, wholly intent upon Plunder, not regarding the presece or authority of their General, so that had the *Vandals* rallied and come upon them, not one had escaped, and lived to enjoy what they scrambled for with such greedines. *Belisarius* having, with very much adoe, reduced them to some reasonable Order, Commanded *John the Armenian* with all speed to pursue *Gelimer*, and such *Vandals* as were found in Churches, having given them assurance of their safety, he sent under Guards to *Carthage*. *John* after five days came up very near to *Gelimer*, but was deprived of his hopes of taking him, and his Life together, by one *Uliaris* a Lancier of *Belisarius*, a drolling and drunken Companion, who shooting at a Bird upon a Tree, missed his mark but shot him into the Neck, of which hurt he died soon after; leaving a great mis of him both to Prince and People, such was his valour, vertue and moderation. *Belisarius* coming presently after, continued the pursuit as far as *Hippo Regia*, a Maritime City in *Numidia*, ten days journey from *Carthage*, where he heard *Gelimer* was got up to *Pappua* a Mountain incomprised with Rocks, steep and almost impasseable, inhabited by *Moors* his friends and Confederates. He betook himself to *Madenos*, an ancient City Situate on its utmost border thinking he was secure enough from *Belisarius*, who being not able to attempt the Mountain in that unseasonable time, and the settlement of affairs requiring

Sect. 1. requiring his presence at *Carthage*, left the Seige to *Pharas*, a valiant, prudent and virtuous man, and so much more remarkable, because an *Heralian*, it being rare to find any in that Nation that was not infamous for breach of Faith and Drunkenness. The General in his return had the Treasures of *Gelimer* delivered into his hands by *Boniface*, who was ordered in case of a defeat at *Tricamar*, to transport them into *Spain* whither the King intended to follow, but attempting so to do, was forced by contrary Winds and Tempests into the Haven of *Hippo*. Being come to *Carthage* he sent Forces to take in such places as had been under the *Vandals*, who possessed themselves of *Casarea in Mauritania*, thirty days Journey from *Carthage* in the way to *Gades*, and *Hircules* Pillars, of the Castle of *Septa* one of the Pillars, with the Islands *Ebula*, *Majorica* and *Minorica*. He reinforced *Tripolis* against the *Moors* that pressed upon it, sent *Cyril* back to *Sardinia*, who by shewing the Inhabitants the head of *Zazon*, procured them to yeild, and taking in *Corsica*, (anciently called *Cyrus*,) made both Islands tributaries to the Empire. He sent some also to receive the Castle of *Lilybeum*, ashaving been in the Dominions of the *Vandals*; but the *Goths* refused to yeild up any part of *Sicily*, and denied the Castle to have belonged to the *Vandals*. *Belisarius* angry hereat, sent the Commanders a threatening Letter, to which the Queen Regent of *Italy* returned so pithy an answer, in so sweet and mollifying words, (affirming that *Theodoric* when he Married his Sister to the *Vandal* King, had only given that People the liberty of this Mart Town) that he yeilded to her resolution, of referring the matter to the Emperour himself, and standing to his determination.

*Gelimer* formerly directed in the Mountain *Pax*.

61. *Pharas* in the mean time growing weary of a Winter Seige, would needs try if he could get up into *Pappua*; but the *Moors* so demeaned themselves, that he was forced to retire with the loss of an hundred and ten men. Then did he block up all access to the Mountain by diligent Guards and Watches, whereby he brought *Gelimer* and his Relations, who were all delicately bred, to unspeakable necessity and distres. For a vast difference there was betwixt the *Vandals* and those *Moors* that entertained them. The *Vandals* were the most effeminate Nation upon Earth, ever after their posseſſing of *Africk*, using their daily Baths and plentiful Tables, of the choicest things which Land and Sea afforded; most of them wearing Gold and Silk, and pasing their time in Theatres, at Horse-Races and other delights, but especially Hunting, Masques, Plays, Musick, pleasant Groves and Gardens, and dalliance with Women were their ordinary Divertisements. On the contrary, those *Moors* were choak'd up in cloſe Huts both Summer and Winter, whence neither the extremity of Cold, nor violence of Heat could drive them. Lying on the Ground, they esteemed themselves excellently Lodged, ifthey got but a Sheeps skin under them. And as their Lodging, so their Clothing in Winter and Summer was the same; being no other than a thick coarse Mante, and a shaggy Coat, Bread, Wine or any pleasant sort of feeding they uſed none, living on their Wheat, Barley and Rice, without any Boiling or other preparation, than Nature it self afforded, as other Animals. *Gelimer* and his followers, falling from their pleasant fare, to such harsh and irksome Diet, and now wanting necessaries too, could not hold out any longer, but esteemed Death most pleasant, and Slavery it self no base Condition.

62. *Pharas*, not ignorant of their distres, thought it seasonable to write to *Gelimer*, wishing him to confider with himself, whether it were not better to yeild, and enjoy the dignity of a *Patritian*, with large Revenues by the favour of the Emperour, than thus to torment himself with so lingring misery? Nay whether it were not a Condition rather eligible to be a Slave among *Romans*, begging, than to Reign over the *Moors of Pappua*? At the sight of the Letter he bitterly lamented, and in his answer complained much that the Emperour shoud thus disturb him, by whom he was never injured in word nor deed, and he begged of *Pharas* that he would send him an Harp, a loaf of Bread, and a Sponge. This request *Pharas* knew not how to interpret, till the Bearer told him that the King longed to ſea baked Loaf, having not beheld ſucha thing ſince he came to *Pappua*; that he needed a Sponge for one of his Eyes, which was ſwelled with Rheum, and that being ſkiffull on the Harp, he defird one to which he might ſing a fad Ditty, composed by himſelf upon his preſent Calamity. *Pharas* touched with a ſene of his misery, and the vicissitude of humane affairs, ſent him the things deſired, but blockēd him up cloſer than ever. Three Winter months were now ſpent in the Siege, yet nothing could Conquer him, till he feared the *Romans* would by degrees get up to him, and the fight of two Boys fighting for a newly baked Cake to affected him, that he preſently wrote to *Pharas*, and promiſed to yeild, on condition that *Belisarius*

*rius* would give him assurance of ſo good entertainment by the Emperour, as in his Letter he had mentioned. *Belisarius* overjoyed at the News, as ambitious to preferent him alive to the Emperour, immediately diſpatched away *Cyprian* the Captain of the Confederates towards *Pappua*, to give Oath to him for the ſafety of himſelf and his followers, and alſo that he ſhould have an honourable Rank with the Emperour. *Gelimer* having yielded himſelf, was brought to *Carthage*, and there being preſented before *Belisarius*, could not forbear Laughing. Some imagined he was diſtracted, through the exces of his milery. But his Friends affirmed him a man of quick apprehenſion, which, when he conſidered how from a King, fo rich and powerful, he was become no better than a Slave, poor and despicable, and that ſo suddenly, forced Laughter from him; the inconstancy of Fortune, and the ſlipperines of humane Condition deſerving no better. And indeed, ſcarcely did Fortune ſhew her power more than in this Captivity of *Gelimer*, who being the fourth Successor of *Genseric*, to a Kingdom flouriſhing with Wealth and Military men, was Ruined in ſix months time by five thouſand Strangers, who had not ſo much as a place to Anchor in. For ſo many and no more were the Horſe, who either by their Valour or Fortune did the whole buſineſſ.

63. *Belisarius* acquainted the Emperour, how *Gelimer* was a Prisoner at *Carthage*, and craved leave that he might bring him to *Constantinople*, keeping him in the mean time in honourable restraint and preparing his Fleet. But ſome of the Inferior Officers enuying him the glory of this enterprize (as is uſual in all great felicitieſ,) accused him to the Emperour of Uſurpation, who either diſpifed it, or thought it beſt to diſemble, giving him his choice, either to come to *Constantinople* with his Prisoners, or to ſtay and ſend them. He having diſcovered the Plot, was earnest for the Journey, that he might clear the Imputation, and be revenged of his Accuſers; and when he had now taken Ship, the *Moors of Byzacium* and *Numidia* broke the Truce and waſted the Country. He could not now come back himſelf, but appointed *Solomon* Gouvernour of *Africk*, leaving ſufficient strength for the Repreſſion and Chafeitement of the *Moors*, to which afterward the Emperour ſent another Army with *Theodorus a Cappadocian*, and *Ildiger*, who had Married the Daughter of *Antonina*, *Belisarius* his Wife. Being arrived at *Constantinople*, he was thought worthy of thofe ancient Honours which were given to Generals for the greateſt acchievements, and had been now discontinued for six hundred years, except when *Titus*, *Trajan*, or ſuch Emperours led the Armies in Perſion, and Conquered ſome barbarous Nation. He triumphed, though not after the ancient manner, going a foot from his own Houſe to the *Circus*, and thence from his Pavilion, to the Emperour's Throne, leading the Prisoners and Spoils through the City. Amongt the Spoils conſiſting of great Treaſure and Royal furniture, were ſome Monuments of the *Jews*, which being brought to *Rome* by *Titus*, were amoungt infinite Wealth taken thence by *Genseric* when he ſacked the Palace, and were now, upon ſome words ſpoken by a *Jew*, how they could not continue but where *Solomon* firſt placed them, ſent by *Justinian's* order to the Christian Churches in *Jerusalem*. *Gelimer* wearing a purple Robe amoungt all his Kindred, and the talleſt and beauteuſt of the *Vandals*, when he ſaw the Emperour ſitting on his Throne, the multitude of Specatours on both ſides, and himſelf in ſo great Calamity, made no lamentation at all, but ſtill repeated that of the Preacher, *Vanity of Vanities, all is Vanity*. Being come to the Throne, they deuelfed him of the purple Robe, and cauſed him to fall on his face and adore the Emperour. The fame did the General, who interceding in his behalf, he had Towns of good value aſigned him in *Galatia*, where he was permitted to dwell, not being admitted a *Patritian*, because he would not change his *Arian Religion*. *Hildegard's* Children had large meaſns beſtow'd on them, as the deſcendants of *Valentinian*. Not long after, thofe Honours were added to *Belisarius*, which formerly had been proper to ancient Triumphs. Being made Conful, he was carried on the Shoulders of Captives, and drawn in a Chariot, from which he caſt of the Spoils of the *Vandals* amoungt the People, which ſcrambling for Plates, golden Girdles, and other curiouſ things of the Royal Treaſure was much pleasd, not only for getting ſuch things into their hands, but for beholding the Solemnities of their Anceſtours revived; of which they had heard much but ſeen nothing. And to did they rejoice and careſ the Conqueror at *Constantinople*.

64. Leaving the Triumph for the Conqueſt, let us, as it's more material, ſee how the Country of *Africk* was feleſt, and under what Government. Before ſuch time as it became a Prey to the barbarous Nations it was ſubjeſt, as we have formerly ſeen, to the *Præfetūs Prætorio* of *Italy*. But now *Justinian* having recovered it, and over joy'd at ſo tranſcendent a Providence, refolv'd it ſhould have a *Præfet* of its

**Sect. I.** its own; and gave the charge to one *Achelaus*, to whom he directs a Constitution under that title, therein making provision for his port and dignity. His Seal he <sup>Cod. Justinian. t. 27. l. 1.  
tit. 27. l. 1.  
pag. 50.</sup> tells him he will have at *Carthage*, and under him seven Provinces subject to their several Governors, whereof *Tingi* or *Zengia*, and (which formerly was *Proconsular*) *Carthage*, and *Byzantium* and *Tripoli* should be governed by *Consulares*, but the rest, viz. *Nomidia*, *Mauritania* and *Sardinia* (for this Island he joyed to *Africk*) by their several Presidents. He allowed him for his Attendance, and inferior Officers such as we have formerly described, serving in his Office and Service, three hundred and ninety six Persons. Then doth he expressly forbid all exactions upon the Subject, which as he saith he hates in all places, but especially abominates in *Africk*, so lately recovered from Captivity, that as yet it hath not had time to breathe. He appoints how much the Officers both Military and Civil, shall give for their Commissions, forbidding the Prefect's Servants to exceed the rate upon pain of Death, after which he settles the allowance to the Prefect himself, the *Consulares*, Presidents and all their Inferior Ministers, ordaining that it should take effect from the first of *September* of the thirteenth Indiction. He concludes by giving strength and virtue to what the Prefect should ordain, according to this his Constitution, telling him that as for Military matters, respecting his Province he would provide by another Sanction.

**65.** This Sanction he directs to *Belisarius*, under the title of *Magister Militum* <sup>Ibid. l. 2. p. 51.</sup> of the East, beginning it as the former, with a very pious and Christian Preface. He ordains first at what places the several *Duces* shall reside. He charges him that a continual Guard be kept at the Straits of *Gibraltar*, or the Castle called *Septa*, under a Tribune both prudent and faithful, who upon occasion shall give notice to the *Dux*, and he to *Belisarius* of any motions; he would have also in the Straits mouth a certain number of *Dromones*, or swift Barkes perpetually kept. In *Sardinia* he Commands him to settle one of those Officers called *Duces*, with a sufficient power to secure the borders against Barbarians, and gives express charge for recovery of the ancient *Roman* bounds, to which end he will have Souldiers that shall watch constantly upon the borders. He charges the Officers to Train and Exercise their men, not suffering them to straggle from their Ensigns, and forbids them the raising of any profit or advantage out of their Pay, upon pain of fining four times as much, besides caſheering. All violence towards the Subject, he severely prohibits. Gives power to *Belisarius*, to enlarge or lessen the Forts and Towns, upon the Frontiers as he shall see occasion. And then sets down how much every Officer shall be allowed, to commence from the first of *September* of the thirteenth Indiction, as also what shall be paid at the Offices of the *Praefectus Praetorio*, and the *Magister Militum*, for recording the Emperour's Grants. He tells him he must appear at Court, as soon as he had fet these things in order, which he charges him to do to all effects and purposes. This Law bears date on the thirteenth of *April*, when *Justinian* himself the fourth time, and *Paulinus* were *Confulis*, that is *statuuntur aeternis efficiuntur obliterari*. *Variae precipitatis*.

**66.** But the account which *Procopius* gives us of *Belisarius* his motions doth not very well suit with the Letter of this Law. The Law Commands him, as soon as he had settled the Country, to come away to *Constantinople*, the Historian saith, he either gave him leave to come or slay, as he had occasion. The date of the Law is but on the Ides of *April*, at which time according to the story of *Procopius*, *Belisarius* could hardly be taken, if he was defeated at the end of *December*, and held out in *Pappus* three months longer; and then what time must be allowed, for sending Intelligence as far as *Constantinople*? But as to this it may be said, that Intelligence might be sent to the Emperour, after the defeat of *Tricamar*, and the flight of *Belisarius*, by which *Africk* was Conquered, although not so certainly and securely, as after the Captivity of that Prince. More difficulty there is in reconciling what these Laws, and the late mentioned Author have concerning the Taxes, and Impositions upon the People of *Africk*. In his Sanction directed to the *Praefectus Praetorio*, *Justinian* expresses a great deal of tenderness and care for his Subjects; should be oppressed, who had lately groaned under the tyranny of the *Vandals*, strictly Commanding that no oppression be used towards them, by any of his Ministers; as it was his indeavour to take off the burthen from all the Provinces in general. But *Procopius*, as is pretended in his secret History, which he durst not publish in this Emperour's time, tells us that as that he

he harassed the Provinces Subject to the *Roman* Empire, so he endeavoured the recovery of *Italy* and *Africk*, for no other reason than that he might involve them also in the same misery and devastation.

**67.** That the Number of those, of whose destruction he was Author, could no more be Summed up, than that of the Sand. As for *Africk*, though it was a Country so large, he so waſted it, that it was esteemed nigh miraculous, for one travelling there to meet with a man. Of the *Vandals* that bore Arms, there were eighty thousand men, besides an innumerable Company of Women, Children and Slaves. Of *Africans* living in Cities, in the Country and at Sea, so many as cannot be exprefſed, but of *Moors* a far greater Number. Now all theſe were destroyed with their Wives and Children: Besides a great part of *Roman* Souldiers, and those that came from *Constantinople*; so that in all, there perished above one million and five hundred thousand Souls in *Africk*. The cause of all this mischief was this. *Justinian* after the overthrow of the *Vandals*, took no care for ſecuring theſe Countries, in the good will and affection of his Subjects. He ſuddenly recalled *Belisarius* upon a false accuſation, and for ſuch a Crime as that Man could not commit, it having never entred into his thoughts to uſp against him. Then that he might ſqueeze and ſpoil *Africk* at his pleasure; he ſet over the People cruel Taskmaſters, and impoſed on them unheard-of Burthenſ, before appropriating the beſt Lands to his own Domain. He prohibited *Arians* the exercife of their Religion, paid not his Souldiers, and diquieted the Country ſeveral other ways, whence Seditions and innumerabie miſchiefs arose, this being his humour never to be content with the preſent poſture of things, but always innovating and confounding by his Innoventions. Thus the pretended *Procopius* in his ſecret History, whose account how it agrees with the late mentioned Laws the Reader fees. The probability of theſe and other accuſations, we ſhall examine when we come to this Prince his Character, proceeding in the ſtory of *Africk* for the preſent, wherein let the Reader take notice, how far the certain *Procopius* his Narration at large makes out, what briefly is delivered in the ſecret History. As for the Impoſitions upon *Africk*, we may take his Note out of his History of the *Vandal Wars*, that the ancient <sup>Liber. 2.</sup> Tributes being not to be found upon the old *Roman* Tables there, which *Genericus* had deſtroyed; *Tryphon* and *Eutropius* were ſent in Commiſſion from the Emperour to make a Tax, men whom the *Africans* found harsh and Intolerable.

**68.** We ſaid a little before that the *Moors* ſeeing *Belisarius* imbarke'd for *Constantinople*, broke the Truce and revolted, the reaſon and manner thus. When news was first brought into *Africk* of the Emperour's Fleet, they referred to their Prophets, (for Women with them were the only Southfayers) anxious about the issue, and eſteeming their anſwers no leſs Infallible than Oracles. These Women foretold an Army from the Waters, and the ruine both of *Vandals* and *Moors*, when a *Roman* General ſhould come without a Beard. Hereupon afraid, they renounced Friendship with the *Vandals*, and made a League with *Belisarius*, full intent upon the Succes. The buſines of the *Vandals* being diſpatcht, they ſent to ſpi'e in the *Roman* Army, if there were any Commander that had no Beard, where finding all well ſtored in that part, they thought, as they would have it, that the Oracle concerned not them but ſome after Ages, and longed to break the Peace; yet afraid of *Belisarius*, they deſpaired of ſucces ſo long as he continued with the Army. When they ſaw him Shipped with his Guard and Prifoners, and the *Roman* Souldiers diſperſed in Garrisons upon the Borders, and altogether unprepared they fell upon the *Africans*, killing the men, enflaving the Women and Children, and pillaging their Houſes and Fields. Killing the Garrison Souldiers in *Byzantium*, and foraging the Country, *Aigan* an *Hunne* one of *Belisarius* his Life-Guard, and *Rufinus* a *Thracian* his *Bandopborus* or Standard-bearer with ten Troops of Horſe, made head againſt them, and cut off many in a narrow paſſage, but were way-laid themſelves by four Barbarian Princes, with many thouſands of men, and being overpowred by Numbers, were defeated and slain. *Solomon* who had the charge of the *Roman* Army, hearing this news, knew not well how to carry himſelf. He firſt tried to convince the *Moors* of imprudence by Letters; but this having ſucceſſ as was likely it ſhould, he diſpoſed of matters at *Carthage*, and marching into *Byzantium* incamped in *Mamma*, where the *Morib* Princes had intrenched themſelves, and upon ſight of his Army put their Battel into ſuch order, as formerly *Cabon* their Countryman did, placing the Camels in a round, and their Women and Children in the middle. At the firſt Onſet, the *Romans* were put into a conuſion by the ſkittishnes of their Horſes, at the fight and cry of the Camels, which made them they could

Upon *Belisarius*  
his departure  
the *Moors* revolt.

Sect. 1. could neither defend themselves, nor keep their ranks; the Moors increasing the tumult by darting their Javelins amongst them. Solomon hearing this, leapt from his Horse, commanded his men to doe the like, and keep their guard and good order, warding with their Shields against the Enemies Javelins. Then fell he himself upon the Round with five hundred men, giving command to kill the Camels. Some two hundred Camels being killed, the Moors, who stood between their Legs, ran away, and the Round was entered where the Women stood; at which sight, the Barbarians amazed fled up to the Mountain adjoining; and the Romans pursuing, killed about ten thousand of them in the chase. This done, and the Camp taken, the Romans march back to *Carthage* to celebrate their Victory.

69. But Solomon was scarcely arrived at *Carthage* when the Moors, enraged at this defeat, made an universal Invasion, leaving none behind them; and having overrun the Countrey of *Byzantium*, and done all the mischief they could, encamped themselves upon the Mountain *Burgum*. Solomon being come thither with his whole Army, would fain have drawn them down upon the plain ground, but they meant nothing less, dreading the thought of fighting upon so equal terms with the Romans. Therefore did he order Theodorus his Scout-master, without any noise, to get up by night into the Mountain, where it was most difficult to pass, with a thousand Foot, and in the morning to shew himself, and charge the Enemy. He himself also by night removed to the skirt of the Hill, and by Sun-rise both of them set upon the Moors; who seeing themselves ingaged on both sides, despaired, and took them to their heels. Not daring to fly either to top or bottom, they ran headlong into a deep woody Valley, lying between two Rocks; and being a multitude in tumult and fear, threw down and killed one another, till the Valley being full of dead Bodies, the rest passed over upon them to the other Rock. The Survivers affirmed fifty thousand of their Countrymen to have perished. The Romans on the other side lost not a Man, received not one hurt, but enjoyed the Victory intire and untouched. One of the four Princes, *Iddilas* by name, yielded to quarter. So great was the number of captive Women and Children, that a Moorish Boy was sold at the rate of a Sheep. And now with sorrow they called to mind what their Women had foretold, that their Nation should perish by a Beardless Man.

70. Most of the Barbarians that were left in the Province of *Byzantium* would not there continue, for that being few, they feared to be opprest by the Africans, but betook themselves to *Jabdas*, Prince of the Moors, inhabiting *Aurafum* in *Nomidia*. *Jabdas* at this time invading *Nomidia* with thirty thousand Men, made what work he pleased, being indeed the completest Man, and most valiant amongst the Moors. Several other Princes of his Nation envied him, and incensing Solomon against him, joined their Forces with his for attacking him upon the Mountain of *Aurafum*. An expedition they undertook together, and Solomon distributed Moneys amongst those Auxiliaries to incourage them. But when they had travelled seven days together, and could not light on any Enemy, he suspected his Confederates, whom as Moors, he knew to regard no Oaths, nor Hostages (though their own Children) nor any League, but as fear and awe overruled them, and fairly retreated, as it was time, all provisions being spent, resolving at the beginning of the next Spring (for Winter was now come on) to return without any Auxiliary Moors, and better furnished. Wintring at *Carthage*, he provided Forces and a Fleet against the Moors of *Sardinia*, called by the Natives *Barbaricini*, who being at first a few, and confined thither by the *Vandals*, possessed the Mountains near *Caralis*, whence committing petty Stealths, at last they grew to a Body of three thousand Men, and then openly invading the Countrey, waited all before them. In these cares and employments he spent this Winter at *Carthage*, as *Belisarius* did in *Syracuse*, being in his Expedition into *Italy* against *Theodatus* and the *Goths*. Toward the latter end of this year, the Sun gave a tearfull and prodigious Light, like that of the Moon, being without its clear and usual lustre, as if it had been eclipsed. The cause *Renatus Des Cartes*, *Princip. Phil.* *l. 1. art. 2.* *l. 2. art. 3.* *l. 3. art. 2.* *l. 4. art. 3.* *l. 5. art. 2.* *l. 6. art. 3.* *l. 7. art. 2.* *l. 8. art. 3.* *l. 9. art. 2.* *l. 10. art. 3.* *l. 11. art. 2.* *l. 12. art. 3.* *l. 13. art. 2.* *l. 14. art. 3.* *l. 15. art. 2.* *l. 16. art. 3.* *l. 17. art. 2.* *l. 18. art. 3.* *l. 19. art. 2.* *l. 20. art. 3.* *l. 21. art. 2.* *l. 22. art. 3.* *l. 23. art. 2.* *l. 24. art. 3.* *l. 25. art. 2.* *l. 26. art. 3.* *l. 27. art. 2.* *l. 28. art. 3.* *l. 29. art. 2.* *l. 30. art. 3.* *l. 31. art. 2.* *l. 32. art. 3.* *l. 33. art. 2.* *l. 34. art. 3.* *l. 35. art. 2.* *l. 36. art. 3.* *l. 37. art. 2.* *l. 38. art. 3.* *l. 39. art. 2.* *l. 40. art. 3.* *l. 41. art. 2.* *l. 42. art. 3.* *l. 43. art. 2.* *l. 44. art. 3.* *l. 45. art. 2.* *l. 46. art. 3.* *l. 47. art. 2.* *l. 48. art. 3.* *l. 49. art. 2.* *l. 50. art. 3.* *l. 51. art. 2.* *l. 52. art. 3.* *l. 53. art. 2.* *l. 54. art. 3.* *l. 55. art. 2.* *l. 56. art. 3.* *l. 57. art. 2.* *l. 58. art. 3.* *l. 59. art. 2.* 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Sect. I. sued as far as *Membris*, a Town forty three miles distant from *Carthage*, where they both drew up, and prepared for fight; the General by the River of *Bagradas*, and the Rebels on a steep and ragged ground. They trifled to their numbers. He despised them as a foolish and undisciplined rabble. Both the Commanders encouraged their men with words fitted to the present occasion.

*Belsarius* puts them to flight. 73. When they came to the Encounter, a strong wind blew in the faces of the Mutineers; which disadvantage considering, they wheeled about, thinking that the Enemy would doe so too, and that thereby they should gain the wind. But *Belsarius* seeing them open their Ranks, and fall into disorder, began the Fight, which they not expecting, ran confusely together, and presently quite away into *Numidia*, where they rallied, having lost but a few men, and those of the *Vandals*; for *Belsarius* having but a small Army, thought it sufficient thus to send them going; and then giving the Camp to be pillaged by his Souliders, wherein was found much wealth, and the *Vandal* Women, that had been the cause of the War, returned to *Carthage*, and thence, having taken order for *Africk*, and committed *Carthage* to *Ildiger* and *Theodorus*, into *Sicily*, where he heard that his Army also mutined. By this time, *Marcellus*, who governed *Numidia*, and other Officers, hearing that *Stotzas* was there, got their Forces together to surprize him, perceiving he was but with a few men at *Gazophyle*. He confidering his danger, boldly goes amongst their men, expoulates with them for fighting against him, who stood for defence of their Rights and Liberties; he puts them in mind of the shortness of their pay, and how they were defrauded of the price of their blood and travails, bids them, if they should find good reaon upon due consideration, kill him in that place; if otherwise, to take Arms and fight, not against, but for themselves. With this language he overcame, and brought them over to his Party; which their Officers perceiving, withdrew themselves into the Church near at hand. *Stotzas* having united the Forces, comes thither, promises them their lives; and when upon his faith they were come forth, perfidiously kills them. These matters coming to the knowledge of the Emperour, he sent *Germanus* his Kinsman, a man of Patriotic dignity, with a few others, amongst whom was *Syrmachus* and *Dominicus*, both Senators; *Syrmachus* with the title of *Magister Militum*, to manage the expence of the Army; and *Dominicus* to command the Legions in the room of *John*, who was lately deceased. Coming to *Carthage*, he found upon a Muster that two parts of the Souliders were revolted, and a third only remaining in that and other Cities; wherefore he saw there was no fighting, and employed his time in courting the Souliders with fair words and promises, whereby he so much did his busines, that he drew in many of the Mutineers themselves, whom treating with courtesy, and giving them their full pay for the time they had been in Rebellion; at length got together such an Army, as to match the Rebels in number, and then prepared for a battel.

74. *Stotzas* also perceived it his interest to come to fight as soon as possible: For his men daily fell from him; and he hoped, that if he came near *Carthage*, he could entice them back to him again. Therefore did he march, and incamped near the Sea, about four miles from the City. But *Germanus* by a prudent discourse so fested the minds of his Souliders, that every man of them became ambitious to swear the good affection he had to his General; and the Mutineers seeing that none came over to them, as *Stotzas* had warranted them, separated themselves in fear, and went into *Numidia*, where were their Wives and Booty. *Germanus* followed them, being very well prepared, and overtook them at a Town called *Scalae veteres*, where coming to an engagment, his men at the beginning had the worst, till drawing his Sword himself, and calling upon his Guard to doe the like, with much adoe he routed the Enemy on his side, and then galloping up to *Stotzas*, so encouraged and assisted his Troops, that they got the day. So great tumult and disorder there was in the Fight, that both sides using the same Language and Arms, and not differing in habit, or any other considerable thing, those that gave the chace killed their own Friends, till *Germanus* commanded his Souliders to ask the word. He had his Horse killed under him; and being dismounted, and in danger, was hardly rescued by his Life-guard. *Stotzas* being fled, and the Enemy routed, he marched to their Camp, where finding much opposition, after a sharp fight, he sent a Party to another place, where the intrenchment was easily entered, and so those coming upon the backs of the Mutineers, he became Master of it. The Souliders fell to plundering without any regard of the Enemy, or their General's orders, who fearing the Rebels might rally, stood in the Gate crying out, and complaining to no purpose. The *Moors* who had, according to their custome, stood a-loof, and expected the issue

The Emperour  
fends *Germanus*  
into *Africk*;

who overthrows  
the Mutineers

issue, followed the Execution upon those that were worsted, and pillaged the Camp together with the Army. *Stotzas* at first trifling to them, rode up and desired them to restore the Fight, but perceiving how matters stood, after he had made head and attempted in vain to renew the charge, escaped with a few *Vandals*, and retired into *Mauritania*, where Marrying a Daughter of a Prince of the Country he remained. And so ended this Mutiny.

75. After the supressing of this Danger, another arose from one *Maximinus*; who endeavoured to renew the Mutiny, with a design to usurp and make himself Emperour. *Germanus* at first would not take any publick notice of it, for fear of driving him into some desperate Act, but sent for him, and made him one of his own Life-Guard, which employment he gladly undertook, not refusing the Oath of fidelity to the Emperour, always taken upon such occasions, because he thought he should have a fitter opportunity to facilitate his Design. But when the Souliders began to assemble in tumultuous manner, having an eye upon him, he caused him to be secured, which broke the neck of the Plot; for when they missed him, had none to lead them, and wanted the numbers they expected, they ran away, yet many were killed, and many taken. Such as had not time to joyn with them, put on other Faces, shewing as if they had known nothing of the Conspiracy, and *Germanus* was so prudent as to take no notice of them, nor make any farther Inquisition. But finding that *Maximinus* after the Oath of Allegience taken, had been more busie in his design than formerly; he caused him to be Crucified under the Walls of *Carthage*, and so utterly broke in peices this treasonable Project. After this the Emperour called home *Germanus*, with *Dominicus* and *Syrmachus*, in the thirteenth year of his Reign, and restored to *Solomon* his former Employment, giving him another Army. He so ordered his affairs, that he quickly settled *Africk* in a very quiet and peaceable condition, for he used great moderation, kept the Army in exact Discipline, and without any noise, removed all such as he knew to be Seditious, by sending them upon some specious pretext or other, either to *Constantinople* or to *Belsarius*, supplying their rooms with others, and banishing the remains of the *Vandals*, with all their Women. Having thus fested the Countrey, he made war upon *Jabdas* and the *Moors* of *Aurahum*, beat them out of *Zerbole* and *Tumar* two Castles, the later whereof he repaired, and left therein a Garrison to restrain their Rebellions. He took also the Wealth and Women of *Jabdas*, who fled into *Mauritania*, and forced the *Moors* into *Zebe* a part of that Countrey, the Metropoli whereof was *Sitiphi* tributary to the Empire.

*Solomon* sent back  
into *Africk*, See  
etc it.

76. Such was the prosperous Estate of *Africk*, under the prudent government of *Solomon*, which in the fourth year changed thus into misery and desolation. The next year after his Arrival, and the fourteenth of *Justinian's* Reign, *Cyrus* and *Sergius* the Sons of *Bacchus* *Solomon's* Brother, were sent to Govern, the one *Pentapolis* and the other *Tripolis*. To them came the *Leucathian Moors*, with an Army as far as *Leptis Magna*, under pretence of giving them presents and establishing a firm Peace. *Sergius* receiving sevnty of them into the City, feasted them and gave them good words, but to it happened that jealousies arising from their deportment, they were all killed in the Houfe, except one who escaping to the Camp incensed his Countreymen. They came to revenge the Fact, and were met by *Sergius* and *Pudentius*, with all the force they could make, who put them to the rout, and facking their Camp got much Plunder. But the *Leucathians* would not so give it over, coming better prepared than formerly, and with them joyned *Antala*, who till of late had been fathfull to the *Romans*, but now revolted out of displeasure against *Solomon*, for he had taken from him those provisions the Emperour had allowed him, and had put to Death his Brother, for raising a Commotion amongst the *Byzaci*. He then undertook the Conduct of them against *Solomon* and *Carthage*. *Solomon* hearing this marched toward his Enemies, accompanied with *Sergius*, *Cyrus* and young *Solomon*, all of them his Brother's Sons, and met them at *Tebile*, a Town six days Journey from *Carthage*. *Solomon* having in vain tried to perwade the chief of the *Leucathians* to lay down Arms, the next day defeated a party of them, and recovered great Booty they had taken, which when the Souliders expected to have shared amongst them, he unadvisedly put them off till the conclusion of the War. Coming then to Fight, he was overpowered in numbers by the Enemy, so that his Army being routed, when he had to no purpose endured much hazard and trouble to renew the Fight, he was forced to flee. In full speed, his Horse stumbled, and down he fell. His Life-Guard let him up again, but being so disordered with the fall, that he was not able to hold his Bridle, he was overtaken and Slain with many of his Guards.

*Solomon* Slain.

Sect. I.

77. He being Dead, his Nephew *Sergius* by the Emperour's order, took the charge of the Province, unluckly as it proved. The Commanders were much discontented at it, being disfolgized by his young, rude and insolent carriage ; for, carrying himself high upon his Riches and Power, he was perpetually affronting one or other. The Souldiers slighted him as a Coward. The *Africans* hated him for his extraordinary avarice and lust ; but especially *John*, the Son of *Sifniolus* an able Souldier and of great repute, was enraged, being subiect both to a mean and most ungrateful Person. So that none of them would stir against the *Moors*. *Antalas* having this People at his Devotion, sent for *Stotzas* out of *Mauritania*, and yet wrote to the Emperour, letting him know how he had been injured by *Solomon*, who having now paid the price of his injustice, he was ready to submit to his Empire as formerly, provided he would remove *Sergius* from his Command, and send some worthy Gouvernour in his room, as he was well assured he could not want many that were much more fit for the place than he. Notwithstanding, the Emperour would not remove him, though he sufficiently knew how much the man was hated, he respected the worth of *Solomon*, and pitied the manner of his Death so much. Therefore did great disorders follow. *Antalas* with his *Moors* and *Stotzas* every where committing cruelties upon the *Africans*, and sparing no Age nor Condition, insomuch that the Countrey lay waste, the Inhabitants that remained alive flying some to the Cities and fortified Towns, others to *Sicily* or other Islands, and the rest to *Constantinople*. None opposed these outrageous actions of the *Moors* : many *Roman* Souldiers followed *Stotzas* ; some Renegado's and others, who had been Prisoners staying now with him out of choice. And *John*, whose name was famous amongst the *Moors*, being out with *Sergius* lay still and did nothing at all.

Sergius his Nephew succeeding him, Great disorders therupon.

*Areobindus* joined with him.*Sergius* ordered into Italy.

78. By these things, the Emperour was moved to take some farther care about *Africk*. Yet would he not for all this, put *Sergius* quite out of Command, but fending into the Province *Areobindus* a Senator, and a worthy Person, though no Souldier ; he divided the General-ship, the Countrey and Souldiers betwixt them two, ordering *Sergius* to make War in *Numidia*, and *Areobindus* in *Byzacium*. *Areobindus* being arrived, when he heard how *Antalas* and *Stotzas* were incamped three days Journey from *Carthage*, sent *John* the Son of *Sifniolus* against them, with the flower of his Army, writing to *Sergius* to joyn with him, who disdaining to be directed, and flighting the Bulinets, *John* was forced with his small power to encounter an infinite number of Enemies. Both *John* and *Stotzas* to their mutual satisfaction, for they were irreconcileable Enemies, died in the Battel, besidies *John* an *Armenian*, who with *Artabanes* his Brother, being of the race of the *Asiacides* that had revolted to the *Romans*, and Commanded some of their Countreymen that came over with *Areobindus*. The Emperour was much troubled for the Death of *John*, and being convinced how inconvenient a thing it was to have two Generals, ordered *Sergius* to pafs with some Forces to the Wars of *Italy*. But though he redressed one evil, yet another inconvenience wrought so much, as stll to involve this Province in trouble and disorder. For *Areobindus* was so little versed in matters of War, that one *Gontharis*, who Commanded the Cohorts in *Numidia*, was encouraged to revolt and attempt the Sovereignty. To this purpose he procured the *Moors* to march against *Carthage*, and held secret Intelligence with *Antalas*, and *John* whom the Mutineers had made General in the room of *Stotzas*. *Areobindus* hearing of *Antalas* his motions, sent for *Gontharis* and the rest of the Officers to attene him at *Carthage*, and on the other side he practized with *Cuzinas* who led the *Numidian Moors* to turn in the Battel againt *Antalas*, and the *Moors* of *Byzacium*. But never suspecting *Gontharis*, he told him his design, and he thereupon revealed it to *Antalas*, who yet kept all things from *Cuzinas*, for they hated each other, though with these clandestine designs, they fought in company together, each against him with whom he entertained Correspondence.

79. But *Gontharis*, to bring about his Usurpation, first resolvoed to kill *Areobindus* secretly in the Battel, that he might not seem to intrude into the Empire, rather that the Souldiers should put it upon him, without his seeking, according to the usual hypocrisy of Tyrants. This device succeeded not, because he could not perswade *Areobindus* to go out to Fight, therefore he concluded he was either to be frightened away to *Constantinople*, or openly Murthered. And when he had once discovered the Plot, he had fled indeed, if a sudden Storm and power of his own fate had not stopt him ; but now constrained to make the best of it he could, he was advised by *Artabanes*, not to be dismaid at this presumption of *Gontharis*, but instantly

*Gontharis* usurps ;And kills *Areobindus*.

instantly to fall upon him before any farther mischief. This good advice he had no power to follow, but would needs send first and feel the pulse of *Gontharis*, who owning the Usurpation, then at length he resolvoed to go out and fight. By this time the Usurper had indeavoured to possesse the Souldiers with a belief of his Cowardise, and how he meant to defraud them of their pay ; when *Areobindus* and *Artabanes* issuing out began the fight. The most part of the Souldiers being uncorrupted and issing out from several Quarters, had easly made an end of the Tyrant and his Mutineers, but that *Areobindus* frightened to see men killed, being a fight he was not used to, like a Fool and Coward ran away and took Sanctuary in a Monastery within the Walls of *Carthage*, after which *Artabanes* and the rest retired, and *Gontharis* became master of the City, the Palace and the Haven. Then did he send *Reparatus*, the Bishop of the place, to *Areobindus*, to come to the Palace upon assurance of safety, who upon condition that the Bishop in *Gontharis* his name at the celebration of Baptism would by Oath establish his Security, came forth, and in a Garment called by the *Romans* *Casula*, befitting rather a Slave, than a Souldier, came to the Palace. Here taking the holy Bible from the Bishop, he fell at the Feet of *Gontharis*, holding out the Book, a Petition, and his little Son at whose Baptism the Bishop had sworn his safety, and conjuring him by all that was Holy to tell him whether he should have his Life. He promised him that the next day he would send him away safe for *Carthage*, with his Wife and Goods, and having with much adoe raised him from the Ground, entertained him at Supper with much Honour ; but causing him to lie in a Chamber alone, and near at hand, sent some of his Confidents, who after his much weeping and wailing, dispatched him ; which done, the next day he sent his Head to *Antalas*.

80. *Antalas*, his dissatisfaction with the Emperour being not great, was vexed at the Treason and perjury of the Tyrant, and concluding that he would neither keep faith with him nor any other, after much debate with himself, he resolvoed to submit to his Prince, and so marcht off, and drew to him *Marcentius* Commander of the Horse in *Byzacium*. *John* with his Mutineers, about a thousand men, revolted to *Gontharis* ; and *Artabanes*, upon assurance of safety, came also to the Palace with his *Armenians*, professing all Service and obedience to the Usurper. But being of a generous spirit he plotted to kill him, animated and spurred on to this act, as a means of attaining immortal Glory, by *Gregorius* his Nephew, and *Artafis* one of his Guard ; and to cover his deign, he undertook an expedition against *Antalas* and his *Moors* as he was ordered by *Gontharis*. *Antalas* stood him not but ran away, and *Artabanes* turned about also and marched back, whom *Ulithus* a great Creature of *Gontharis* would have killed at his return ; but *Artabanes* excused the matter, left he should have lost the Army, *Marcentius* being in a capacity to have succoured the Enemy from *Adrametum*, and affirming it was safest that the Tyrant should oppoze him withall his Forces. *Gontharis* took his advice, and resolvoed to lead them himself, leaving a Garrison in *Carthage*, under the Command of *Paphilus*, his chief Councillour who had been a Ringleader in the Mutiny of *Byzacium*, and his principal Aflistant in the Usurpation. Him he ordered to murther all the Greeks, having every day himself killed some upon fear and jealousy, and having all things now in readiness, he thought good to feaste his Friends the night before his departure. *Artabanes* being invited amongst the rest, resolved upon it as a fit opportunity to execute his deign against the Tyrant. Acquainting *Gregorius*, *Artafis* and the others of his Guard with his purpose, he ordered them to get in with their Swords, it being the custome when the Commanders Feasted, to have their Guards stand behind them. *Artafis* he would have doe the deed when he law it mett convenient, and intructred *Gregorius* to bring some of their stoutest *Armenians* to the Palace with their Swords, (for they might not attend their Officers with other Arms) who should, (upon jealousy that their Captain was invited out of no good intention towards him,) desire to stand with the Guards of *Gontharis*. *Artafis* cut Arrows in two, and thrast the peices round his Arme up to the Elbow, tying them with strings and covering them with the sleeve of his Coat, that he might receive any blow made at him upon his Arme, and fence it off from his Body.

81. He defred *Artabanes* that, if he saw the Tyrant was not mortally wounded, he would kill him, the said *Artafis*, instantly, left by torture he should discover him, and perishing bafely himself ruine his Captain also ; which said, he went with *Gregorius* and one of the Guard and stood behind him, the rest slaying with those without, and expecting till they heard the cry within as they were directed. He had his hand upon his Scimiter, and would have done the deed at the beginning of

Sect. I. Is killed.  
Arick recovered by the means of Artabanes.  
Overrun again and recovered by John.

the Feast ; but that he was stopt by *Gregorius*, who in the Armenian Language told him that *Gontharis* was yet himself, and had not drunk sufficiently. When he had drunk largely, and grew into a pleant humour, he gave some Dishes of Meat to the Guard who then went out to eat it, leaving with him only *Ulithes* and two others, and *Artasiris* went out with them, fearing he might not hand-somely draw his Scimitar within ; and being without he drew it, then covering it with his Clothes, he stopt to *Gontharis* as to say something to him in private. But being come near to him, one of the waiters discovered his Sword, and thrusting him away cryed out ; with that *Gontharis* turning about to look at him, *Artasiris* fetch blow and cut off part of his Skull, with his fingers he had laid crois his right shoulder in turning. Notwithstanding *Gontharis* indeavour'd to rise, which *Artabanes* perceiving stabbed him into the side as he sat by him, and then did *Ulithes* strike at *Artasiris*, whose device flood him in good stead ; the pieces of Arrows within his Sleeve keeping off the blow, so that he had no harm. He then killed *Ulithes*, *Peter* one of *Solomon's* Guard who Supped there also, joyned with *Artabanes*, and they taking up the Swords of *Ulithes* and *Gontharis*, slew the two others of the Guard that were left behind, and then the *Armenians* hearing the Noife, rushed in and killed the *Vandals*, and the favourites of the Tyrant, who were placed upon other Couches in the same Room at Supper.

22. The Guards without perceiving what was done, joyned presently with the *Armenians*, having most of them belonged to *Areobindus*, and cryed out *Justinian* the Emperour, which Noife received by one Company from another, reached to most parts of the City. *Pappulus* and other Mutineers were killed in their Lodgings. *John* with some *Vandals* fled to a Church, but were taken out upon promise of security and sent to *Constantinople* ; and thus was the City and *Africk* recovered, on the thirty fifth day of the Uspuration, in the nineteenth year of *Justinian's* Reign, to the great renown of *Artabanes*. *Projecta* the Wife of *Areobindus*, and Niece of the Emperour, richly presented him, and *Justinian* made him General of the Province ; yet not long after, he was recalled at his desire, and *John* the Brother of *Pappulus* succeeded him, who immediately defeated *Antala*, and the *Moors* of *Byzantium*, recovering all the Ensigns which were lost at the Death of *Solomon*, but was again beaten by the *Leucarians* ; and having lost many men, fled to *Laribum*. Then did they overrun *Africk*, which they wasted to the Gates of *Carthage*, and he, stirred up by anger and indignation, rallied his Soulidiers remaining, and drawing in *Catina* and other *Moors* to his affistance, gave them a great overthrow, from which such as escaped, fled to the uttermost marches of *Africk*. Hereby it came to paf, that the Provincialis in *Africk* being few and very poor, enjoyed at length some quietnes. And here *Priscipius* concludeth his History of the *Vandal* Wars in that Countrey, proceeding to the *Gothick*, which by this time had been carried on nine years in *Italy*. For thither *Belisarius*, as we hinted, was sent ; upon what occasion, and with what succes, now we come to shew from the first Original.

83. *Amalasuntha* the Daughter of *Theodoric* the *Goth*, who had Conquered *Italy* out of the hands of *Odoacer*, and the *Hervuli*, educated her Son *Atthalrick* his Successour, after the manner of the *Roman* Princes, causing him to be instructed in Grammar and other principles of Ingenuity. This the *Goths* disliked, desiring he might be bred after the Barbarian way, upon which they could found greater hopes of liberty to spoil the People. The Mother at one time striking her Son for something he did in his Chamber, he went out into another Room and wept, where some of them seeing him, made a great busines of it, railing on her, as if she desired to rid of the Boy, that with his Patrimony she might Marry some other man, and Reign her self over the *Goths* and *Italians*. The Principal of them meeting together complained that their King was ill bred, that Learning was an Enemy to Valour, producing cowardly and base Spirits, and they objected the example of his Grand-Father, who did such great things without as much as knowing his Letters. They besought the Queen to dismiss his three Pedagogues, and to give him Companions of his own Age, who growing up with him might incline him to govern according to their own Laws, and this out of fear she was constrained to admit, though sorely against her mind. These Companions having some advantage of him in years, when he grew up drew him to Wine and Women, and made him so ill natured, undutyfull and disobedient to his Mother, that he deserted her in a faction, which had the impudence to Command her to retire from Court. Yet carrying a mind undaunted, and above the Condition of her Sex, she pickt out three of the chief, and confined them severally to the farthest parts of *Italy*, under pretence of securing the borders against the Enemy. But holding

*Procop. de bello  
Goth. lib. 1.*

*Atthalrick* the young King of the *Goths* debarched by ill Company.

holding for all this a Correspondence with their Friends and Relations, they stirred up the People against her, and the Faction grew so strong, that not able to bear up against it, she sent to *Justinian* to desire that, forasmuch as she was minded to quit *Italy*, he would give leave that she might repair to *Constantinople*.

84. The Emperour glad of the News, kindly invited her to undertake the Journey. But she intending it but as a Reserve, and a remedy for necessity, having procured those three persons to be killed, remained still at *Ravenna* and fortified her Government. However, things went still very crost with her. *Theodatus* the Son of *Amalasuntha* the Sister of *Theodoric*, a man in years, well skilled in Latin and the Doctrine of *Plato*, but utterly unpractised in Civil and Military matters, and excessively Covetous, being Lord of many Towns in *Tuscany*, oppressed the Inhabitants round about him, which humour the endeavouring to curb, he became much incensed and bitter against her. For a great Sum of money, and the dignity of a Senator, he plotted to betray *Tuscany* into the hands of the Emperour, dealing with some Ambassadors that were sent to the Bishop of *Rome*, from *Constantinople* for this purpose. By this time also the King her Son, was fallen into a Confumption through his Intemperance, which distracted her exceedingly, taking no comfort in him whilst he lived, and perceiving that if he died, she should be in extreme danger, because she had much incensed the Principal of the *Goths*. Upon the whole matter she resolv'd to save her self, by delivering *Italy* into the hands of *Justinian*, who, together with the Ambassadors that came to the Bishop of *Rome*, sent one *Alexander* a Senator under the same Character, to spie out her actions, wondering that she came not to *Constantinople* as she once intended. *Alexander* expostulated with her about several matters of no very great concernment, to which she openly returned a resolute and smart Answer, but secretly promised to deliver up *Italy* to *Justinian*, who understanding what was offered both from her and *Theodatus*, was overjoyed, and dispatch'd presently into *Italy*, one *Peter* an *Ilyrian* by Nation, by Profession an Orator, but a man of a great reach, much mildness, and of excellent ability to perswade.

85. In the mean time *Theodatus* upon evident proof, not only of oppressing his Neighbours, but intrusion into the Royal Domain, was compelled to make reftion, wherewith he was infinitely offended. About the same time also, *Atthalrick* died of his Confumption, after he had Reigned eight years, which put his Mother upon a new plunge. Without considering the Nature of *Theodatus*, and her late proceedings against him. To appease his mind, she offered him the Title of King, on condition that she continued in her former Power. He remembering how she had used him, swore what she pleased, with an intent never to perform it, and being in possession of the Kingdom, acted quite contrary both to her expectation, and his own ingagements. For he made of his Council the Relations of those she had put to Death ; some of her Friends he suddenly dispatch'd, and in conclusion Imprisoned her in a strong Castle, in an Island of the Lake *Vulsinus* in *Tuscany*. Fearing the displeasure of the Emperour, he sent some Ambassadors to per-  
*Vide Ep. si plati-  
fida et apud Caffio-  
var. lib. 10.*

swade him that she had no harm, and caused her to write to the same purpose. The Ambassadors in their way met with *Peter*, who perceiving the Scene was quite changed in *Italy*, thereof speedily advertized his Master, and he thence resolv'd to take occasion to imbroil *Theodatus* and the *Goths*. Now he sent instructions to *Peter* publickly to own the caufe of *Amalasuntha*, to whom he wrote Letters full of comfort, and of his resolution to take her part. But before *Peter* could reach of her, and of his resolution to take her part. But before *Peter* could reach

And he causes *Italy*, the Kinfiend of those she had put to Death, perfwaded *Theodatus* she was to be remov'd out of the way, without which neither he nor they could be in any safety, and therefore he conenting they went to the Island and murther'd her, to the great greif of the rest of the *Goths*, who deservedly admired her for the excellency of her Virtues. *Peter* protested openly against the Fact, and declared perpetual War from the Emperour. *Theodatus* was so silly, as although he openly favoured the Murtherers, yet to deny the Fact, to have been committed with his knowledge and approbation. Her Death happened in the DXXXIII year of our Lord, in the fourth Consulship of *Justinian*, who had *Paulinus* for Collegue, in which year *Marcellinus Comes* finished his *Chronicon*.

86. The Emperour being advertized of the Death of *Amalasuntha*, resolv'd upon that occasion to make War with the *Goths* ; the following year being the ninth of his Reign, having lately Conquered *Geimer* and the *Vandals* in *Africk*, through the Conduct of *Belisarius*. He Commanded *Mundus* the General of *Ilyrium* to march into *Dalmatia*, which was subject to the *Goths*, and attempt *Salona*. *Be-*  
*lisarius*

*Sect. I.* *Belisarius* he ordered to make himself ready, to sail with a Fleet, aboard of which were four thousand Legionary Soldiers and Confederates, three thousand *Iaurians*, two hundred Auxiliary *Hunnes*, and three hundred *Moors*, besides his Life-Guard, making him General with absolute authority. His Instructions were to pretend a Voyage to *Carthage*, but to attempt *Sicily*, which if he found easie, he should subdue it, and not quit it upon any account; otherwise to sail away for *Africk*, without discovery of his Intent. *Justinian* courted the Princes of the *Franks* by good words and presents to joyn with him, using arguments drawn from the Heretie of the *Goths*, and their equal enmity to them. *Mundus* without much adoe Conquered *Salone*. *Belisarius* easily reduced *Sicily*, only *Panormus* stood out, the *Goths* presuming upon the strength of the place, and it was indeed by Land impregnable, but by Sea he attaqued it, and had it delivered up by composition. This Succes of his, *Peter* the Ambassadour made use of to terrify *Theodosius*, whose Heart failing him, in a secret Conference he came to this accord, to quit all pretensions to the Island of *Sicily*, to send the Emperour yearly a Crown of Gold, weighing three hundred pound, and three thousand fighting men when he should desire them. That he should not put to Death, or confiscate the Goods of any Priest or Senator, without the Emperour's consent, nor advance any to the Degree of a Senatour or Patriarch, but petition his upon occasion to doe it; that in the Acclamations of the People, *Justinian's* name should be first mentioned, and when ever *Theodosius* had his Status erected, the Emperour should have another placed on the right hand.

87. *Theodosius* though he had subscribed the Accord, yet fearing that the Emperour might not accept of the terms, was much distractred in his mind, out of apprehension of a War which he infinitely dreaded. He sent back for the Ambassadour, now on his Journey as far as *Albania*, who discouering the terror he was in, so applied himself to his humour, that he was perswaded to resign the Kingdom to *Justinian*, having bound *Peter* by an Oath, not to discouer this his Intent, till he perceived the Emperour would not accept of the former Capitulations, and with him he sent one *Ruficus* a Priest, and a man whom he much respected, and whom some will have the same with *Agapetus* the *Roman* Bishop. *Justinian* not admitting of the first Accord, they shewed him the second Agreement, whereby he was content for a yearly allowance of twelve Centenaries of Gold, to surrender the Dominion over the *Goths* and *Italians*, having no skill, as he said in his Letter, in the tumults of War, and being by his love to Philosophy, estranged from the noise of Battels, and preferring his Studies before a Kingdom. The Emperour ravished with joy, flattered him in an answere to his Letters, approving and extolling his high *Widom*, and adding to what he demanded, the chief Honours of which a *Roman* Subject was capable, sent *Peter* and one *Alexander* joyned in Commission with him, with Instructions to assign him Lands out of the Emperour's Domain, by the *Romans* called *Patrimonium*; and having perfected the Agreement by Oaths and Instruments of Conveyance, to call in *Belisarius* from *Sicily*, to take Possession of the Country, to whom he sent Orders accordingly to go over.

88. During this Negotiation, an Army of *Goths* entred *Dalmatia*, and near *Salone* killed *Mauritius* the Son of *Mundus*, who went out with a few only to view their Body, wherewith *Mundus* being much grieved, in great passion led his men without any good order against the Enemy, whom he clearly defeated, but giving the Chace negligently, and without good consideration, (so much he was enraged for the Death of his Son;) he was Slain by one whom he perfused, according to a verse of *Sibylle* which the *Romans* now called to mind, that *When Africk should be recovered, Mundus and his Son should perish*, which they out of the ambiguous significacion of the word, *Mundus*, interpreted of the World, and the whole fabric of Nature. The *Romans* now having none to head them, retired home, and the *Goths* having lost their chief Officers, kept close in their Garrisons, for they could not trust to the Fortifications of *Salone*, nor to the *Romans* that inhabited it. *Theodosius* now in the mean time, for all his Transactions with the Emperour, slighted his Ambassadours, being of so fickle and weak a disposition, as either to be depressed with greater fears, or elevated with higher Confidence than the occasion required. Exalted upon this disastre of *Mundus*, he derided *Peter*, who expostulating with him for his breach of Faith, he publickly told him, that as Ambassadours are by all men much respected, yet they retain that privilege by moderation only, it being not unusual for such an one to be put to Death, if he carry himself insolently to the Person of a Prince, or commit Adultery. He did not mean that *Peter* had lain with any man's Wife, but only expressed the limits of his Privilege; however he and his Colleague neth led

led hereat, admonished him not upon such frivolous pretences, to violate the Laws of Nations; told him that an Ambassadour, who could not have water to his hands without the knowledge of those that guarded him, could not be guilty of such a Crime. As for words, if he have in commision to speak them, he is not to be blamed, but his Master. That it is his part to doe that for which he was sent: that they therefore would utter whatsoever the Emperour had commanded them, were he angry or pleased; and again putting him in mind that it was high time to perform what he had sworn to, they told him they had, besides the Letters directed to him, others which they must deliver to the Principal *Goths* themselves. By these the Emperour promised that their union with him should tend to their benefit, and not at all to their disadvantage; and desired them to give credit and assistance to these his two Ambassadours, whom he had sent into *Italy* about this busines.

89. He perused the Letters, but refused utterly to perform the agreement, and put a strict guard upon the Ambassadours. *Justinian* being thereof informed, sent *Constantianus*, Master of his Horfe, to raise Forces in *Ibyrium*, and attempt *Salone*. *Belisarius* he ordered without delay to pass into *Italy*, and make war upon the *Goths*.

In the mean time *Gripus*, who commanded the *Goths*, had entered *Salone*; but hearing a report that *Constantianus* had a far greater Army, both by Land and Sea, than indeed he had, he removed into the Champion Countrey; and then *Constantianus* seizing upon the Town, and his Fleet lying before it at Anchor, seven days after he arose, and transported his men to *Ravenna*. Now did *Constantianus* take in *Dalmatia* and *Liburnia*, the *Goths* submittting themselves, and so ended the Winter, and the first year of the War. *Belisarius* leaving Garrisons in *Syracuse* and *Panormus*, transported his Army from *Messina* to *Rbegium*, over that Strait where the Poets feigned *Scylla* and *Charybdis* to have been seated. Passing up the Countrey, where many daily came in to him, he late down in *Campania* before *Naples*, commanding the Fleet, which kept all this while clost to the Coast, to lie within a Bow-shot in the Harbour. The Castle in the Suburbs he took by composition; and then giving leave to the Citizens to send some to treat with him, or hear what he had to offer, they sent one *Stephanus*; to whom he offered many arguments drawn from self-preservation and liberty, pawning his Faith for as good conditions as the *Sicilians* had obtained. *Stephanus* making report hereof to the Commonalty, added his own opinion of the inconvenience of resiting the Emperour; but *Pafor* and *Afkleiodorus*, two Oratours, much devoted to the service of the *Goths*, on purpose to crost the Treaty, persuaded them to make such demands of *Belisarius* as they concluded he would never grant; and when contrary to their expectation, he had closed with their Propositions, and the People commanded the Gates to be set open, they again perfused them it was their interest to stand out; forasmuch as it was uncertain which Side would get the better: And though *Belisarius* should have that good fortune, he could not in wisdom so much blame them for being true to their trut, as hate and despise them for, either as Traitors or Cowards, forsaking their old Friends and Masters at the first onset.

90. Hereupon they defied *Belisarius*, who making several assaults, was as often repulsed with los of many of his best men; the Walls, by reason of the Sea, and the steepnes of the ground, being inaccessible. He cut the great Aqueduct which served the City; but this inconvenience was easily supplied by the Wells within, which furnished them with water sufficently; so that he was much perplexed, considering the los of his time, and that he must be forced to set upon *Rome* and *Theodosius* in the Winter. Refolwing to rise, he had given out orders to the Army to difodge, when a certain *Iaurian*, curious to view the struture of the Aqueduct, entring into it perceived, that if a passage, which was cut for the water through Rock, was but a little enlarged, Forces might easily get through it, and surprize the City. *Belisarius* herewith acquainted, joyfully entertained the overtture, and procured some *Iaurians* to widen the Passage, which they did not with Hatchets and Axes, but by filing off the Rock, lest they should be discovered by the noife. When all was ready, *Belisarius* sent again for *Stephanus*, and usd all the arguments he could to perfude them to yield, telling them his Engines were ready, wherewith he shold not fail to take the Town; but the People being still deaf to all advice of this nature, he provided him scaling Ladders, and then caused *Magnus*, a Commander of the Horfe, and *Ennes*, Captain of the *Iaurians*, in the dead time of the night, with about six hundred men to enter the Vault, taking with them Lights, and two Trumpets to affright the City, and give notice to the General what they did. When they were within the City, they were at a los, not knowing where to get up, till the foremost at last found the Roof uncovered at a place where stood a Cottage, in which a poor WOMAN

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man dwelt alone, and an Olive-tree grew at the top of the Arch. The Vault being high arched with Brick, and no steps at the hole, they found it impossible to climb with their Arms about them, till one laying his down, made a shift to clamber up, and threatened to kill the Woman if once she stirred. Then tying a Rope to the Tree, he cast the other end down into the Aqueduct, by which all the Souldiers mounted, one by one.

Takes Naples.

91. All being mounted, and the night now far spent, they made up to the Wall, and killed the Sentinels on the North-side, where the General stood expecting the event; who upon the signal of the Trumpets given, commanded the Souldiers to set to the Scaling Ladders. The Ladders were two short; but they tied two together, and so mounting the Battlements, easily took the City, and opened the Gates for the rest of the Army to enter. Great slaughter was made of all sorts and conditions; especially by the *Masfages*, who killed those also that had taken sanctuary in Churches, till *Belisarius* rode about and restrained the Angry Souldiers, bidding them take the Wealth, but spare the Owners; and let the Conquered find by experience how good Friends they had lost by the false measures of their own Councils. He caused all the other Prisoners to be released as well as the Women and Children; and reconciling the Souldiers to them, both made them Slaves, and restored them to liberty in one day; after which they recovered also the choicest of their Goods, having hid their Gold and things of value under-ground, which now they found upon restitution of their Houses. The Gothic Garrison, consisting of eight hundred men, he took into the Emperour's pay; and so ended the Siege of *Naples*, after twenty days continuance, as *Procopius* writes, who speaks much of the humanity of *Belisarius*; although some others, but those of no great authority, say he was grievously reprehended for his cruelty in this City by *Silverius*, the Bishop of *Rome*, and compelled to doe penance, having put all the Citizens to the Sword, and neither spared Churches, Priests, nor the Religious Virgins. However, the Goths throughout Italy were exceedingly alarmed at his success, and more amazed at the stupidity of their Prince, who made no preparations for a Battell, suspecting that he betrayed the Countrey to *Belisarius* upon security of a quiet and idle life. Assembling at *Regeta*, a place thirty five miles distant from *Rome*, they chose one *Vitigis* for their King, a man of no eminent Houlie, but become remarkable for his valour in the War, which *Theodoric* made against the *Gepidae*. *Theodatus* having the news, fled to *Ravenna*, whither the new King sent after him one *Optari*, a Goth, (whom *Theodatus* had disengaged by hindring him from the marriage of an handsome and rich Maid he loved, by persuading her to marry another man) with orders to bring him either alive or dead. To gratify his own malice, as well as the jealousy laid along on his back, killed him like a Beast ordained for sacrifice, as the Historian expresseth it, after he had reigned three years. Such was the end of this covetous, ingratefull, fickle and imprudent Prince, who in old Coins is called *Theodathus*, with a threefold aspiration according to the pronunciation of the Goths.

*Vitigis chosen King by the Goths.*And *Theodatus* murdered.

92. *Vitigis* to improve the advantage got by the death of *Theodatus*, imprisioned his Son *Theodemigilus*, marcht for *Rome*, and thence, having not things yet in readiness, to *Ravenna*, whence he thought he might best begin the War. Before his departure from *Rome*, he laboured much with *Silverius* the Bishop, the Senate and People to be true to the Gothic Nation, putting them in mind of *Theodoric*'s Reign, binding them with the strongest Oaths imaginable, and taking most of the Senators as Hostages along with him. Having left a Garrison of four thousand men in *Rome*, and being come to *Ravenna*, he there by force married *Matasuntha*, the Daughter of *Amalasuntha* (a Virgin more beautiful than her name expresseth her) to strengthen his Interest by so near alliance with the Bloud of *Theodoric*; then from all Parts did he assemble the Goths, and put them into a posture; those in *Gall* only excepted, for fear of the *Franks*, who he thought would certainly overrun both *Italy* and *Gall*, if he with his Army should march for *Rome*. Therefore considering how he should be utterly unable to grapple with the *Romans* and them at the same time he called his Officers together, and persuaded them to draw the *Franks* to their side, by giving up to them that part of *Gall* which *Theodoric* and his Successours had hitherto possessed, with a certain sum of money. The Princes of the *Franks*, *Childebert*, *Theudebert* and *Clotaire* divided the Countrey betwixt them, and took the money, entering into confederacy with the Goths, and covenanting to send them aid; only having promised the Emperour to doe the same with him, they could not enter into an open war with him, therefore they would send them

*Vitigis draws the Franks to his Party.**Vide Bar. Annal. ad Ann. 534, &c. 536. Tom. 7.**Vitigis, sapient & fortis. Grati. Theod. gilli. Regum coram conve.**Matasuntha, Medicina pulchritudo.*

them Succours, not *Franks*, but of the Nations subject to them. *Belisarius* in the mean time put Garrisons into *Naples* and *Cuma*, the only strong Places in *Campagna*, and set all things in order for his march to *Rome*; which the Citizens understanding, and fearing the Torture of the *Neapolitanos*, resolved to receive the Emperour's Army, perfudued to it by *Silverius* the Bishop especially, notwithstanding the Oath formerly made to *Vitigis*. By one *Fidelius*, who had formerly been *Quaestor to Athalarick*, they invited him to come and take possession of their City; in compliance with which offer, he led on by the *Via Latina*, leaving the *Via Appia* on his left hand. This *Via Appia*, or *Appian High-way*, so called from *Appius* the Conful, who had caused it to be made nine hundred years before, reached five days journey from *Rome*, to *Capua*. A thing worthy of special remark, being broad enough for two Carriages to pass abreast, paved with Stones all of the Mill-stone Quarry, and exceeding hard, which he had procured from foreign Countries. They were smooth wrought, equal, and so close fastned, yet without any Brads, or other ligament, that one would have thought them all of the same piece, or grown together. After so long a time wearing by Beasts and Carriages, there was not the least chink or hole made in the Pavement, nor any one Stone broken, or worn out; nay that had as much as lost its shape and splendour in the days of *Procopius*.

*Belisarius enters Rome.* 93. In the eleventh year of *Justinian's Reign*, on the ninth or tenth day of *Decem- Prospiciens de bello. Octobr. lib. 1. Belisarius, lib. 4.*

*ber*, A.D. DXXXVII. full sixty years after it had been taken by the *Hervuli*, and the thirty fourth after its captivity by the *Goths*, was *Rome* retaken by *Belisarius*, who entring it at *Porta Asinaria*, at the same time the Gothic Garrison issed out at the *Porta Flaminia*, being not able to make any considerable opposition. The Keys, together with *Lendaris* the Goverour, who staid behind, he sent to the Emperour, and then applied himself to the repairing of the Wall, and other Fortifications, wherein he was very much commended, both for his skill and industry. But the Citizens murmured much, and wondered that he shoud look upon *Rome* as a place fitted for a Siege, being neither situate upon the Sea, nor having Walls (which were huge in compas) at all convenient for making defence, nor seated upon any Rock or Mountain naturally fortified, but in an open Champion, liable to all assaults. Yet still did he prepare for a Siege, storing up Corn in Granaries, which he caused to be transported out of *Sicily*, and compelling the *Romans*, though fore against their wills, to bring in all the Grain which their Farms afforded, with other things necessary for humane life. The Inhabitants of *Calabria* and *A-pulia* had before this time, both in the Mediterranean and Maritime Coasts, submitted themselves to the General, which example *Pitzas* a *Goth*, now following, furrend half *Sannium*, lying upon the Sea, with the *Goths* inhabiting as far as the River which divides the Countrey, those on the other side refusing to be guided by *Pitzas*, or to give up themselves to the Emperour. *Belisarius* having taken in those Places with all the territory of *Rome* to the *Tiber*, and having put it into very good posture, ordered *Constantianus* to take in the Cities of *Tuscany*. He had furrend to him *Sopleum* and *Perusa*, with other Towns; at which time one *Bessas*, a *Goth*, but of the Emperour's Party, and an excellent Souldier, was taken in *Narnia*. An Army sent to *Vitigis* he destroyed almost every man; after which this Gothic King would not stay any longer at *Ravenna*; but sending Forces to recover *Dalmatia*, prepared for a march against *Belisarius* with no fewer than a hundred and fifty thousand men. For hearing how small his Army was, it repented him that he had left *Rome*; and therefore now in great anger and disdain, he resolued to return thither, fearing nothing but that *Belisarius* would run away.

94. *Belisarius* indeed, hearing that the whole power of the *Goths* was coming upon him, could not but be much concerned, having so unequal a number to make resistance; and he durst not abandon the Places of *Tuscany*, by calling back his Forces, lest by possessing them the *Goths* should block up *Rome*. He sent orders to *Bessas* and *Constantianus* to leave competent Garrisons in them, and then come to him, which *Constantianus* speedily did; but *Bessas* staying longer to settle *Narnia*, (a City distant about forty four miles from *Rome*, situate upon an high Hill, near the River *Narus*, over which it had a Bridge, with the highest Arches *Procopius* ever saw, and iron which it received its name, being called by *Livy* and *Pliny Nequinum*; concerning which *Tully* wrote that dry weather made it dirty, and rainy weather dusty) fell upon the Forerunners of the *Goths*, of which he routed and killed a great number; then being prest upon by their multitudes, he retired into *Narnia*; and leaving therein a Garrison, came and brought news to *Rome* that the Enemy would speedily be with them. *Vitigis* would not spend time upon the Towns

Sect. i. Towns in *Tuscany*, because they were well provided, and out of a vehement desire to take *Belisarius* before he shoud run away. Within a mile and three quarters of *Rome*, *Belisarius* had upon the Bridge of *Tiber* built a Fort, and therein placed a Garrison to give the Enemy some stop, till the *Romans* might bring in sufficient Provisions, and till such time as he could receive from the Emperour those additional Forces he expected; for he conceived that the *Goths* repulsed here, could not pass by any other Bridge in twenty days, and to get Boats together would require a longer time. He thought fit also to incamp some of his men near the *Tiber* to hinder the Enemies passage, and make some trial of their Courage. But those that watched upon the Bridge affrighted with the multitude of the *Goths*, fled by night into *Campania*, and the day following the Enemy brake down the Gates, and passed over without opposition, till *Belisarius* men with them unawares, who knowing nothing of what had happened, marched with a thousand Horse toward the Bridge to view the Ground where he might best incamp his Souldiers. At this time, however formerly cautious, he ventured himself farther than the nature of his place, and the present posture of Affairs required, fighting in great danger at the head of his men. By some Fugitives he was made known to the Enemy, who, neglecting all others, shot at him alone, and laid at him with their Swords and Lances. He gallantly demeaned himself, killing all within his reach; but had undoubtedly perished, had not his Lanciers and Targetiers shewed that day unparalleled valour, holding their Shields before him, receiving all the Arrows, and thrusting off the Multitude by main strength. He lost at least a thousand on his part; and amongst them, many of the choicest of his Retinue, yet he himself was neither wounded nor shot, though the Controversie of the day was only about his own Person.

A great Action  
betwixt *Belisarius*  
us and the *Goths*  
near *Rome*.

They besiege  
him in *Rome*.

95. In conclusion, the *Goths* were routed, and driven to their Camp, which when they had entred, they made head against the Puruers; and their Foot being fresh, easily repulsed them. The *Romans* finding no access here, and perceiving another Party of Horse to make toward them, retired to an Hill, whence they were forced down, and pursued by those they had lately chased to the very Gates of *Rome*. Here they were in greater distreſs than ever; for those within, fearing that the *Goths* would enter pell mell with them, would not open the Gates, though the General himself called and cried to them, whose Face they could not discern in the dusk of the evening, being also besmeared with blood and dust, and his voice was as little distinguished, because they had taken it for granted that he was dead from the report of such first of all ran away. They were driven up into a narrow room, and violently charged, which put *Belisarius* upon a sudden and bold resolution, to incourage his men, and to give the onerf upon the Puruers, who were much disordered; and his design so far took, that the *Goths* imagining this could not happen, except those within the City failed out also upon them, in a fear ran all away; *Belisarius* not suffering his Souldiers to give the chafe, but procuring as speedy entrance into *Rome* as possible. A day or two following was the City half encompassed by the Enemy, who lying on both sides of *Pons Milvius*, and thereby having free access to the River, made war in what part he pleased. The Aqueducts, fourteen in number, being most stately Brick-works, so deep and broad, that a man might easily enter them on horseback, they broke and rent in pieces, to cut off the water from the Town. On the other side, *Belisarius* omitted nothing becoming a prudent and wary Governour for defence of the Place. To supply the defect of water now wanting to the Mills, he caused strong Cables to be drawn croſs the River, and fastned on both sides near the Bridge, being stretched out so as to be very stiff. To theſe Cables he tied Boats at two foot diſtance, where the stream ran strongest through the Arches, and placing in each Boat a Mill-stone, hung the Engine, which was to turn the Mill, betwixt the Boats. Beneath theſe, in the ſame manner, he caused other Boats to be tied at a proportionable diſtance, ſitting them alſo with the like Engins, whereby the Mill-stones were ſet on work, and the City was abundantly ſupplied. The *Goths* informed of this Device, caſt Trees and dead Bodies into the River, that being carried down the stream, they might break, or at leaſt disorder the Engins; but for this *Belisarius* invented a ſufficient remedy, by drawing Iron Chains before the Bridge, which not onely ſhould intercept what ever could annoy the Mills, but to prevent the entrance of the Enemy that way into the City. To provide alſo againſt any furprize by ſuch clandestine entrance, he fortified the Aqueducts for a good ſpace, where they opened themſelves into the City. As for the Common-fewers, he needed not ſecure them, because they had all their Mouths into the River.

96. Not-

Sect. i. 96. Notwithstanding, the Inhabitants of *Rome* not used to want and hardſhip, bore the Siege and reſtrain of their liberty with great impatience, assembling together in a tumultuous manner, and railing at *Belisarius*. This being understood by *Vitigis* in the Camp, to exasperate them the more, and drive them into a perfect mutiny, he ſent into the Town certain Meſſengers, who in preſence of the Senate and Commanders of the Army ſhould upbraide the General with temerity and presumption; and vaunting much of the power and bountifulneſs of their King, offer to him and his Army a ſafe retreat, and free paſſage both for themſelves and their Goods. But the awe and reputation of *Belisarius* easily overweighing all his Arguments; and perceiving the man was not to be frightened, he refolved to attack the City. For this purpoſe he cauſed to be made Towers of wood, equal in height with the Walls, and fet upon Wheeſ to be drawn to and fro upon occaſion. He provided himſelf of many Scaling Ladders, and of four battering Rams, of which Engine, becauſe we have not formerly ſpoken, we ſhall here preſent the Reader with ſuſh a deſcription of it, as we haue it from *Procopius*: Into four wooden Pots of equal ſize, and oppofite to each other were mortſeſted eight croſs Beams, four above, and as many below, reſembling a Room of quadrangular figure, which inſtead of a Roof and Walls, was covered with Hides, both that it might be eaſier of carriage, and better defend thoſe that were within it from any violence. Within the Engine was hung another croſs Beam with looſe Chains, the upper end whereof was ſharpened, and armed with Iron in ſhape of an Arrows head, and ſometyme fourquare, reſembling an Anvil. This Engine was mounted upon four Wheeles, fastned to the four upright Beams, requiring fifty men at leaſt to move it, who having fet it to the Walls, drew back the looſe Beam with Pulleys, and then let it go again with ſuch violence, that by its reiterated ſrokes it eaſily broke down and demolished what ever ſtood within its reach; having the name of a Ram from the end of the ſaid Beam which reſembled the Horns of that Creature.

97. *Belisarius* ſtudying the beſt ways and methods how to make defence, placed upon the Towers another ſort of Engins called *Balifæ*, to keep off the Beſiegers. These were made in form of a Bow, having on the nether part a moveable Hook, lying upon a ſtraight piece of Iron. Having bent the Armes or Horns of the Bow with a Cord from the Hook or Nut, they let fly the Arrow, which was but half as long as thoſe of the ordinary fort, but four times as thick, having no Feathers to facilitate its flight, but certain thin pieces of Wood, which being fixed to its fides, together with an head of Iron ſuitable in bignenes, gave it the perfect ſhape of an Arrow. The Bow being bent with Pulleys, the Nut drew back, and then our flew the Arrow with ſuch violence, that it would reach twice as far as another; and if Tree or Stone ſtood in its way, down it went moſt certainly; which force and ſtrength of ſhooting gave it the name of *Balifæ*. Upon the Battlements of the *Walls* was another ſort of Engine placed for ſlinging of Stones, which they called *Wild Aſſes*; and at the Gates ſuch as they termed *Wolves*, made after a fashion which ſomething reſembled Portcullies. Upon the ground they erected two Beams which reached as high as the Battlements. On theſe they laid wrought pieces of Timber chequer-wife, ſome ſtraight, and ſome acroſs, joining them ſo together, that the diſtances betwixt the pieces ſerved for holes, or open places. Upon each joint ſtruck a piece of Wood, pointed like a thick Spur. They fastned the croſs Timbers to other Beams but half so long, and from the top reaching but half way down; then laying the Beams flat-long upon the Gates; when the Enemy approached, they drew a little down the higher Beams, which then falling flat with the wooden Spurs upon the Affailants, flew without fail all they lighted on. Such were the preparations *Belisarius* made for defence of *Rome*.

98. His *Balifæ* did ſuch execution, both upon men and the Oxen which were to draw the Engins to the Walls, that the *Goths* having made an assault on the 18th day of the Siege, were forced to retire from the *Porta Belisaria*. But *Vitigis*, though here repulſed, left a good part of the Army to divert the General, by plying the Battlements with Shot at a diſtance, and refolved to attaque another Part called the *Vizarium*, or Park, lying near the *Porta Praenitina*, where the Walls were moſt affaultable. Another Party of *Goths* gave the onerf at *Porta Aurelia*, without which stood *Adrian's Tomb*, a Place but ſlenderly guarded, both because *Belisarius* thought there was no great need of it, the Wall being ſtrong in this part, and the River running under it; and the Emperour's Army being but five thouſand, at the beginning of the Siege he was conraigned to diſtribute his men to the moſt neceſſary Places. The Affailants being covered by the *Porticos*, which then reached to *Saint Peter's Church*, were not discovered by the Defendants, till they were got very neare,

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which

*Sect. I.* which rendred the *Baliste* of the *Romans* useleſſ; and from the ordinary Arrows they ſecured themſelves with their Leather Bucklers, which much reſembled the *Persian Targets*. Preſſing hard forward, and plying the Battlements with their Shot, they had almoſt encompassed the Tomb, and were ready to fet to their Ladders, which ſo far diſcouraged the Befieged, that they defrauded of reſiſtance, till they took a reſolution of tumbling the Statues and great Stones which stood upon the Tomb, on the Enemies head, who was hereby forced to give ground, and then the *Romans* taking courage, repelled them without much labour. They attempted alſo *Porta Pancratiana* upon the River, to no purpoſe; but that Place, which of all others had been moſt for their deſign, they utterly neglected. This was a part of the Wall betwixt the two Gates, *Flaminia* and *Pinciana*, which had of a long time been broken down half way from the top; and *Belisarius* at his firſt coming went about to repair, but the *Romans* hindered him, alledging that the Apostle *Peter*, whom above all they revered, had promiſed to protect the Place. And their expection, faſh our Authour, did not deceiue them; for the Enemy, during all the Siege never approached it, to the great wonder of the Defendants. And no man ſince that time hath been ſo bold as to repair it, the Wall remaining in the fame condition, and broken as formerly.

99. In the mean time *Besæ* and *Peranius* being hotly charged by *Vitigis* at the *Vivarum*, or Park, ſent for *Belisarius*. Long before this time the *Romans* perceiving the ground here to be flat, and the Wall decayed, had compaſſed it with a Flancker, not onely for defence and safety, but for pleaſure, as keeping of Lions, and other wild Beasts, whence it had its name. It had no Battlements, nor any other Fortification; and therefore *Vitigis* ordered his Engins to be brought hither, and doubted not, but if he could break through the Flancker into the Park, to carry the City, the Walls within being of no moment at all. Yet did *Belisarius* ſuffer them to break in, and then fending *Cyprianus* upon them (who did great execution by reaſon of the ſtraihtnes of the Paſſage whereat they entred) fallid out againſt the *Goths* with his whole Army, ſet fire to their Engins, and charged them with ſuch violence, that he put them to flight, having taken care that at *Porta Salaria* ſhould at the ſame time be made another Sally; ſo that as they ran from one place, they were unexpediently received at another; and being both affailed by the Purſuers, intercepeted by others that lay in wait for them, and plied with continual Shot from the Battlements, thirty thouſand of them were slain, and more wounded, the buſineſſ laſting the whole day. This Succes exceedingly incouageſed the Defendants, but the General knew this would not doe the work. For the *Goths* were ſtill twelve thouſand ſtrong; and *Vitigis*, he doubted not, underſtood ſo far his Interēt, as to dread being baffled in this his deſign. Knowing that the Siege was like to continue long, he wrote to the Emperour for new ſupplies. The uileſle Multitude he ſent out of the City, ſome into *Campania*, ſome into *Sicily*, or elſewhere, as they could be beſt diſpoſed of; and because his Souldiers were ſo few, that all parts of the Wall could not be guarded, and they muſt needs be ſpent with continual duty, he liſted the poor Artificers who had no means of ſubſiſtence left them, and mingling them with the Souldiers, allowed them daily pay, whereby he pro‐vided both for the indigent Inhabitants, and the relief of his ſick and wounded men. Having ſome ſuſpicion that *Silvius* the *Roman* Biſhop practiſed to betray the City, he ſent him away into *Greece*, and ſoon after placed *Vigilius* in his Chair. Upon the ſame account he banished certain Senatours, whom after the retirement of the *Goths* he recalled. Fearing deſigns upon the Gates, he broke the Keys twice a month; every night he changed ſentinels, as also their Officers who walked the round, with the names of the ſentinels in writing, having orders to place new ones where they found any miſing; and the day following to produce ſuch as had made default to receive their punishment. He cauſed Muſicians to play all night upon the Battlements. And ſent out *Mores* to lie with Dogs about the Ditch, to diſcover such as came toward the Walls.

100. *Vitigis* finding himſelf overmatched, broke out into a rage, and cauſed all the *Roman* Senatours, whom at the beginning of the War he had brought to *Ravenna*, to be put to death, two onely excepted, *Gerbertius*, and *Reparatus* (Brother to *Vigilius*, Biſhop of *Rome*) who having timely notice of it, withdrew themſelves into *Liguria*. Perceiving that the Befieged had free paſſage and traffick, as well by Sea as Land, he refolved to take in *Portus*, or the *Roman* Haven, lying at thirteen miles diſtance, at the Rivers mouth; and this he eaſily did, the Place haſing none to defend it, although three hundred men would have made it good, by reaſon of its strength: but *Belisarius* wanting Souldiers to defend *Rome* it ſelf, could not

*Belisarius* makes very ſuccesfull ſallies.

*Sect. I.* not poſſibly ſpare any *Garrison* for it. When it was but a little too late, about twenty days after came a ſupply from the Emperour of fifteen hundred Horſe, under command of *Martinus*, and *Valerianus*, moſt *Hunnes*, *Slavonians* and *Antæ*, ſteated beyond the River *Danubius*. With theſe he refolved to make war upon the Enemy, and ſo managed his buſineſſ with that induſtry and rare ſagacity, that in three gallant ſallies he killed about four thouſand *Goths*, and a little after cut off near a thouſand more, whom their King, in imitation of *Belisarius* his conduſt, had ſent at two feveral times towards the Walls, by ſuch ſmall Forces to indamage the Befieged. *Vitigis*, beſides the inequaſity of the match betwixt him and *Belisarius*, had this great diſadvantage, which, though the other understood very well, he neuer conſidered. Almoſt all the *Romans*, and the Auxiliary *Hunnes* were Archers on horſeback. The *Gothick* Horſe uſed onely Lances and Swords, and all their Archers fought on foot, incidec with their heavy armed men. Hence it came to paſt that their Horſemen, unleſs they came to hand-strokes, could doe no ſervice, but were eaſily ſhot and ruined, and their Foot could not make incuſions againſt the Enemys Horſe. The *Goths* feeling the effects, though they understood not the caufe, would no more approach the Walls, nor purſue the Enemy any farther than to drive them from their Trenches. The *Romans* on the other ſide were elevated with their proſperity, and grew to reſolute and gay-humoured, that ſcoring to carry their buſineſſ as formerly by faſlies and ſurprize, they would have the War managed in a braue and open way, and longed to come to a general Battel.

101. *Belisarius*, knowing well what odds there were againſt him, could not aprobve of any ſuch deſign, till wearied with the exclamations, both of Citizens and Souldiers, at length he refolved upon a Battel; yet ſo as he would begin with Excurſions. He often attempted this way, but without ſucceſs, which made him fully determine to fight openly; and the *Goths* being informed by Fugitives of his deſign, were not a little pleased, being quite out of heart, by reaſon of his ſtrategems, and hoping not to find him the fame man in a pitch and open Battel. Having prudently ſignified to his men the change of his Reſolution, and exhorted them ſo to ſtand by him therein, that they might render proþerous that courſe by their valour, upon which their courage and forwardneſſ had put him, he led out his Army at the two Gates, *Pinciana* and *Salaria*. He ordered *Valentinus*, a Commander of Horſe, to paſt by *Porta Aurelia* into *Nero's Fields*, with a small Party; and there to make onely a countenance of fighting, and keep the Strong Body of *Goths*, which lay in that place, from paſſing the Bridge of *Milvius* (which ſtood at a diſtance from the City) and relieveng their Fellows. This diſtiion he tooke to be of the greateſt importance; and therefore not daring to mix the new Volunteers, who were moſt of them Artificers, and utterly unpracticed in matters of this nature, with the reſt of his Army, for fear of diſorder; he affigned them a Post without *Porta Pancratiana*, beyond the *Tiber*, hoping that the *Goths* in *Nero's Fields* would be apprehenſive, both of them and *Valentinus* his Troops, that they would not dare to quit their ſtation, to join themſelves with the reſt of their Army. He refolved to fight onely with Horſe, becauſe moſt of his Foot had got Horſe from the Enemy, and were expert Riders, his Infantry was inconfiderable, both for number and courage, and not able to form any confiderable Battalioñ; he would therefore place them near the City-ditch, to receive the Horſe, in caſe of a defeat, and to repule the Enemy. But *Principius*, one of his Guard, and *Tarmutus*, Brother to *Ennius*, Captain of the *Aurarians*, laid before him how great an inconuenience it would be to want his Foot, and to put an affront upon the *Roman* Infantry, which in all Ages had born the brunt of War, and had indeed cut out the way by their Swords to that greateſt of Empire, to which that State had arrived. All the miſcarriages of this War they caſt upon the Commanders, and begged leave that they on foot might now ſupply their places, refolving to ſtand the flock of the great Multitude of the Barbarians. The General at firſt denied the motion, both out of reſpect to their Perſons, and the Infantry it ſelf, which he knew muſt be brought into extreme danger. At length, at their importunity, he yielded that ſome ſey Foot, being placed at the Gates, upon the Battlements, with the common People, and about the Engins, the reſt ſhould be commanded by thoſe two Officers, but ſtand in order behind him, left by apprehenſion of danger, they ſhould put the Army into any diſturbaunce; and that receiving ſuch Horſe as were routed in ſeaſonable time, they might reſift and repell the Purſuers.

102. *Vitigis* put his whole Army into a readines, and ordered certain Troops, under command of *Marcus*, to keep *Nero's Fields*, and continue Masters of the Bridge. Having excited his men to animofity, by propounding to them the ſad Pattern

**Sect. I.** Pattern of the *Vandals* in *Africk*; he placed his battalions of Foot betwixt the wings of the Horse, and both near the Camp, that in case of a rout they might have the farther to pursue, and doe greater execution; for if they could but once come to hand-strokes, he little doubted to overpower the small numbers of the Enemy. Yet at first the *Romans* had the better, the *Goths* falling thick by the Shot, but such were their numbers, that they could not be missing; and *Belisarius* his men now fully perceived that their valour, how great soever, was far inferiorre to the conduct and wisedome of their General, whom, though they had in a manner constrained to this way of fighting; yet now they thought they shold doe bravely enough, if they onely pulled on the Fight as far as the Intrenchments, and having done some execution, could retire into the City with the first fair pretence. In *Nero's Fields* the *Romans* fell suddenly upon the *Goths*, and terrified them so with their multitudes, that they fled in disorder to an Hill, for they took them all for Soldiers, and armed, though most of them were nothing les, a greater number of Seamen and Slaves being also mixed with them. And they speedily made it appear how the *Goths* had misconceived of them, falling into confusion, and growing deaf to all the directions of *Valentius* their Captain. They suffered the *Goths* quietly to retire, neither would they pass over the Bridge to the assistance of *Belisarius*, nor by breaking it down, cut off the passage of the Enemy, by which means they might have easily gained the day; but applied themselves wholly to rising and pillage. The *Goths* viewing them for a time, when they could once believe their own eyes, and perceived how madly they neglected their opportunity, fell with great violence down upon them, and easily routed them, being thus intent upon their plunder. In the mean time, the *Roman* Forces, at the *Goths* Intrenchment, were much diminished and weakened; though fewer fell on their Side than the other, by reason that the disproportion was to great betwixt the two Armies. The Barbarian Horse seeing their advantage charged the Enemy with their Lances, who not abiding the shock, retired to their Foot, which neither enduring the charge, both Horse and Foot ran away, with the *Goths* at their backs, the whole Army being absolutely routed. By the means of *Principius* and *Turmutus*, the Foot, and most of the Horse escaped with greater ease; for they scorning to fly, still bore upon the Enemy, and fought with admirable resolution. *Principius* was cut in pieces, together with two and forty of the Foot. *Turmutus*, when he was even quite spent, was rescued by his Brother, and recovered the Gates, but there fell down in a swoon; and being carried in upon a Target, survived but two days, leaving behind him immortal honour. The *Romans* within fearing Enemies and Friends might enter pell mell into the City, tumultuously shut the Gates against the flying Souldiers, who in this distress leaped over the Ditch, and stood trembling, with their backs to the Walls, unable with their broken Lances and Bows to keep off the *Goths*, who were ready to leap over to them; till seeing numbers of common People and Souldiers appear upon the Battlements, after some reviling Language, they despaired of succes, and so retired.

**Yo3.** The *Roman* Souldiers, taught by this lesson of experience what they refused to learn from the Precepts of their General, were now well satisfied that there was no ingaging with their whole Army, and therefore skirmished, as formerly, with their Horse lined with Foot, which marched by the Saddle skirts, and ever had the better of the Barbarians; though they used the very same manner of fighting. Many gallant Acts were performed by severall of the General's Life-guard, and others, with which the time was spent, till he understood that a supply of money was already arrived in *Italy*, which how he shold get into the City undiscovered by the *Romans*, must now needs be both his great study and designe. Herde out his whole Army, as if he was fully bent upon a battle, which amaz'd the *Goths*, and caused them to unite together, whereby they were diverted from the Place where he had appointed the Treasure, with its Convoy, to enter. But they could not live upon Money. Both Famine and Plague raged sore in the City the Summer following, which so much overcome the patience of the Citizens, that they importuned *Belisarius* to come to another Barzel, and promised that not one of them would breake from him. He quieted them by promising that suddenly they shold have Supplies from the Emperor, telling them that an Army was coming so big, that not one Province of the Empire but contributed to it, and such a Fleet was already arrived, as no Roman Eyes had ever beheld the like, for it covered the Shores of *Campania*, and much of the *Ionian* Gulf it self. And it being reported, indeed, that this Emperor would send Forces to *Naples*, he dispatchte thither *Principius* the Historian, both to lead the Souldiers, to bring Ships with Conv, and with a sufficient Convoy to bring them to *Orta*. Taking more heart from this and other incouragments,

*Procopius de Belli Gothic. lib. 2.*

*Belisarius* in a manner besieged the Town, intercepting the provisions which came to the *Goths*, and in a manner besieged the *Goths*. **Sect. 1.**

**104.** From *Constantinople*, at length, arrived at *Naples* three thousand *Husarines*, at *Hydrus*, or *Otranto*, eight hundred Horse *Thracians*, besides one thousand Horse more, and three hundred already had reached *Rome*, by the way of *Samum* and *Via Latina*.

In their march through *Campania*, they joyed to them five hundred men newly levied there, and coasted along the Sea-shore, having many Waggon with them, wherewith to fortifie themselves if occasion should be, besides the convenience of carrying Corn and other Provisions: Some Troops they sent by Sea to meet and joyn with them at *Ostia*. *Belisarius* having Intelligence of their motions, had reasen to be concerned lest the *Goths* by their multitudes should intercept and cut them off, and therefore had recourse to his seldom failing Strategems. At the beginning of the War he had caused to be rammed up with stones the Gate called *Porta Flaminia*, not finding it convenient for Salles, and left the Enemy shold make advantage of that weak place and force the City. From this Gate he now caused the stones to be removed in great secrecy, and there placing as covertly as might be the greatest part of his Army, ordered certain Forces to issue out at another Gate, and after some short Skirmishing, to counterfeit a flight, and draw down the *Goths* to the *Flaminian* Gate, whence he Sallied unexpectedly with his whole Power, and did great execution. By these disastres their Courage was now quite broken; they saw they had to doe with a Captain, who as well in downright Valour, as sagacity and strategems could not be matched; they themselves instead of Conquering the Besieged by Straits and difficulties, were pinched with Famine, being excluded from all Provisions, and what by the War, and what by the Plague and other Calamities, were reduced from many thousands to a far inferior number. But when they heard of the Forces arrived from *Constantinople*, the number and power of which fame had increased beyond their due proportion, they then consulted about a Retreat, and how with best advantages of honour and safety they might retire. They sent three Commissioners into the City with instructions to inflict upon the violence and force which *Justinian* by this Invasion had put upon them, being the rightfull owners and Poffessours of *Italy*, ever since *Zeno* the Emperour had passed that Countrey over to *Theodoric*, when he put him upon making War with *Odacer* and the *Hericli*. By the Mouths of these men they boasted, that they had maintained the Commonwealth and Laws, in as great freedom and vigour as ever did any Emperour. That there had not been any one new Law made by *Theodoric*, or any of his Successours written or unwritten. And as for Religion, that they had not at all infringed the liberty of Conscience to the *Italiens*, nor violated the privileges and immunitiess of the *Roman* Churches. In a word, that all preferment had been conferred upon *Romans*, not a *Goth* being advanced to any place of Note, particularly they had given way that the *Roman* Confisfhip should yearly be conferred on *Romans* by the Eastern Emperour.

**105.** *Belisarius* denied utterly, that *Zeno* had conferred the Dominion and Sovereignty of *Italy* upon *Theodoric*, though he was content to employ him against the Usurpation of *Odacer*. He inveigled against the ingratitude of that King, who never thought himself of restoring that Countrey to the true and undoubted Lord, and told the Messengers, they must not think he could give away the Emperour's Provinces. They then offered to quit *Sicily*, which they knew to be very commodious for the bridling of *Africk*. He answered that the Emperours had also quitted *Brittan*, an Island much larger than *Sicily*, and left it to the *Goths*, out of a principle of bounty and gracie, to such as well deserved of them, and therefore he could not account this of theirs to be so great an Offer. They then mentioned *Campania* and *Naples*, and the payment of an Annuall Tribute, but still his answser was, that he had no other Power or Commission than to reposses the Emperour of what was his own; and therefore as the last remedy, they desired they might have liberty to send to the Emperour himself, and that he would think of some reasonable time of truce for that purpose. To this he replied, that he was not averse, and after several meetings, at length a Cessation, and exchange of Hostages was agreed on, the Cessation to continue three Months till Ambassadors might be dispatchte for the Emperour's Resolutions, who should return home in safety though the truce were broken, by default of either party. During this Negotiation, the *Romans* had time and opportunity to receive in the supplies of Men, Money, and Provisions lately mentioned. They continued Master at Sea, and for that reason the *Goths* were more and more straitned of Provisions, and constrained

*Belisarius* gives them leave to send to the Emperour.

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106  
107

Sect. I. strained to abandon *Portus*, and several places and Posts which they had taken up about the City, the better to block it up. These places *Belisarius* caused instantly to be seized and garrisoned by his own men, which lying at some distance and in a Circle, the Besiegers perceived themselves now plainly beleaguered, and being impatient thereof, sent to expostulate with the General, and to demand a speedy restitution, as having only upon some occasion withdrawn their men, and not expected the places would be surprised. The cause of their quitting them being so notorious, he only laughed at their pretext, and then they began to be jealous of each other.

106. He nevertheless prosecuted his Design to the utmost, and made the best advantage of all occurrences. Finding *Rome* sufficiently provided of men, he sent out the supernumeraries into the Country to be as a flying Army, to catch at opportunities, either of doing some thing notable against the Besiegers, in case the truce should be broken, or seizing such places as they might conveniently attack. Greater hopes still attended his affairs, for about this time came *Datus* Bishop of *Milan*, with some of the principal Citizens, promising him to reduce not only that City to the obedience of the Emperour, but all *Liguria* with it; yet all felicities have their inconveniences attending, there is nothing absolutely good in this World, the best men, if not the best gems, have their flaws and imperfections. Though *Belisarius* understood all the arts of a General, was perfectly practised in the mystery of Fencing, knew his guard, and as well how to keep off all the violent assaults, as undermine and obviate all the cunning attempts and secret plots of his Enemies, yet he either suffered himself to be surprised by passion, or deluded by feminine insinuations. There was one *Praefidius* a *Roman* Citizen of good Quality, who dwelling at *Revenna*, upon great displeasure conceived against the *Goths*, withdrew himself privately from that City, at such time as *Vitigis* marched toward *Rome*, communicating his Design to none, nor taking money or any thing else with him, but two short Swords, the Scabbards of which were set with much Gold and precious Stones. When he was come as far as *Spoleto*, *Constantinus* then happening to be there, upon notice given him of the Swords, sent *Maxentius* one of his Guard, and took them from him by plain force. He was much grieved and offended at the wrong, and hastened to *Rome* to complain to *Belisarius*; but the Siege and all the difficulties thereof coming on, he held his peace till this time, when he thought the dangers were well over. Making now his complaint, the General reproved *Constantinus*, and advised him to wash his hands of so foul an Impputation, but he put it off with a Jeft, and only drolled with the man whom he had wronged. *Praefidius* hereby enraged, and meeting *Belisarius* as he rid through the *Forum*, took his Horse by the Bridle, and with some clamour demanded, whether it was the Emperour's Law that a poor suppliant flying to *Rome* for refuge from Barbarians, should be robbed of what he had about him. For all the threats of the Guard, he would not let go the Bridle till the General had promised him, that the Scimitars should be restored.

107. The next day *Belisarius* sent for *Constantinus* and other Officers, and laid his Commands upon him to restore the Swords; to which he answered, that he would sooner cast them into the *Tiber*. The General growing angry, askt him if he thought not himself to be under his Command, to which he replied, that in other things he would obey him, because such was the Emperour's pleasure, but that which he now Commanded, he would never doe. *Belisarius* at this called in his Guards, which being perceived by *Constantinus*, he asked if it was to kill him. The General said no, but to compell *Maxentius* to restore the Swords, which he had taken from the man and given unto him. But he concluding it was to kill him, thought to sell his Life at a dear rate; and drawing a short Sword, made a pass at *Belisarius*, who by stepping back, and imbracing *Besus* that stood next him, avoided the danger. Yet still in a rage he made at him, but two others of the Commanders laid hold of his hands, and drew him back till the Guard came in and wrested the Sword from him. Then and there they hurt him not, out of respect to the presence of the Officers, but carrying him into another Room, there killed him by Command of *Belisarius*, who in this onething, saith our Historian, offended against the Laws of Piety and his own Inclinations, being otherwise eminent for his moderation towards all men. This *Procopius* wrote and published in the life-time of *Belisarius*, but in his secret History as they call it, he gives us another account of this tragical Act, and makes the design of it more private and deep laid, and impious above measure. The Reader must therefore know, from another pretended Treaty of our Author, that *Antonina* the General's Lady, was very vicious of her Body, and by her Domesticks was discovered to be frequently naught with *Theodosius*, a young

*Belisarius* caused  
*Constantinus* to be killed.

*Vide Procopius*  
*Arianorum* pag.  
2. 3. Edit. Alc.  
manni Luds.  
1623.

Sect. I. a young man, whom she and her Husband had Christened just as they departed from *Constantinople*, and carried along with them in their expedition into *Africa*. Their secret practices being made known to *Belisarius*, he gave order to some of his Guard to kill him, but he having notice thereof, fled away to *Ephesus*, for those about the General chose rather to let him goe, than incur the indignation of *Antonina*, knowing their Master to be so fickle and uxorious, that there was no need to be taken of his Resolutions. And she so plied him with her Language, and cunning insinuations, that he was content to believe that she was wronged, to recall *Theodosius* and to give up into her hands her Accusers, whom, as the report went, the first punished by cutting out their Tongues, and then she caused the wretched Creatures to be cut in pieces, put in sacks and cast into the Sea. Now it so happened, that amongst others who pitied the Case of the General, *Constantinus* was much concerned for him, and let fall this expreſſion, that had it been his case, he would rather have indeavoured the destruction of the Woman, than of the young man. The words being carried to *Antonina*, she conceived implacable malice against him, but kept it cloſe, that she might the better find out a convenient opportunity to vent it. At length she took this advantage, and so followed it on, that when *Constantinus* had elf been easily pardoned for that wherein he had offended *Praefidius* and *Belisarius*, she procured him to be made away, to the General's great dishonour, who incurred thereby much displeasure, both with the Emperour and his Nobility. For this *Constantinus*, or *Constantianus*, was Master of the Horse to *Justinian*, was a man eminent for good Conduct, both in affairs of Peace and War, having done extraordinary good Service in *Dalmatia*, *Libania* and several other places. But he was to have a mischiefe, as *Procopius* observes, and this, if we could believe the Author of the *Appendix to Marcellinus* his Chronicon before that grave Writer, happened to him not at *Rome* but in *Campania*.

108. However, we must return from this his Tragedy to that City, on which we shall now find the *Goths* to have a Design, notwithstanding the Truce. They let down some Souldiers into an Aqueduct to discover, if there was any passage by it to be made into the Town, and they found their way clear and direct into the midst of the City, where in ancient times an Aſcent had been made into the Palace; and *Belisarius* in the beginning of the Siege, had prudently raised a Work to damm up the Cave. Finding here a full stop, they returned and made a report to *Vitigis* of their Adventure. In their passage up the Vault it happened, that at a certain place not far from the Walls, there being a breach in the Arch, one of the Sentinels saw light, which he discovered to his fellows, but they made nothing of it, concluding it to be the eyes of some Wolf, which in so dark a place shewed like Fire. But the story going from one to another, at last it came as a matter of news to the General's ear, who most wise and cautious, thought fit not to slight such an hint as that might prove, but caused some of his men to enter the Aqueduct, who found therein scattered Lamps, droppings of Torches, and other things which sufficiently manifested who had been lately there. He placed so strong a Guard upon the Aqueduct, that the *Goths* perceiving it, knew they should be loſe their time in any more attempts of that nature, and therefore resolv'd upon a general Assault, and at Dinner time came on, on a sudden, with their Scaling Ladders at *Porta Pinciana*. But their approach was not so secret, but that it was timely enough discovered by *Ildigerd*, whose turn it was then to Command the Watch, who finding them in disorder by reason of the hurry, more courageously charged them; and the Alarm being given through the Streets, the *Romans* flock'd to the Walls, and so the Assailants were driven back, and forced disgracefully to quit their enterprise. *Vitigis* still had another Design: The Walls to the River were slightly Built, the ancient Inhabitants having there trusted to the natural Fortification of the *Tiber*, upon which account also that part of the City had at present no considerable Guard. He corrupted two *Romans* dwelling about St. Peter's Church, to carry a Vessel of Wine to the Sentinels about the Evening, and there fitting drinking with them till about Midnight, to put into their Cups a certain sleepy Drug, which when it had had its perfect Operation, they were to give the signal to the *Goths* on the opposite Shore, who passing over to scale the Walls, that they might better doe their Work, he put his whole Army in a readiness to storm the City. But one of those men discovered the Plot, and his fellow who had the Drug about him, being first tortured and forced to produce it, had his Nose and Ears cut off, and then set upon an *Aſe*, was in that manner sent into the Camp of the *Goths*, who acknowledged the hand of God in detecting and preventing all their Councils, which tended to the taking of the City.

*Vide Baro. ad*  
*his Army*

## Sect. I.

109. In the mean time, the design which *Belisarius* had in sending out his supernumerary Forces upon other places of *Italy*, took well enough. *John*, who Commanded them, waited all *Picenia*, overthrew and killed *Ulfithus* the Uncle of *Vitigis*, and feized on *Ariminium*, which being but a days Journey from *Ravenna*, <sup>as he had rightly imagined</sup> were much startled at the report, and extreme <sup>ibidem</sup> ly fearing *Ravenna*, as also being in great want of provisions, after they had spent one year and nine days in the Siege of *Rome*, about the Summer *Tropic* burnt up their Huts, and by day-break departed. *Belisarius*, when the one half of them were got over the Bridge, issued out and fell upon the *Rere*, which though it made Head stoutly against him, yet many were Slain, and many Drowned, by pressing and crowding and falling into the River, with their Arms upon them. *Vitigis* put strong Garrisons into all places in his Passage, and marcht towards *Ariminium*, which he resolved by all means to recover. *Belisarius* guesing at his design by his Interest, dispatched away *Ildiger*, and *Martinius* with a thousand Horse to get before him, by taking some nearer way, and to caue *John* with his Troops to rise from thence, and to place in their room some Foot, which he ordered to be taken out of *Ancona*, a Town standing upon the *Ionian Gulf*, two days Journey from *Ariminium*. For he confidered that this Town, being only Garrifoned by Foot, and no Commanders of Note in it, the *Goths* might possibly despise it, as a work of no Mastery or advantage, and if they should besiege it, that Provisions would last longer for Foot only, and that *John's* flying Body of two thousand Horse, would doe good Service against them, and possibly force them to raise their Siege. *Ildiger* and *Martinius* did as they were enjoyned, easily preventing the *Goths*, who by reason of their Multitudes and want of Provisions, marcht slowly and out of their way; besides, they durst not come near the *Via Flaminia*, because that *Narnia*, *Spoleto*, and *Perusa* were at that time held by the *Romans*.

110. In their way, *Martinius* and *Ildiger* took *Petra*, a Castle standing upon a Rock, almost inaccessible by reason of its steepness on one side, and a swift unfor-  
dable River running by the other. They took the Souldiers out of *Ancona*, and brought them to *Ariminium*, but *John* would not forake the place, and detained four hundred men Commanded by *Damiani*. The City was instantly Besieged by *Vitigis*, who thought to doe his work by a wooden Tower, made higher than the Walls, which he would nor have drawn by Oxen, as that of *Rome* had been, but born by men within it, who carried also a broad scaling Ladder wherewith the Souldiers shoud mount the Battlements. They carried it so near the Walls, that there was only a small and inconsiderable trench betwixt them; but refing themselves by Night, and not fearing any opposition, *John* with a Company of Pioneers sifued out, and enlarging the Trench, cast up the Earth toward the Town, and made therewith such a rampart that rendered the Engine useles the following day; for though *Vitigis* caused the Ditch to be filled with Faggots, yet the weight of the Turret so prested them down, that they could not move it over them, and attempting to draw back, *John* fallid out upon them, and an hot Fight began, so that the *Goths* hardly at last, and with great los brought back the Turret to their Camp, resoling to make no more Assualts, but lie still and starve out the Enemy, whom they knew to be in great want of Provisions, and utterly at a los how to come by any. In the mean time, *Belisarius* had his mind intent upon another quarter of *Italy*, sending a thousand men under Command of *Mundilas* towards *Milan*, if possible to get that City into the Emperour's hands, at least to transfer the Seat of the War into the Enemies Country. They took *Milan* without opposition and all *Liguria*, or the Countrey round about it, which when *Vitigis* understood, he dispatched thither, with an Army, *Uraes* his Sisters Son, and solicited *Theodebert* King of the *Franks* for assistance, who would not send him any of his own Subjects, for fear of disgaunting the Emperour, but procured him ten thousand *Burgundians*, who pretended to come of their own accord. With them the *Goths* unexpectedly besieged *Milan*, and so strained the *Romans* within, that in a little time they wanted Necesaries. *Mundilas* had also, by Garrifoning several other Towns therabout, so lessened the numbers of the Souldiers, that the Townsmen were forced to Watch in their turns. So the Winter eaded together with the third year of the War.

111. About Midsummer following, *Belisarius* resoled to leave a small Garrison in *Rome*, and march against *Vitigis*. In his way he took in *Tidora* and *Clufum*, and received Intelligence that *Narses* an Eunuch, the Comes Sacrum Largitionum, a man Valiant above the condition of Eunuchs, was from *Constantinople* arrived in *Picenia*. He brought with him five thousand men, coimmanded in several Regiments,

ments, by *Justinus* General of *Illyrium*, and another *Narses* an Armenian, formerly mentioned, besides two thousand *Heruli* led by *Vigandus*, *Alboetus* and *Phane-*  
*thrus*. The ancient Seat of these *Heruli* was beyond the River *Danubius*. They worshipped many Gods, whom they thought they pleased by humane Sacrifices; most of their other Customs being also different from the practices of the rest of the World. The Aged and Sick amongst them, were not suffered to stay the time which nature or the Disease had determined, but were upon their own desires, put upon a pile of Wood and thereon killed, by any *Herulian* except one of their own Kindred, for their Relations were not permitted to have any hand in their Death. This done, Fire was set to the Pile, and when the Body was Burnt, the remaining Bones were gathered together and Buried. If the man was Married, his Wife was to strangle her self at his Monument, or else be subject to perpetual infamy and reproach. This People in time subdued all Nations about them, and forced them to submit to the Yoke, amongst which were the *Lombards*, who had e'er this, imbraced the Christian Religion. Contrary to the former practice of Barbarians, they made these *Lombards* pay Tribute, either out of Ostentation, or a greedy desire of Wealth. When *Anastasius* the Emperour Reigned, they continued quiet for three years, having none upon whom they could justly exercize their Valour, but then out of impatience of rest and idlenes, they reviled *Rodulphus* their Prince, as lazy and effeminate, who enraged by their reproaches, resoled to make War right or wrong, and the storm must fall upon the *Lombards*. There being not the least pretext of any miscarriage alledged for this Invasion, they sent to expulstowith him, offering to pay the last penny of their Tribute if any were behind, and rather than not to have Peace, to purchase it with an enlargement of their former Contributions. He dismiffing the Ambassadours with ill looks and worse Language, they sent to him the secon and third time, and when they could nothing prevail, they protested that if he would without any cause make a War, they must and would with their utmost force oppote the Invasion. And herein they appealed to Almighty God, as an indifferent Umpire, the least of whose Assisstance they said was able to overbalance the greatest power of Earthly Potentates.

112. The *Heruli* deal to all such Religious Language, and placing their trust in the greatness of their numbers, prosecuted their Design, and resoled speedily to come to a Battel. Their expectation failed them; for many of them were Slain upon the place, together with *Rodulphus* their King, and the rest betaking them to their Heels, were almost all cut in pieces; for that the residue not able to protect themselves, who had lately fought the Destruction of others, were forced to quit their ancient Seats, and wandered up and down the Countries, lying upon the *Danube*, till they came at length to the place which the *Rugi* inhabited, before such time as they passed with the *Goths* into *Italy*. The ground was very waste and barren, so that they were forced hence by Famine, and journeying on fate down near the *Gepide*, who at first received them as humble Suppliants, but afterwards offered them many Indignities, ravishing their Wives, and driving away their Cattel, with which at last being tired, they passed the River, resoling to try the Courtesie of the *Romans*. *Anastasius* knowing the ground not to be sufficiently planted, was content to admit them, and there for some time they lived, till by committing several Insolencies against the *Romans*, they incurred his Indignation, and drew a War upon their own heads, wherein most of them perished, as the rest had certainly done, but that they beftold themselves to prayers and intreaties beging their Lives, and offering them to the Service of the Empire, to which yet they proved not usefull in the least degree. *Justinian* coming to the Government, for all this, was kind to them, giving them a good Countrey to Inhabit with other things, and making them his Friends and Associates, perwaded them to become Christians. Upon this they grew civiler, governing themselves according to the Laws of Christianity, for the most part, and serving the *Romans* in their Wars according as the nature of their League and Alliance required. Yet they retained their former perfidios, and covetous principles, which they accounted nodisgrace at all. Of beast lust they knew no bounds nor measures, not confining themselves to the use of mankind, of whether sex forever, but extending their extravagance appetite to other sorts of Animals. The truth is, faith *Principius*, in wickednes they exceed all other Nations, and most commonly pay dear for the gravity of their disposition.

113. Some few of them continued in their fidelity to the *Romans*, the rest revolted upon this occasion. They put to Death *Othor* their King, for no other reason at all, but because they were resoled no more to live as Subjects. Indeed he had

Quarrel with  
the Lombards.

Being beaten,  
they changed  
their Seats.

Anastasius ad-  
mits them.

*Osculus*, *War-  
jacs*, *Bella qual-  
ter*.

Under the Ne-  
phev of *Vitigis*  
besieges *Milan*.

*Narses* the Eu-  
nuch comes  
from *Constanti-  
nople* with an-  
other Supply.

Sect. I.

Sect. I. had been Master before, but of a mere Title, enjoying nothing of Royalty but the Name, for all forts would fit and Eat with him, and as oft as they pleased, put affronts and indignities upon him; this being the most silly and light of all Nations, upon the face of the Earth. But they had no sooner committed, but they repented of that horrid Act, finding Anarchy more burthensome than Monarchy, and an absolute necessity of having some one to Command and rule them. After much time spent in debates, they resolved to send for one of the blood Royal, from the Island of *Thule*, by which name *Procopius* calls and describes the vast continent of *Vnde Caudenam Scandia*, being as it appears in Maps, of the form and fashion of a Peninsula. For when they fled their Country, after the Defeat received from the *Lombards*, some of them, as was said, seated themselves in *Illirium*, others would not pass the *Danube*, but chose rather to plant in the utmost borders of the habitable World, and under conduct of many of the blood Royal, making their way through the Countries of the *Slavi*, *Varni*, *Danes*, and others, at length arrived at the Ocean, over which they passed into the Island of *Thule*, as the Historian will have it, who spends time in a description of the place, which can agree with no other Country than that of *Scandia*. But the Messengers fetching one of the Blood from this place, he died by the way, which forced them to return back, and bring another whose name was *Todofius*. But he being long upon his Journey, such *Eteruli* as lived about *Singedon*, conceiving that the Emperour might be offended, if they made choice of a King without his advice and approbation, sent and desired him to name the man, who preferred to the place one *Spartas* of that Nation, that had lived long at *Constantinople*. Him they received and obeyed for some time, till they had news of the approach of *Todofius*, against whom as his Rival, he led them out, but when they were come within a days Journey, they revolted from him to the new Comer, and he was glad to fly for his Life to *Constantinople*. The Emperour consulted how he might provide for his own Honour in his restitution. The *Heruli* not ignorant hereof, betook themselves to the *Gepide*, and this was the occasion of their Revolt.

The Armies of *Belisarius* and *Narses* joyned.

114. But to our purpose, the Armies of *Belisarius* and *Narses* joyned together at *Firnum*, a City standing on the *Adriatick* Coast, where they consulted by what ways and methods they should manage the War. If they should go to the Relief of *Ariminum*, it was feared that the Enemy from *Auximum* would fall upon their Backs, and harass the Country inhabited by *Romans*. On the other side, it was thought hard to suffer the Besieged to perish for want of Necessaries. The Officers generally expressed much indignation against *John*, for having through rashness, and a thirst after Wealth, cast himself into so great a danger, and disobeyed the orders received from *Belisarius*. But *Narses* who loved the man above all things, for fear he should miscarry, pressed the General earnestly to march to *Ariminum*, whence in the nick of time as it fell out, Letters came from *John*, intimating that without Succour, he must necessarily yield the place within seven days. *Belisarius* found himself surrounded with difficulties, being either to loose *Ariminum*, or in all probability to suffer the Towns about *Auximum* to be Burnt and destroyed, and his own Army flanked and distressed in case of a Battel. To provide therefore against both inconveniences, he left *Ariatius* with a thousand men by the Sea side, to be a check upon the Enemy in *Auximum*, with express Command, not to fight but in their own defence. He sent some Forces by Sea, under the Conduct of *Ildiger*, with orders to Sail directly for *Ariminum*, and to Land near the Foot, which he would have march by the Sea shore, under the Command of *Martinius*. And giving them directions to make many Fires when they came near the Enemy, to anape him with a false apprehension of their numbers; he with *Narses* and the rest of the Army, marcht at a distance from the Sea by the Mountains, resolveng not to come to a pitch Battel, both because his numbers were short, and the *Goths* were grown desperate upon their misfortunes. But the division of his Forces, and the Strategems he used, had their wished effect. For, some stragglers of the *Goths* lighting by chance upon a party of his men, and seeing others appear upon the Mountains, reported that he was at hand, with an innumerable Army. They prepared for a Battel, expecting him toward the North of *Ariminum*, and still having their eyes on the tops of the Mountains. But by Night, when they were about to take their rest, appeared the Fires, some seven miles off to the Eastward, kindled by *Martinius*, which cast them into a terrible fear, apprehending that the next Morning they should be surrounded; then by Sun rise, they saw a great Fleet coming, which struck them with consternation, made them altogether desperate, and deprived them of all power of Consultation,

Sect. I. so that they neglected all Commands, being only intent upon trussing up their Baggage, and thoughtfull how they might quit the Siege, and get into *Ravenna* with whole skins. Much of their Baggage they left behind, flying in such disorder and tumult, that had not the Besieged been heartless with their miseries, and afraid for want of Bread, they might easily have cut them in pieces, and made an end of the War.

115. After this success, jealousies began to arise betwixt *Belisarius* and *Narses*, whose Followers flattered him by extolling his Power and Parts, and fomented the difference by persuading him that it was far below him to fight under the Standard of any General. *Belisarius* aware of it, fought to divert his humour by Action; and in an Assembly of Officers, discoursed much about the security and insolence which ever attend good fortune. He propounded to their consideration how strong an Enemy they had still to deal with. That *Vitigis* was in *Ravenna* with many thousands; that *Ures* still besieged *Milan*, and held all *Liguria* at his devotion; in *Auximum* was yet remaining a great and gallant Army; and several other Places the *Goths* held, as far as *Urbiventum*, a City not far distant from *Rome*, each of which was able enough to contend with the Emperour's whole Power. He affirme them late successes had neither happened for want of men, nor courage on the side of the *Goths*, but that they had been overreached and tired out with variety of Strategems. His opinion therefore was, that part of the Army should be sent into *Liguria* and *Milan*, and the rest march to *Auximum*, and wait such opportunities as Providence should present. *Narses* excepted against this, that the rest of the Army should be confined to *Auximum*, alledging that the *Goths* from *Ravenna* would fall upon them, and that being charged on both sides, and wanting Provisions, they must necessarily perish. He told him he was not against his going to *Auximum* with a Party, in the mean time the rest would fall upon *Amilia* (or *Lombard Cispadana*, reaching from the City of *Ast* to *Parma*) not doubting to give a good account of it, and to alarm those in *Ravenna*, that *Belisarius* should bring *Auximum* to what Terms he pleased, all relief being thereby cut off. *Belisarius* dreading nothing more than the division of the Army, for he judged the Emperour's Affairs would thereby absolutely miscarry, produced the Letters of *Justinian*, by which it appeared, that he had not sent *Narses* into Italy to command his Forces, it being his pleasure that *Belisarius* should have the sole Command thereof, and the rest of the Officers observe his orders in all things concerning his service, and the good of the State.

116. *Narses* took hold of the last words of the Letter, affirming that the General did now advise contrary to the good of the State, and therefore they were not obliged to follow his directions. Hereupon *Belisarius* sent *Peranius* with a Party to besiege *Urbiventum*, and he himself led the rest of the Army against *Ariminum*, a City distant from *Ariminum* a days journey, and situate upon a round high Hill, not craggy, but unsafe to mount, by reason of its steepnes, and nearnes to the City, only to the North lies an entrance in the plain ground. *Narses* and *John* followed him, but encamped severally at the foot of the Hill, and e'er long persuading themselves that the Town was not to be won, because *John* had formerly in vain attempted it, they role by night, and notwithstanding all the motives the General could use, went away with part of the Army to *Ariminum*. For all this *Belisarius* resolvold to proceed, though the Besieged, seeing half of the Forces risen and departed, were much elevated, and he prepared for an Assault; when his busines was done otherwise to his hand, by reason that the only Fountain they had in the City dried up of it self, and in the space of three days so failed, that the *Goths* were constrained to drink water and mud together. Upon the approach of the Assailants, the Besieged yielded to Terms of Indemnity, which were readily granted, although the *Romans* knew nothing of the Fountain, and thought the terror of their Arms had alone procured the Surrender. *Narses* lying still in *Ariminum*, was amazed at the success, and sensible of some reflexion upon himself, and his Companions, sent *John* with the Army against *Cefina*, which he finding impregnable, went and took in by surprize an ancient City called *Forum Cornelii*, and afterwards recovered all *Emilia*, the *Goths* avoiding all Ingagements. *Belisarius* having taken in *Urbiventum*, considered that the Winter Tropick approached, and therefore thought it not expedient to go against *Auximum*, the siege of which he knew must be long; for the Town of it self, by reason of its Situation, was not to be forced, the *Goths* within it were many, and of the best, and having had time enough to provide for the worst, they had foraged the Country, and brought in great quantity of Provisions.

Sect. I.

*Belisarius besieges Utren-**A grievous Fa-**mine in Italy.**Milan yielded**to the Goths.*

117. He ordered therefore *Aratus* to winter in *Firmum*, to hinder the Incursions of the *Goths*; and understanding that the Garrison in *Viminatum* was slenderly provided, he marched thither, hoping that upon sight of his Army they might yield the Place. Nature it self had made the Town impregnable, being built upon an Hill standing alone in a Valley, plain at the top, but toward the bottom craggy, and so encompassed with Rocks, that there was no need of Walls, or other Fortifications; for there was but one way to the City betwixt their Rocks, which being guarded, the Inhabitants feared no Attaque at any other part, considering that where the way lay into the Town, a large and unfordable River took up all the space betwixt the Hill and the Rocks. So that there was only a small Block-house at the said Passage, and a Gate, which the *Goths* diligently watched. But *Belisarius* begirt the Town, hoping, by advantages he should make of the River and otherwise to starve them out. They were indeed very bately furnished, yet they indured beyond expectation when their Provisions failed, which they had so husbanded, as only to keep life and soul together, feeding upon Hides and Skins soaked in water, and upon vain hopes suggested to them by *Abilas* their Governor, a man of great reputation amongst the *Goths*. But the famine not only raged within the Walls of this Town; for, the Summer following, the Corn in these Parts grew not in such quantity as formerly, being neither covered with the Plow nor Harrow, but lying upon the surface of the Land, which yielding but a small crop, this also was lost for want of reaping; for it fled, and never grew again. In *Tuscany* the Mountaineers fed upon Acorns, which bred all sorts of Diseases amongst them. In *Picenia* died for want of bread fifty thousand *Roman* Husbandmen, and more in other Parts. *Procopius*, who was an Eye-witness, thus describes their Countenances, and the manner of their deaths. They grew first lank and pale, choler prevailing (by reason of the natural heat its preying upon, and torrifying the humours, without any fresh supply) spread a yellowish and wan complexion about their Bodies. As the Disease increased, and moisture decayed, the Skin became like to a tanned Hide, as it seemed, cleaving to the Bones. Afterwards they grew as black as Links much burnt; their Countenances were ghastly and staring, like Mad-men. Famine made not an end of all, many perished by satiety and much eating; for the natural heat being confounded, together with that which nourished and maintained it, if they fed to satisfaction, and not by little and little, as new born Children, they overpowered it, and not able to digest, presently died. Sometimes Famine so overcame Nature, that they fed upon one another. Two Women about *Ariminum* were reported to have eaten seventeen men, killing them as they slept, and were by the eighteenth discovered, and by him served in the same kind. Many swooping to eat Gras, and not able to pull it up, fell upon their Hands, and died with some of it in their Mouth. There was not the least thought of Burials. Such ravenous Fowls as fed on dead Bodies would not touch these Carkasses, there being no Flesh to allure their Appetites. So grievous was the Famine.

118. At this time *Milan* was besieged by the *Goths*, under the Command of *Vrasa*, which *Belisarius* understanding, sent *Martinius* and *Uliaris* to the relief of that City. They coming as far as the River *Poe*, a days journey from *Milan*, there encamped themselves, and though solicited by their distressed Friends, still loitered and deferred their passage, and at length excused themselves to the General by Letter, pretending that the *Goths* in *Liguria* were too strong for them, being assisted by a Multitude of *Burgundians*; and upon this account the Army feared to pass the River, with which they could do no other than comply. Upon the receipt of this Letter *Belisarius* commanded *John* and *Julfinus* to join with *Martinius*, which they refused flatly to doe, except they received orders from *Narves*, to whom then he wrote, deferring that the Emperor's business might not be indangered by their mutual Emulations; and *Narves* was so moved, as to write to them to doe what the General had enjoined. But during these delays and tergiversations, the Besieged were infinitely distressed by Famine, forced to feed on Dogs, Rats, Mice, and such like Creatures. The *Goths* offered *Mundius* and his Soldiers Terms of Indemnity, but resolded to destroy the *Ligurians*, which resolution so moved the Governor, that calling his men together, he earnestly endeavoured to dissuade them from yielding; inciting them by arguments drawn from honour and valour, to make a lusty fall upon the Besiegers. But they were deaf on this Ear, and yielding the City upon the Conditions offered, were made Prisoners together with *Mundius*. The *Goths* demolish't the City, put all men of ripe age to the sword, to the number of three hundred thousand, the Women they made Slaves, and gave to the *Burgundians* as a reward. *Reparatus*, a Prefect, they cut in pieces, and cast him to the Dogs.

Dogs. *Bergantius* only with a few more escaped; and passing into *Dalmatia* through *Venetia* and other places, at length brought news of the disaster to the Court. The *Goths* making use of their good fortune, took in other Towns by composition, and reduced speedily all *Liguria*. *Martinius* and *Uliaris* with shame and disgrace enough returned toward *Rome* with their Forces.

119. *Belisarius* knew nothing of what had passed till the Winter was over, and that he marcht with his Army into *Picenia*. *Uliaris* then he banished his prefects, and the whole matter he wrote to the Emperor, who yet would punish no man; but understanding how great differences had been betwixt *Belisarius* and *Narves*, he recalled *Narves*, and gave to *Belisarius* as absolute command as ever. *Uliaris* was sensible, as well of the effects of this prudent resolution, as the disposition of *Belisarius*; who, he concluded, would the next Spring come against him in person to *Ravenna*. Now did he consult, as in a desperate condition, what might be the most proper way and method for redress of so imminent an evil. Of the faithfulness of the *Germans* (or *Franks*) they had had too fresh experience, willing only they might continue Neutres. *Varis*, King of the *Lombards*, as allied to the Emperor, declined all Overtures. And therefore, as he was advised by his ancient and wifest men, he sent Ambassadors to *Chlothar* the *Perfian* King, to persuade him to invade the *Roman* Territories; concluding, that if *Justinian* had such an Enemy at his back, he would give him sufficient diversion, and he must needs recall his best Captain, and make peace with himself and his *Goths* in the West, the better to attaque his Eastern Assailants. Thus indeed it came to pass; but in the mean time *Belisarius* following his present Instructions; and the course of his Fortunes, resolved if possible to take in *Auximum* and *Fasale*; and then having cleared his passage, to set upon *Vitigis* in *Ravenna*. Having appointed sufficient Forces to besiege *Fasale*, he himself with eleven thousand men sate down before *Auximum*, the Metropolis of *Picentia*, standing at ten miles and an half distance from the *Adriatick* Sea; and from *Ravenna* ten miles above three days journey, situate upon a high Hill, without entrance on any plain ground, and consequently not approachable by any Enemy.

*Belisarius besieges Auximum.* 120. *Belisarius* besieged the Town, distributing his men into several Quarters; and notwithstanding their Ambushes, and some venturous things they attempted; yet the Besieged were driven into such straits, that they sent to *Vitigis*, whom they threatened with a speedy surrender of this Place (which he accounted the Key and Fortress of the Country) in case they had not sudden recruits. He promised them relief with no less than his whole Forces, but upon better consideration, when he had elevated them with vain hopes, he lay still in his Quarters, doubting indeed, left *John* with his Troops should fall upon his back, but more disengaged by the failing of Necessaries; for he knew not any way to supply the Army, the *Romans* being Masters at Sea, and fetching their Provisions from *Sicily* and *Calabria*, which they landed at the Castle of *Ancona*, whilst the *Goths* groaned under the want of Necessaries. Hereupon they again earnestly sollicite *Vitigis* for relief, who orders *Uread* with the *Goths* in *Liguria*, to go to their assistance, promising that he himself would follow with his whole power to raise the Siege. *Uread* past the *Poe*, and sate down at the distance of seven miles from the *Roman* Camp, thinking it sufficient to doe thus much without hazarding a Battel, which if they should lose, they should, he knew, endanger all: and the *Romans* were no whit eager of the fight, judging it enough to keep their new-come Enemies from joining with the Besieged. In the mean time, whilst these two Nations harassed and weakened each other; a third was aware of the effects of their quarrel, and seeing them so far spent by their mutual hostilities, that they had rendered themselves in all probability incapable of resistance, resolved to attaque both, and decide the controversie by removing the occasion of their dispute. These were the *Franks*, who repining after so many glorious Precedents of their Forefathers, so fit idle at home, conceived now they had a fit opportunity of making themselves Masters of (at least) a considerable part of *Italy*.

The Franks in Italy. 121. Forgetting their late oaths and obligations, both to *Romans* and *Goths*, as being, in the judgment of *Procopius*, the most faithles of all men, they invaded *Italy* with an Army of an hundred thousand men under conduct of *Theudebert*. Of these, some were Horsemen, and attended their Kings: the rest Footmen, using neither Bows nor Lances, but a Sword, a Shield and a Battel-axe, the Iron whereof was broad and two-edged, and the handle as short as the hilt of a Sword; this at the first charge upon the signal given, they cast from them, and therewith breaking the Shields of their Enemies, did great execution. When the *Goths* perceived them to have

Sect. I. to have passed the *Alpes* into *Liguria*, they much rejoiced, concluding that these same men, they had so often courted and tempted by money and other offers in vain, had now unbethought themselves, and were come to their assistance. And so long as they continued in that Country, they committed no hostile Action, nor gave any cause of jealousy, that they might quietly and securely pass the *Poe*, which they did at *Pavia*, so free from opposition, that the *Goths* gave them much assistance in their march. But having made themselves Masters of the Bridge and Passage, they instantly seized on their Wives and Children, which they cast into the River, as the first fruits or spoils of the War; for though they had taken upon them the name of Christianity, yet these Barbarians, as the Historian telleth us, in his days still continued many heathenish and superstitious practices, as amongst the rest humane Sacrifices, wherewith, and by other sacrilegious, rather than sacred, means and methods, as he observeth, they were wont to make a guess of what was to come. The *Goths* in great fear fled into the Town, and the *Franks* or  *Germans*, as *Procopius* calls them, passed by directly to their Camp, where at first they were, upon the same furnizise, kindly received; till laying about them with their Axes, and beginning to doe mischief, they were presently discovered by the *Goths*, who then took them to their heels, and fled by the *Roman* Camp into *Ravenna*. The *Romans* seeing them fly, could think no other, but that *Belisarius* had routed them, and now gave the chase; therefore they took Arms, and resolved to fall in with him. But for their offered assistance they found themselves as badly treated as those that fled, and being easily beaten, because surprised, when they could not return to their Camp, they fled into *Tuscany*, and sent news of the Accident to their General.

Take the Camps  
of *Goths* and *Ro-  
mans*.

122. The *Franks* thus became Masters of both the Camps, where they found Provisions sufficient for their present supply. But they were come into an exhausted Country, which afforded nothing but the flesh of Oxen, and water from the *Poe*; not any bread, nor any thing, except that liquid Element to digest the flesh, which cast them into fluxes and dyenteries, so that having no Medicines, nor other conveniences at hand, a third part of them are said to have perished, and the rest staid in these Parts, not able to march any farther. In the mean time, *Belisarius* hearing of this Invasion, and how the Troops of *John* and *Martinus* were routed, began to suspect the state of his Affairs; and desirous to divert the storm from his own Army, which he knew could not but be very great, in case the *Franks* and *Goths* should join together, he wrote to *Theodebert*, given him good words, and expostulating with him for the breach of these Articles, which he had most religiously signed, putting him withall in mind, that the Emperour's condition was not weak, as to render him incapable of calling him hereafter to account. *Theodebert* somewhat moved with this Letter, more troubled at the opprobrious language of his men, who reviled him for suffering them to die like dogs in a desolate Country, and most of all touched with a sense of his present Estate, rose up with all his *Franks* that survived, and hasted home.

*Belisarius* writes  
to their King.

123. *Martinus* and *John* returned with their Troops to prevent the Enemy his rasing the Siege of *Auximum*, wherein the *Goths* heard nothing of the *Franks* retreat, but quite spent, and out of heart, by reason of the delay of assistance promised from *Ravenna*, thought once more, and for all, to impound *Vitigis*; and not being able to send any Messenger out of the Town, by reason of the strict watch that was set upon them, they corrupted with money a Souldier in the *Roman* Army, who stood Sentinel to keep off the Inhabitants from cutting Grafs, the best supply of Victual they now had. To their Letter sent by this fellow, *Vitigis* returned a plausible and kind answser, which so animated them, that they refused all offers made by *Belisarius*. But finding they got nothing but good words, they sent the second time, declaring they shold not be able to struggle with the Famine any longer than five days more, to which their King replied as formerly, holding them in suspense with the like hopes. The *Romans* all this while were weary of the siege in a barren Country, and disheartened at the obstinacious humour of the Besieged. *Belisarius* secretly admiring what the thing shold be which thus held up their spirits, procured a *Scalvonian*, who, as the rest of his Countrymen upon the River *Ifer*, was well practised in stealing Enemies, to catch one of the *Goths* that came out of the Town to gather Grafs, by whom the whole matter about the Sentinel was discovered; for when brought face to face, the Fellow (by name *Barcenarius*, and a *Bessian* by Nation) confessed all; and being by the General delivered up to his Companions to be punished as they saw convenient, was burnt alive. *Belisarius* seeing them still hold out, thought he might possibly complete his design by

Sect. I. by demolishing a Conduit, which from the North-side of the Town, and near to the Walls, supplied them with water. A great contest happened about this Conduit, the Besieged issuing out, and with all their force indeavouring to protect it, having the advantage of the upper ground, which they improved to the slaughter of their Enemies. But the *Romans* bore upon them still, *Belisarius* their General calling upon them, who whilst he thus performed the office of a valiant Commander, had lost his life, but that *Vingatus*, one of his Guard, perceiving the Arrow coming toward his Belly, put his Right hand between, and to his own great damage and misery saved him harmless. For being wounded, and in great extremity of pain, he retired; and afterwards his Sinews were cut asunder, and he lost the use of his Hand. Yet did the Besiegers so stoutly ply it, that they drove up the Garrison within the Walls: but when they expected the fruit of this labour, and thought the Conduit to be broken down, they were deceived, the men that were set about it, not being able to force one stone out of it, so strong and artificially was it built. Hereupon *Belisarius* caused dead Carrasses, Lime and poisonous Herbs to be cast into the water; and revolting to use no more force, attended to his Guards and Sentinels. For he doubted not in a short time they would be starved out, being in extraordinary great wants, and merely kept alive by expectation of relief from *Ravenna*.

Fools yielded. 124. The Garrison in *Fasule* at this time struggling with the same miseries, and despairing of succour from that Place, yielded to quarter. *Cyprian* leaving a Party in the Town, brought the Inhabitants, with his Army, before *Auximum*, where *Belisarius* shewed them to the Besieged, thereby signifying what they were to trust to, and how groundless were their hopes and expectations from their King. Considering of the matter, and how unable they were to hold out against the Famine, they offered to yield the Town on condition they might enjoy their lives and goods. The General was not averse to it; but the Souldier opposed it, shewing his wounds, and recounting the labours and dangers he had undergone in the siege, of which, he affirmed the plunder of the Town to be the due and proper reward. At length the *Romans*, forced by the preffing opportunity, and the *Goths* by the Famine, came to this accord, that the Souldiers should have half the goods, and the Besieged with the other half become Subjects to the Emperour, which was accordingly done, and the Town was immediately surrendered. *Belisarius* having thus taken *Auximum*, hasted toward *Ravenna* with his whole Army. Both sides of the River *Poe* he caused to be guarded, to hinder all importation of Provisions, and so it happened, that the *Goths*, having procured much Corn to be brought down the River in Barks, the water suddenly failed, and thereby it became prize to the *Romans*, who having seized it, the River as suddenly recovered its former stream, and became navigable; an accident unheard of in ancient times; so that Providence it self seemed to decide the Controversie. The Kings of the *Franks* understanding how matters passed, could not endure to think of the *Romans* regaining their possession of *Italy*, but desirous to push for it themselves, sent Ambassadors to *Vitigis*, offering him speedy Aid, on condition they might share the Country with him. *Belisarius* being aware of it, sent also his Messengers, who so disputed the busines, and answered all the arguments of the *Franks*, that *Vitigis*, after long conference with his Nobility, dismiss the Ambassadors with a denial, and inclined to an Accommodation with the Emperour. For by which that had lately happened at the *Poe*, he saw what assistance and fidelity was to be expected from the Alliance of the *Franks*.

*Vitigis* rejects  
the offers of the  
*Franks*. 125. Now began the *Romans* and *Goths* to send Messengers to each other. But *Belisarius* to make as faire work of it as he could, and to bring them to his Conditions, by his Guards still hindred the importation of Provisions. *Vitigis*, he ordered into *Venetia*, there to take in what Towns he could; and hearing that in the Magazine of *Ravenna* there was much Corn, he procured a Citizen for a sum of money to set it on fire, and that with such secrecy and expedition, that they within knew not whether to impute it to lightning, or design, but it drove them into irresolution, and distrust of one another, and made them conclude that God himself made war against them. At this same time such *Goths* as inhabited the *Alpes Cottiae*, which divided Gall from *Liguria*, under the command of *Siffigis*, yielded themselves to one *Thomas* of the General's Retinue, sent by him thither for that purpose. Just now was *Uraeas* with four thousand men, gathered out of *Liguria*, and the *Alpes*, marching to the relief of *Ravenna*, but understanding what *Siffigis* had done, retreated, and went to besiege him and *Thomas* together. This coming to the knowledge of *John* and *Martin*, the Brother's Sons of *Vitigis*, who then lay about the *Poe*, they hasted to their relief, surprised some of the Castles, and made Slaves amongt

Sect. I. mongst others, many of the Wives and Children of *Uraes* his Souldiers, who perceiving they followed him to small purpose, whilst at home they lost all that was dear unto them, ran away suddenly to *John*. So that *Uraes* could doe nothing there, neither could he relieve *Ravenna*; but retiring with a few Followers into *Liguria*, there lay still, expecting better fortune.

126. Things thus standing at the *Alpes*, and *Vitigis* with his principal *Goths* being cloe shut up in *Ravenna*, *Dominicus* and *Maximinus* arrived, both of Senatorian Rank, as Ambassadors from the Emperour, with commission to make peace with *Vitigis* upon these terms; that he should enjoy half the Revenue, and the Dominion of the Country beyond the *Poe*; the other half to be the Emperour's, with the rest of *Italy*, which should all be subject to him, and pay him tribute. *Vitigis* and his *Goths* most gladly accepted the Conditions, but *Belisarius* fretted exceedingly, as thereby deprived of the glory of ending the War, and carrying *Vitigis* Captive to *Constantinople*, which he knew he could now accomplish without much trouble. He flatly refused to sign the Treaty, which made the *Goths* jealous that the Peace was fraudulently propounded, and raised the indignation of some of his Officers, who taxed him with a design to oppose the Emperour's service, and to lengthen the War. Hereat nettled, he called together the Commanders, and told them he was resolv'd to stand to their determinations, who still affirming that the Emperour's Instructions were the best, and that they were not able to subdue the Enemy by war, he made them exprest it in writing, that they might not be able to deny it afterwards. But the *Goths* were now so pinched with famine, that they could hold out no longer. They were weary of *Vitigis* his government, yet scrupled to yield to the Emperour, fearing to be transported to *Constantinople*, and planted therewith.

The *Goths* Nobility would declare him Emperour of the West, and sent to him underhand, promising him all fidelity and allegiance. He being tied to *Justinian* by oath never to innovate, during his life, would not take the Empire without his consent, and the name of an Usurper he abominated; yet he resolv'd to make use of this opportunity to facilitate his design, and therefore seem'd to accept the offer. *Vitigis* perceiving the matter, commanded the resolution of the *Goths* out of fear, and animated *Belisarius*, promising his assistance to remove all impediments out of the way.

127. *Belisarius* keeping in his mind what had been concluded at the Council of Officers, left they should mutiny, or make any stir, because their Resolution was not put in practice, now satisfied them that he could easily make *Vitigis*, and all his *Goths*, the Emperour's Captives, share their Wealth, and recover all *Italy* to the *Romans*, which they earnestly pray'd him to effect. Then did he send to the *Goths*, willing them to perform their offer immediately; and being press'd sore with famine, they hasted away their Ambassadors, whom they command'd publicly to speak of nothing of moment, but privately to take oath of *Belisarius*, that he would not any way damage the *Goths*, who should enjoy the same privileges and immunities, as the *Romans* themselves. As to other things, he swore in a certain form of words; but for the Empire, he said he would give oath to *Vitigis* himself, and the Commanders. The Ambassadors not imagining he would refuse the Sovereignty, which from their own inclinations, and the general temper of Mankind, they concluded that he desired above all things, pray'd him to accompany them into *Ravenna*. He sent away *Narses*, *Aratus*, *Bessas* and *John*, to quarter in other Places, knowing them to bear him no good will, and alledging, that if they remained altogether, he could not possibly get sufficient provisions for such a multitude of men. Then with the rest of the Army did he enter *Ravenna*, and caused the Boats, laden with Corn, to be towed up into the Haven. *Procopius*, who beheld the entrance of the *Roman* Army into the City, tells us how by that sight he was convinced, that Affairs are neither carried on by multitudes of men, by valour, or any other humane efficacy; but that there is some higher and greater Power which steers, governs, and directs the minds of Mortals thither where nothing can hinder the preordained success. The *Goths* here had much the advantage both in power and numbers of men, since their coming to *Ravenna*, had not fought one Battel, nor received any accident, which could reasonably make any impression upon their Spirits; yet being subdued by those that were fewer and weaker than themselves, they counted it no shame to submit to slavery and bondage. The Women, who had been made believe that the Enemy was more numerous, and that the *Romans* were more tall and gallant Persons than they proved, when they saw the Souldiers enter, spit in the faces of their Husbands, and pointing at the Conquerours, upbraided them with their cowardise and indiscretion.

He makes use of their offer.

He enters Ravenna.

128. *Belisarius* dispersed the *Goths* to their own Houses, fearing no insurrection, Sect. r. because of the Army so near garrison'd. *Vitigis* he kept in honourable restraint. The Treasures of the Palace he seized, with intent to carry them to *Constantinople*, but suffered none of the *Goths* to be plundered, leaving them their Estates according to the Accord. Now several Towns were, by such *Goths* as held them, surrendred into his hands; but in the mean time he was traduced to the Emperour, as designing to usurp, who believed not the Accusation; but the *Perfian* War pressing, sent for him to make an Expedition that way. The *Goths* hearing he was called home, at first made little reckoning of it, not believing he would be guilty of so much folly, (such they accounted it,) as to refuse the Kingdom so fairly offered; but afterwards seeing what preparations he made to be gone, and that he was in earnest, thought it time, to lay their heads together. The chiefest of those that inhabited beyond the *Poe*, betook themselves to *Uraes* the Sisters Son of *Vitigis*, whom lamenting sadly their Condition, they desired to take the government and conduct upon him, and lead them out upon some design, in the execution of which, at the wort they shoud but prefer a glorious Death before ignominious Slavery. As to action he agreed with them, but refused the Title of King, both because being so near akin to *Vitigis*, his bad success would make him despis'd, and he thought it not consistent with good nature to intrude upon his Uncle. He propounded to them *Idebal* the Gouvernor of *Verona*, a man very well accomplish'd, and of great Valour, whose Uncle *Theudius* King of the *Viggoths*, would in all probability for his sake, espouse their cause and quarrel. *Idebal* then was sent for from *Verona*, invested with the purple Robe, and proclaimed King, which done, he advised that *Belisarius* shoule be sent to, and moved to put in execution what had been lately accorded, and after they knew his mind, that they should enter into Action, and govern themselves accordingly. Ambassadors are dispatched away, who put him in mind of the late Agreement, blame him for not having performed his promise, reproach him for being a voluntary Slave, and preferring Servitude before Sovereign Authority, and provoke him by all arguments possible, to accept the Government, assuring him of the fidelity of *Idebal*, who, as they said, would willingly lay the purple at his feet, and salute him King of the *Goths* and *Italians*. But he contrary to their expectations, refused the Title, protesting that during the Life of *Justinian*, he would not meddle with any such matter; which after they had heard, they instantly departed, and made a report to those that sent them. *Belisarius* having left the charge of *Italy* with *Bessas*, *John* and some others, and ordered *Constantinus* to remove from *Dalmatia* to *Ravenna*, began his Journey towards *Constantinople*; the Winter ending, and with the fifth year of the War, the second Book of the History thereof written by *Procopius*.

129. *Idebal* being fecure of *Belisarius*, whom he knew to be upon his Journey, according to the Council formerly taken, gathered together all the *Goths* and discontented *Romans* he possibly could, and seriouly applied himself to his Busines, *Procopius Belli, lib. 3.* which was no leſt than an endeavour for the recovery of the Dominion of all *Italy*.

He set up with a thousand men, and one single Town in *Picenum*; but within a while all *Liguria* and *Venetia* came dropping in to him. And his game was the greater by reason of one *Alexander* a *Logotheta* or Auditor of *Constantinople*, who having scraped together abundance of Wealth, by informations against Souldiers, whom he accused to have defrauded the Treasury; had raised much money for the Emperour, and from his clipping the Coin, had got the Nickname of *Forficula* or Scifers. Him after the recalling of *Belisarius* the Emperour sent into *Italy*, where setting up his Office in *Ravenna*, he called to account such as never had been employed, caused many to pay what they never had received, and the Souldiers for all their wounds and hazards, he requited with slender accounts and empty Tickets. Hereby the *Italians* grew ill affected to the Emperour, and the Souldiers were so alienated and indispole to his Service, that they would not ingage their persons in any considerble enterprize, all which mightily advanced the affairs of the *Goths*. Neither would the Commanders which *Belisarius* had left to the defence of those Parts much concern themselves. Only *Vitalis* who lay in *Venetia*, with a great number of *Herulians* besides others, resolv'd to try his Fortune with *Idebal*, before his power should grow to too great an height. A Battel was valiantly Fought near *Tarosium*, where the *Gothick* King had the better of his Enemy, who having lost most of his men, escap'd and fled. This success got *Idebal* reputation, which he no sooner had got, but as suddenly he lost it, together with his Life. A pique arising betwixt his Queen and the Wife of *Uraes*, who despis'd her for her mean Habit and attendance, whilst as yet her Husband enjoyed no Royal Re-

*Alexander Forficula being sent into Italy death much mischiefe.*

*Idebal* beats Vitalis.

Sect. I. venue, he so far concerned himself as first to accuse *Vras* of a designed Revolt, and afterward treacherously and ingrately killed him, by which he incurred the reproach and displeasure of the whole Nation. In this nick of time it happened, that one *Vilas* by Nation a *Gepida*, and of the Emperour's Guard, being Suitor to a very handsome Woman which he infinitely loved; when he was absent upon Service was deprived of his Mistress by *Idebold*, who either ignorantly, or upon some-motive, gave her in Marriage to another man. Hereat enraged, he resolved to gratifie both his own Malice, and as he thought the desires of all the *Goths*, by fending the King to another World. Watching his time, when *Idebold* feasted the Nobility, and according to the Cusome, was to be attended by his Guards, he got in amongst them, and as the King reached his hand to a Dill, and bowed with his face upon the Couch, he gave him a blow with his Sword upon the Neck with such violence, that the Head fell off, the Meat being betwixt his fingers, to the great amazement of the Company. Thus ended the Winter, together with the sixth year of the War, in the fifteenth year of *Justinian's* Reign, which is characterized by the Consulship of *Belisarius Junior*, without a Collegue, and is the last in the *Fasli*, to which the Note of any Consulship is added, although there were Consuls created after this time. But now it was the Emperour's pleasure, that time should be accounted and measured by the years of his Reign, and therefore by degrees he would antiquate the ancient Cusome, for which he hath incurred no small displeasure with Chronologers, although some cast the blame upon *Tribonianus* the framer of his Laws. This was the DXLI year of our Lord, and the second of *Vigilius* the *Roman* Bishop.

*Vilas* Greek ο<sup>ν</sup>τας, Tav. *Vilas*, *Vilas* exports.

Is killed by *Vras*.

The last year  
of counting by  
Consuls.

*Erarick* chosen  
King of the  
*Goths*.

130. The *Goths* were much disengaged at the Murther of *Idebold*, upon whom notwithstanding his late misdemeanour, they looked as a man able enough to have recovered the Dominion of *Italy*. Into his place was elected one *Erarick*, a *Rugian* by Birth, and a man of good reputation amongst the Barbarians; for the *Rugians* were a *Gothick* Nation also, though distinct from the rest by government and manners, whom *Theodoric* united with their Country-men, and made them serve against the common Enemy; but though their Service was in common, they mingled not in Marriage with those of other Families, but preserved their Name and Race in Posityerity of the whole Bloud. The State being in trouble upon the Death of *Idebold*, they procured *Erarick* to be made King, whom though the other *Goths* respected as a private perf, yet they could not brook this new Stamp of a Royal Character, and grew discontented and out of order, the more experience they had of his government. At this time *Totilas* Nephew of *Idebold*, a Person discreet, valiant and of great esteem, Commanded the *Goths* in *Tarvisium*, and hearing of his Uncle's Death, sent to *Constantianus* then lying in *Ravenna*, offering upon assurance of Indemnity to deliver up both the place and the men under his Command. *Constantianus* gladly accepted of the overture, gave Oath for performance of the Articles, and day was appointed for the surrender of the Garrison, when just in the nick of time the *Goths*, weary as was said of *Erarick's* government, sent to *Totilas* to tell him, that they now felt the mis of his Uncle, and that they had their eyes upon himself as the fittest Person, not only in respect of his Bloud, but for other reasons to succeed him. He plainly tells them of the Agreement he had made wif the *Roman* Commander, and that if before the day appointed for Rendition of the Town, they will kill *Erarick*, he will fully comply with their desires. In the mean time, the *Roman* Army being very secure, and high upon the troubles and disadvantages of their Adversaries, neither drew together, nor had any design upon them. *Erarick* propounded the sending of Ambassadours to *Constantinople*, for such a Peace as formerly had been offered to *Vitiga*, that the *Goths* should hold all beyond the *Poe*, and the Emperour the rest of *Italy*. But he gave them secret instructions to pretend only that Negotiation to which the Nobility had assented, and underhand to bargain for a good Sum of money, and the dignity of a *Patritian*, to deliver up all *Italy*, and lay down the Royal name and habit. The Ambassadours did as they were enjoyned. But in the mean time, the *Goths* entring into new Councils, killed *Erarick* treacherously, after he had Reigned five Months, and *Totilas* took the government as they had agreed, being destind therefore as a severre scourge against the *Greeks* now Warring in *Italy*.

They kill him,  
and chuse *Totilas* King.

131. *Justinian* having received the news of his promotion, and the Death of *Erarick*, sharply reprehended his Officers, who thereupon assembled at *Ravenna*, and in a Council of War, it was agreed to lay Siege, first to *Verona* in *Venetia*, and having reduced that City to go against *Totilas* and *Picenum*. The Army twelve thousand strong, accordingly marched under the Command of eleven Officers, of which

*Totilas* in vob. Al.  
*Totilas*, *Totilas*,  
*Totilas*, morte li-  
ber. *Athanasius*  
*Grace*.

Ex *Totilas* con-  
tra *dum* *Totilas* ve-  
rie scribatur in  
vob. Al. *Totilas*, *Totilas*, *Totilas*, *Totilas*.

which *Constantianus* and *Alexander* were chief, and being come within seven miles of *Verona* there encamped, for from that Town ly fair Champions, reaching as far as *Mantua* a full days Journey. Now did one *Marcianus* a Noble man, well affected to the Emperour, procure a Townman of *Verona* to betray the place, and by one of the Watchmen the Gate was to be opened, and by Night the *Roman* Army to be received in. The Commanders thought best to send one of themselves before, with a few to make good the Gate, and the rest of the Army to follow without hazard. But all refuted the danger, only *Aratabanes* an *Armenian* an excellent Soldier, the Captain of those *Persians* whom *Belisarius* sent to *Constantinople*, together with *Blischanes*, after his taking the Castle of *Sifaurium*, gladly undertook it, and with an hundred men when the Gate was opened got into the Town. Some stood still at the Gate and sent for the Army, others mounting the Walls killed the Sentinels, all expecting the coming of their friends. But the *Romans* being come within five miles, there made an Halt. The Commanders disputing about the Plunder of the City, and spent all Night in babling and contesting about the Spoil. The *Goths* finding themselves surprized, had run out at another Gate when *Aratabanes* was entered, and retired to an high Rock not far from the Walls, whence one might have not only a fair prospect into the Champion round about, but also view all the Streets, and see what passed in the Town it self. He staying here all Night, in the Morning they discovered how small an Enemy was within; and viewing the Army at a distance, ran in at the same Gate they had run out at, and the *Romans*, not able to make good the place, fled to the Battlements, where they stoutly defended themselves and did wonders, especially, their Captains. By this time the Commanders had agreed about parting the Wealth of *Verona* amongst themselves, and led on towards the City, which when they found stoutly defended, and the Gates shut, they fairly retreated, though their Companions called to them, and earnestly desired they might not be forsaken. *Aratabanes* therefore and such of his men as remained alive, seeing themselves thus basely betrayed, and despairing of Succour, leapt down from the Walls. He himself and those that light upon plain ground escaped, but such as fell on the Stones and Crags all perished. Having reached the Camp, he upbraided the Officers with their ill Conduct, and passing with them the *Poe*, came to *Fuentia* a City distant from it about eighteen miles.

132. *Totilas* hearing how matters stood, sent for most of the Garrison out of *Verona*, and with his whole strength, which amounted to no more than five thousand men, marched against the Enemy. The *Roman* Officers hereupon meeting in Council, *Aratabanes* prayed them not to despise the desperate and enraged *Goths*, though inferior in numbers, but when they should have half passed the River to Fight them, rather than engage with their whole Body. But the Commanders fell on contradicting one another, as is usual when they are equal in power, and staying there did nothing at all. *Totilas* in the mean time having encouraged his men, and let them plainly see, that if this day they shoud be beaten, they must not expect any more to Fight; caused three hundred to pass the River, two miles and an half off to get behind the Enemy, and the Fight being begun, to gall them on their Backs. He with the rest went over where he stood, without any opposition, and the Armies marching fair and sootly towards each other, one *Valarius* a *Goth*, tall, valiant and of a stern Countenance, rode out of the Ranks, and challenged any *Roman* to a single Combat. *Aratabanes* accepted the Challenge and preventing the *Goth*, with his Lance ran him into the right side, who having his mortal wound, funk backward, but his Lance resting upon the Ground, and at a great stone, kept him from falling. *Aratabanes* not thinking he had his Deaths wound, ran him again into the Belly, and the head of *Valarius* his Lance, which stood upright, lighting upon his Neck cut one of the Arteries, whence issued prety abundance of Bloud, but he feeling no pain, gallopt back again to his Friends, and left his Adversary dead upon the place. The flux of Bloud could not be stopt, so that he died the third day after, to the great detriment of the Emperour's Affairs, as well in that he could not be present at the Battel, as that the great hope of his future Services was thereby extint. Whilste he attended the cure of his Wound, without Arrow-shot the Armies joynd Battel, in the heat whereof, the three hundred *Goths*, as had been ordered, suddenly fell upon the backs of the *Romans*, who thinking them to be much more in number, than indeed they were, ran away for fear in great confusion, with the Enemy at their heels, who killed many, took many Prisoners and all their Ensigns: a thing which had not happened (so *Procopius* observes) formerly to the *Romans*. The Commanders severally

Sect. I. rally as they could, with a few followers, made to the nearest Towns, and there secured themselves.

133. *Totilas* without delay sent Forces to besiege *Florence*, which was then governed by *John*, who having little or no Provision for holding out, sent to *Ravenna*, praying the Commanders he might be relieved. Hereupon a considerable Army was sent, and upon rumour of its approach, the *Goths* raised the Siege, and removed to *Micale* a Town distant from *Florence* a days Journey, whither, the *Romans* having left a few men in the City, pursued them, and it was agreed, that some one of the Commanders should suddenly set upon the Enemy, and the rest to march after fair and softly. The lot fell to *John*; but then again the Officers would not stand to the Agreement, so that he was constrained with his own Troops only to ingage, and a sharp Encounter followed, wherein he at length had the disadvantage. Yet had the rest come up in time, fallen in with him and set upon the Enemy, the day had afflyed been their own; but an unlucky Rumour being spread, that *John* was killed by one of his own Life-Guard, the Army e'er it had joynd all ran away, not in Bodies, but every man shifting for himself. Many perished in the Chafe, and they who escaped were seized with such a pannick fear, that they ran on for many days, none pursuing them, till recovering the places where they thought to secure themselves, there, as it were, hid their Heads, none of them having the least thought of turning again, but expecting severely to be besieged. *Totilas* treated his Prisoners with such humanity, that they willingly entred into his Service against the *Romans*. And then ended the Winter, together with the seventh year of the War.

134. *Totilas* improving his opportunities, took in several places, and marching through *Apulia* and *Sannium*, easily made himself Master of the several places and strong Town of *Beneventum*, which he dismantled. Then with the greatest part of his Army he laid Siege to *Naples*, sending out the rest to take in *Cuma*, and other places where he raised a great Sum of money. By his civility to the Wives of several Senators, which he therein surprized, he got great Reputation, and having reduced *Brentia*, *Lucania*, *Apulia* and *Calabria*, both seized on the publick Tributes, and private Rents, bearing himself as absolute Lord of *Italy*.

Hereby the *Roman* Army receiving no Pay, was driven into great Necesities, and the Emperour contracted a vast Debt; the *Italians* betwixt them both were harassed and discouraged, and the Souldiers grew disobedient to their Officers, and were very glad to lie idle in Garrisons. *Constantianus* held *Ravenna*; *Rome*, *Spoletum*, *Florence* and *Perugia* were Commanded by *John*, *Bessar*, *Justinian* and *Cyprianus*, being the places they had fled to. The Emperour was extremely troubled to hear how matters went, and dispatched away with a good Fleet, and a considerable Army, one *Maximinus* with the Title and Character of *Praefectus Praetorio of Italy*, the better to govern the Officers, and supply the Army. He being a man altogether unpracticed in War, and besides that a Coward, and of a flow Nature, loitered upon the Coasts of *Epirus*; *Justinian* after him sent *Demetrius* as his Lieutenant, who had formerly Commanded the Foot under *Belisarius*. He hearing how *Naples* was distressed, had a great mind to relieve it; but having with him but inconsiderable Forces, he laded a number of Ships in *Sicily*, with Corn and other Provisions, hoping to fight the Enemy, who hearing of an huge Navy, expected a great Army to come along with it. Had he directly made for *Naples*, he had undoubtedly frightened away the Befiegers and done his work, but being afraid to put in there, he Sailed on for the Port of *Rome*, to gather up Souldiers, who being lately beaten by the *Goths*, refused to follow him against *Totilas*, so that he must either stay where he was, or undertake the expedition of *Naples*, with those few he had brought along with him. Chusing the latter Course, when *Totilas* had notice of his coming, he manned out many swift Pinnaces, which falling on him on a sudden, as he lay on the Coast near *Naples*, amazed and defeated all his Fleet, took all the Ships and men aboard them, except such as at first leapt into the Cock-Boats, amongst whom was *Demetrius* himself. *Maximinus* being fairly advanced as far as *Sicily*, staid still at *Syracuse* afraid of the War. The Commanders in *Italy*, especially *Conon* the Governor of *Naples*, importuned him to come to their Succour, but still he wore out the time, till fearing the Emperour's high displeasure, and wearied with the Scoffs and Revilings of all men; he resolved to stay himself and save one, but send the Army to *Naples*, under the Command of others. Now was it the depth of Winter, and the Fleet coming near *Naples*, so great a Storm took them, that the Seamen could neither use their Oars, doe any other work, nor hear one another. Doe what they could, they were driven upon the shore where the Enemy

*Demetrius* and *Maximinus*, lately sent by the Emperour, shamefully defeated.

my lay incamped, who had so easie a game of it, that they sunk Ships, and killed men as they pleased, without any reslfence. Some few escaped, the rest were taken, together with *Demetrius* who was got aboard the Fleet.

135. *John* did *Totilas* lead with a Rope about his Neck to the Town Wall, where he compelled him to perswade the Citizens to yield, by telling them that no farther Succours they were to expect, and all their hopes had perifled with the Navy. Hereat the besieged being grievously dismayed, *Totilas* took the opportunity to give them good words, and offered to *Conon* and his Souldiers all Indemnity, in case they would prefently surrender the City, with all security of Perfons and Estates to the Citizens themselves. Being extremely preft with Famine, they accepted the offer, and notwithstanding they had capitulated for thirty days time, to expect Succours, wherein no Hostility was to be exercised, yet urged by their necessities, they received *Totilas* within a while into the City; and preftly after the Winter ended with the eighth year of the War. *Totilas* carried himself not at all like a Barbarian toward the *Neapolitans*; fearing left the languishing people shoud by sudden eating their fill surfeit themselves, he set Guards at the Gates, and Port, commanding no man to go out, and with a provident care gave them Food, more sparingly than their ravenous appetites required, adding therunto infenibly every day, and increasing their allowance. Having thus restored them to their former strength, he set open the Gates, and let go as many as would. *Conon* and such of his Souldiers as refused to stay he Shipped, giving them liberty to Sail whether they pleasd, who shamng to go to *Constantinople*, were bound for *Rome*, but the Winds being croſs, and not able to get off, they feared he would break the Agreement and doe them mischief. But he on the contrary taking notice of their misfortune called them to him, cheared them up, and the Wind not serving for a long time, furnished them with Horſes, Waggon and Provisions, and gave them a Convoy of *Goths* to *Rome*. The greatest part of the Walls of *Naples* he demolished, being inclined rather to finish the War at once by Battel, than draw it out at length, (which muſt make it very uncertain and hazardous,) and be ever Skirmishing with Artifices and Strategems.

136. Either to get him a great name, or, as he himself affirmed to his Officers, being very ſensible how much his Nation by their vicious living, had incurred the diſpleaſure of Almighty God, he puniſhed Vice with all ſeverity. One of his Guard, though a Valiant and otherwife deserving man, and the Officers made great Interceſion for him, having ravifhed the Daughter of a *Roman* of *Calabria*, he put to Death, and gave his Estate to the Woman he had abuſed. In the mean time, the *Roman* Army acted all things quite contrary, leaving no inſolence unpracticed againſt the poor *Italians*. The Officers lived riotouſly with their Miftresses in the Garrisons, having the Souldiers diſobedient and full of all sorts of disorders. The poor Country-man groaned under both the Armies; the *Goths* taking his Lands, and the *Romans* his Goods, by both he was beaten like a Slave, and his Meat eaten out of his mouth. *Constantianus* troubled hereat, wrote to *Justinian*, protesting his diſability to wage War with the *Goths*; the Commanders ſigning the Letter, which was no other than a plain and open confeſſion of their fear and cowardice. *Totilas* having now his mind upon the City of *Rome*, thought fit firſt to try whether by Letter he could procure the Senatours to joyn with him, upbraiding them much with the ingratitude they had ſhewn to the Family and Nation of *Theodorich* and *Amalasonha*, and exaggerating the wrongs they had received from the Greek Emperours and their Armies. *John* forbade the Senatours to anſwer him; whereupon he privately conveyed other Papers into the City, no body knew how, but they were poſted up by Night in the moſt remarkable places, and diſcovered in the Morning. The *Arian* Priests were ſuſpected, and turned out of *Rome*. And *Totilas* perceiving that this Artifice would not take, refolved no longer to uſe fair means, but ſending part of his Army into *Calabria* to take in *Otranto*, he himſelf with the reſt of the Forces, went againſt the Towns lying about *Rome*. The News much perplexed the Emperour, who though the *Perſian* War lay heavy upon him, found himſelf neceſſitated to call back *Belisarius*, and ſend him the ſecond time into *Italy*; *Anno Justin. 18. C̄hriſti. 544.*

Matters fo bad in Italy, as constrain the Emperour to call Belisarius out of Persia to fend him thither again.

137. After the Ratification of the Peace, the State of both Princes was endangered by feditious attempts; that of the Emperour by the Commotion of the Common fort, *rag. 28.* called *Nica*, as we formerly ſhewed; and the other of the *Perſian*, by a ConSPIracy certain

*Redundum ad hujus ſec. pag. 28.*

Sect. I. certain of his Nobility, after this manner. *Chosroes* himself was a man of a perverse, unruly and turbulent Spirit, which made some of his stirring Subjects to weary of his Government, that they consulted how to make another King, one of the Family of *Cabades*. *Zames* the next Heir, being by the Laws excluded, because of a maim in one of his Eyes, they agreed to promote his Son, and that he as his Protecteur, should manage publick Builfiefs. But *Chosroes* had the Plot revealed to him, and sent all the Conspirators to another World, with all the Male issue of *Zames*, one only excepted, *Cabades* by name, who being fostered by *Adergudunbades* the General, (whose Wife preserved him, notwithstanding the King's express Command he should be put to Death,) it cost the old man his Life, after that the King came to know of it, though he had done excellent Service, and subdued twelve Nations under the *Persian Yoke*. For his own Son revealed it, and, after his Father was treacherously Slain, as a reward succeeded him in his Office. *Cabades* being sent out of the way escaped, and either he or one that usurped his Name, came long after to *Constantinople*, and was, as the Grand-Child of that great King, honourably treated by *Justinian*. But the Emperour's affairs prospering in *Africk* under the Conduct of *Belisarius*, *Chosroes* and his *Perians* were much vexed, repenting they had made a Peace, and thereby given liberty to the *Romans* to increase their power. *Chosroes* by his Ambassadors in meriment, demanded his share of the *Vandal* spoils, as having by the peace been a great procurer of the Conquest. *Justinian* thought it fitting not to disoblige him by any harsh return, but sent him a considerable present in money.

138. The Peace was indeed very seasonable for the Emperour's affairs, and that in more respects than that of the *African War* or Conquest. For in the Eastern parts, not long after the Ratification, one *John* a Souldier of the Garrison of *Daras*, revolted and set up for himself, which Usurpation had certainly been very mischievous, had the enmity continued betwixt the *Perians* and *Romans*; but the Peace being made, *Chosroes* would not lay any new foundations of a Quarrel, by fomenting this Rebellion, and the Usurper was Slain, when he had enjoyed his precarious Dignity not many days. Yet though he took no advantage of this Sedition, and digested indifferently the Conquest of *Africk*, his Concoction being furthered by the late golden Cordial he had received from *Constantinople*, when he heard of the succels of *Belisarius* in *Italy* also, the Conquest of that Countrey would not down; he could now hold no longer, but he must find some specious pretext or other to renew the War. He made use of *Alamundarus* the *Saracen*, who laid claim to a Countrey called *Strata*, situate to the South of *Palmyra*, bearing neither Trees nor Corn, but nourishing some flocks of Sheep. *Arethas* claimed it as belonging to the *Romans*, the Title he said being sufficiently made out by the name, and the testimonies of the oldest men then living; *Alamundarus* refused to dispute about names, and alledged that the Inhabitants had anciently paid him Rent for Pasturage. Much time was spent in the Arbitration, during which *Chosroes* complained that *Justinian* had practised against his Crown, by indeavouring to gain from him *Alamundarus*, who had been importuned with offers of great Sums of money to revolt. He produced the Emperour's Letters written to *Alamundarus*, and affirmed that he had also written to the *Hunnes*, to invade the *Perian* Dominions, who had sent him the very Originals themselves. When upon these pretences, true or false, he resolved to break the Peace, he was thereto farther excited and encouraged by the Ambassadors of *Vitigis*, who, as we formerly hinted, hired two *Ligurian* Prefets to undertake the Journey, and perswade the *Perian* that the day of the fall and ruine of the *Goths* would certainly be the Cave of his own Destruiction. Not considering the interest of those that sent them, he resolved to take their advice, and give a stop to the Emperour's growing power, at whose Succes and Conquests he every day more and more grudged; the *Armenians* and *Lazians* also stirring his gall, by discourses concerning the infufferable ambition of *Justinian*.

139. Some unlucky accidents also happened, which much exasperated the *Armenians* against him. One *Simeon*, who had delivered up *Pharangium* to the *Romans*, had begged of him some *Armenian* Villages in the heat of the War, and being not long after Slain, by such as formerly possessed them, the Emperour gave them to *Amazaspes* his Sisters Son, making him withall Governor of *Armenia*. Not long had he so continued, when one *Acacius* a follower of *Justinian* accused him of Confedracy and secret Intelligence with the *Perians*, and having by his directions treacherously Slain him, was made Governor in his place. He was a man of a most wicked and ravenous disposition, so harassing the *Armenians* by new Impostions, that not able to endure his Cruelty, they Conspired together and killed him, which done,

*John the Usurper Slain.*

*Chosroes envying the success of Belisarius breaks the Peace.*

*Egg'd thereto by the malice of Vitigis.*

*Sins in Armenia.*

*Procop. de bello Persico lib. 1.*

*Sect. I.* done, they seized on *Pharangium*. The Emperour hearing the news, sends *Sittas* from *Constantinople* against them, and he makes a slow War, labouring by fair means to regain them; but for this being reproached by *Justinian* in the instigation of *Adolius*, the Son of *Acacius*, he endeavoured to gain to his Party the *Apetians*, a considerable People among them, the better to overcome the rest. Upon assurance of indemnity they agreed to join with him; but it happened that the Instruments of the Agreement being sent them, never came to their hands, and thereupon a jealously arising on both sides, they prepared for battle, and the fight began very tumultuously by reason of the unevenness of the ground. He had rather the better, forcing his Enemies to retire; but being made known to them, and his Lance being accidentally broken, they bore back upon him, and slew him, being a man of a goodly presence, and scarcely inferior to any Commander of his time. *Sittas* being dead, the Emperour sent *Buzes* to succeed him, and the *Armenians* seeing there was no hope of reconciliation, betook themselves to *Chosroes*, to whom in many words they aggravated the ambitious purposes of *Justinian*, who troubled, as they said, all the World with his Arms, and at the best only referred but the *Perian* Dominions for his last Morsel, when he should have devoured all the Western Countries. As encouragements, they told him, they had slain one of his two best Commanders; and as for the other, *Belisarius*, they were very confident he was so jealous of his Military Glory and Interest, that he would not employ him. He liked well both of their Propositions and Reasons, and having as strong an inclination himself to the breach of the Peace, it was resolved in Council to make war upon the *Romans* in the beginning of the Spring. This was towards the end of Autumn, and the thirteenth year of *Justinian's* Reign, wherein happened the great Famine in *Italy* we formerly spoke of.

140. The *Romans* were surprised, not the least suspecting any breach of the Peace, hearing only that *Chosroes* murmured against *Justinian's* Successes in the West, and breathed out his discontent in the charges lately mentioned. Yet a Comet which appeared at this time in *Capricorn*, at first about the length of a tall man, afterward much longer, with its Tail turned toward the East, the Sun being then in *Sagittarius*, much amazed them. Immediately after a great Army of *Hunnes*, passing the River *Ister*, overrun all *Europe*, a thing sometimes done, but never with such mischief as now it happened. From the *Adriatick Sea*, which *Procopius* calls the *Ionian Gulf*, they wasted all Countries as far as *Constantinople*; and having never formerly attempted any walled Town, took thirty two Castles in *Ilyrium*, and destroyed *Cassandria* (of which in Ancient times we have heard much under the name of *Potidea*) which done, with one hundred and twenty thousand Captives, and much Booty, they retired home. Afterward they did much more mischief in several other Inroads. They forced their way over the Wall of the *Cerberus*, slew many of the Inhabitants, and made Slaves of most of the rest. Some crosting the Strait between *Sestus* and *Abidos*, wasted *Aisa Minor*; others having spoiled *Ilyricum* and *Thessaly*, assaulted the Wall at *Thermopyle*, where the Garrison stoutly demeaned it self, but they unluckily found the path up the Mountain, and entering *Greece*, wasted all except *Peloponnesus*, and so retired. Not long after, the *Perians* breaking the Peace, openly infested the *Roman* Territories, at such time as *Belisarius* had subdued *Vitigis*, and brought him to *Constantinople*. Before the Invasion, *Justinian* perceiving *Chosroes* to quarrel, and be much out of humour, sent a kind of Remonstrance to him by one *Anafactus*, a prudent man, who had suppressed the Rebellion at *Daras*. Herein he answere the things laid to his charge, complained of *Alamundarus* his foraging the *Roman* Territories, and with much seriousness laid before him the great inconveniences which follow sudden and rash resolutions in point of War. *Chosroes* answere not a word, neither yet would he dismiss the Messengier.

141. But towards the end of Winter, and of the thirteenth year of *Justinian's* Reign, (for he was declared Emperour, together with his Uncle, the third day before *Easter*) he entered the *Roman* Territories with a great Army, holding on his course toward *Syria* and *Cilicia*, till he arrived at the City of the *Surenians* upon *Euphrates*. This Town, notwithstanding his faith given to the Bishop thereof for their indemnity, he most cruelly burnt to the ground; having killed most of the men, and made all the rest Slaves, because they had not yielded at the first summons, and for a terror to others. Yet either out of covetousness, or for the love he bore to *Euphemia*, whom being one of these Captives, and very beautiful he made his Wife, and infinitely doted on her, he yielded that upon security given for two Centenaries of Gold by *Candidus*, Bishop of *Sergiopolis*, thole that remained, to the number of twelve thousand, should be set at liberty; although his mercies were so cruel,

*Sittas slain.*

The Armenians  
betake themselves to Chosroes.

A Comet.

The Hunnes overran Europe.

The Persians  
break the Peace.

*Justinian writes to Chosroes.*

Who invades the Roman Territories with a great Army.

Sect. I. so cruel, or his kindness so empty and barren, that the greatest part of them perished through the effects of those miseries they had already undergone. Now in a <sup>Europa dicas aduersa.</sup> braving manner did he send away *Anastasius*, willing him to declare to *Justinian* in what part of the World he left *Chosroes*, the Son of *Cabades*; and then march he forward. *Buzes*, who commanded all the East in the absence of *Belsarius*, understanding what had happened to the *Sureniens*, seemed to buckle himself to a strenuous resistance, and gave good Council to the Inhabitants of *Hierapolis*, that in case of a siege, they should neither with their few numbers ingage the whole *Perian Army*, nor yet keep all their men in the Town, but guarding the City with a sufficient number, lodge the rest near at hand at the bottom of the Mountains, whence by their frequent Onsets, both upon the Enemies Camp and Foragers, they might either force him to raise his Siege, or make his Assault uneasie, and cut off from him all sorts of Provisions. This Council he gave, but meant never to practise any thing himself, going away speedily with the choicest part of the Army, no man, either Friend or Foe, knew whither, nor what was become of him. *Justinian* hearing of the Invasion, sent away *Germanus* his Brother's Son in much haste with three hundred men, and a promise that a great Army should suddenly follow.

Buzes runs away.

*Germanus* sent into the East.*Chosroes* gets much money from the Roman Towns.

142. *Germanus* being come to *Antioch*, first applied himself to fortify the City, but perceiving his attempt to be vain for want of time, and that to begin, and not perfect, would but shew the Enemy which way to commence the War, he desisted from this enterprise; and when both he and the *Antiochians* considered that the promised Army came not from the Emperour, and that in all probability *Chosroes* would make for that City, they resolved in Council to buy him off with money. To negotiate the businesse with him, they chose *Megas*, Bishop of *Berrhaea*, a prudent man, who could not with all his wile Reafons charm the rude and unquiet humour of the King, but at last brought him to these Terms, that for ten Centenaries of <sup>About 31500*li.*</sup> Gold he should quit all the Eastern Provinces. But before the Bishop could fetch the Ratifications, he wrested 2000*li.* weight of Silver from those of *Hierapolis* to save their City, and refused to accept of less than twice as much from the *Berrheans*, becaue their Walls were much weaker. They offered him the 2000*li.* but as for more, they protested they could not pay him; and when he pressed upon their City, they relinquished it, and fled by night to the Castle, where being but one Spring, and that drank up by the Cattle, they presently found themselves in a lamentable estate. *Megas* could not with all his Rhetorick perfide the *Antiochians* to the Agreement he had made with *Chosroes*, being kept off by *Julian*, the Emperour's Secretary, who was sent Ambassadour to *Chosroes*, together with *John*, the Son of *Rufinus*, and forbade them expressly to give money to the Enemy, or sell the Emperour's Towns. *Megas* returning to *Chosroes* was much afflicted, finding him so closely besieging his own Fellow-citizens; for they were reduced to the utmost extremity, the *Perian Army* having entred, and seized the Town. He expostulated with him about his perfidious dealing in such terms, and used such arguments, cries, and intreaties, that assuring him they had no more money than the sum they had offered, he procured the liberty of those poor men. According to the Faith he had given them, they were suffered to go whither they pleased, and amongst them some of the Souldiers. But the greatest part of them revolted to *Chosroes*, complaining of the sad condition they were in, being behind in their pay for many years, and went with him afterward into *Peria*.

Besieges Antioch.

143. *Chosroes* perceiving from *Megas* that the *Antiochians* would part with no money, march thitherward, and encamping near the River *Orontes*, sent to demand the ten Centenaries of Gold, which if he should receive, he seemed willing to pack up, and be gone. Thither went the Ambassadors, betwixt whom and him passed much discourse and expostulation to no purpose. The common and light sort of People of *Antioch* from the Walls flouted and derided him, and almost had stoned his Interpreter, wherewith enraged, he revolved presently to give an Assault. The Wall being weakest at the top of the Hill, and the Places where the Besieged were to fight being narrow, they tied long Beams together between the Turrets, and enlarged the standings for more men to oppole the Assailants. The great breadth and height of the Rock commanded the Wall, and caused the Fight to be equal, as upon even ground, and here lay the disadvantage of the *Romans*. Yet had they put out but three hundred men, possest the Rock first, and kept off the Enemy, in all probability the Town had not been endangered, the Barbarians having no means to assault, being beaten perpendicularly both from the Rock and Walls. But this being neglected, and consequently the defence very difficult, and the service hot at the Rock; when the *Romans* pressed up to make resifcence, the Ropes which tied the

The Delians <sup>the</sup> the Beams suddenly broke, and down they all fell. They who made good the Turrets, hearing the noise, imagined that the Wall was broken down, and ran away. Then did the old Soldiers take their Horfes, and rode to the Gate, giving out they were to receive *Buzes* and his Army. Thither ran also the *Antiochians* Men, Women and Children, and pressing out altogether, the Souldiers bore them down, and many were killed in the crowd. The *Perians* set to their scaling Ladders, and mounted without any opposition, which made them fear some strategie, and take care how they descended through the Rocks and Precipices from the Hill. *Chosroes* esteeming all things les than the taking of the City, gave the Souldiers fair leisure to run, the *Perians* pointing at them with their hands, and bidding them haste and get away. When they saw them and their Commanders got out at the Gate of *Daphne*, they fairly descended into the midst of the City.

Sect. I.

144. Here at first they were encountered by some rath young men, who laying at them with stones, and forcing them to change their place a little, seemed to themselves to have the better, sung their *Pean*, and cried *Justinianus Callinicus*, as if indeed they had got the victory. In the mean time *Chosroes* sitting upon a Turret by the top of the Hill, sent for the Ambassadors to come to him, which being taken notice of by *Zaberganes*, one of his Commanders, he fearing a composition would be the product of a Conference, came to him, shewed him the preſent eſtate of the *Antiochians*, and diſſuaded him from yielding to thoſe who were already conqueſted, and had nothing but fury and deſperation to bear them up. *Chosroes* apt enough to be perſuaded, ſent ſome of his beſt men againſt them, but news was preſently brought that the work was done, and the *Perians* were Viſtours, who ſo far improved the Victory, as neitheſt to ſpare Sex nor Age. All sorts of miſery fell upon the poor Inhabitants, the *Perian* King ſhedding Crocodiles Tears, and pretenſing to be mothed with pity and commiferation, though he was the moft falfe, perfidious and foirdid man alive. He commanded his men to make Slaves of ſuch *Antiochians* as survived, and to take the ſpoil of the Town. He himſelf took out of the Church a vaſt Treaſure of Gold and Silver, cauſed many admirable pieces of Marbkle to be taken down, to be tranported into *Peria*, and then gave order to burn the City, the Church being preferred through the great iſtance and impoſturity of the Ambaſſadours. But not onely did they burn the whole City (the Caſthedral excepted, with ſome Houſes that ſtood towards a Corner, and joined not to other Buildings) but what was without the Walls, except the Church of St. *Julian*, and the Houſes about it, where the Ambaſſadours lodged, beſides the City Walls they wholly forbore. And thus perifhed the greateſt, the faireſt, the moft populous, the riſeſt and haſpietſt *Roman* City in the Eaſt, (whofe beauty and magniſcence appeared even in its very Ruins) by the moft impious of all men living, which thing muſt ſtarleſt *Procopius* the Hiſtorian, though at laſt he reſolves all in to the Equity and Juſtice of Divine Providence.

145. The Ambaſſadours, as they had reaſon, touched with a fenſe of ſo ſad a ſpectacle, could not forbear to lay before him his perfidious dealing, to which he anwered, and alledged ſome things ſpecious, and ſome things palpably falſe, to lay the load upon *Justinian*. After many Recriminations and Arguments, it was accordeſt that the *Romans* ſhould pay to him fifty Centenaries of Gold, and a perpetual <sup>15700*li.*</sup> yearly payment of five more, not in way of Tribute, but for guarding the *Caspian* Gates, and quiting all pretences to *Dara*, and this colour *Chosroes* himſelf would put upon it. Hereupon no more Acts of hoſtiliety were to be committed, but reſeiving hoſtages for performance he was to depart ſpeedily into his own Country, whither other Ambaſſadours ſhould be ſent by the Emperour to treat and ſetle a laſting Peaſe. He accordingly retreated, but notwithstanding the Truce, yet robed several Cities in his march, wresting from that of *Apamea*, which offered him 1000 weight of Silver, ten times as much, even all their Treasures of Gold and Silver, which were very great; and from the poor City of *Chalcis* (distant ten miles and a half from *Berrhaea*) two Centenaries of Gold. Neither was he minded to return the ſame way he came, but to croſs *Euphrates*, and rifle *Mesopotamia* in his paſſage. Having croſſed the River near *Obbane*, he was very ambitious to become Maſter of *Edeſſa*, induced by a confident Tradition, then amongſt Christians, that it was never to be taken, by reaſon of a certain Letter which our Saviour *Christ* was ſaid to have written to *Aghbarus*, at that time Toparch of the Country, whereby he promiſed amongſt other things, that this City ſhould never be conquered by Barbarians. The Epitile, if we may believe *Procopius*, they ingraved upon their Gates for a defence; and when *Chosroes* had lodged his Army three miles off, and by break of day marched towards *Edeſſa*, they went out of their way fo far, that the

P

next

Sect. I. next night they lodged in the same place, and this happened twice unto them. At length, when with much ado he had got to the Town, his Chops, as it was reported, swelled with Rheum, which so much astonished him, that he resolved not to attempt the Place; but he sent his Interpreter, and demanded money of them. They sent him word, that of their City they had no fear; but to prevent the wasting of their Towns and Villages, they would give him two Centenaries of Gold, which he received, and in this matter kept the Agreement.

146. Now came Letters from *Justinian* agreeing to ratify the Treaty between him and the Ambassadors, whereupon he discharged the Hostages, and prepared for his Retreat. He condescended that the *Antiochian* Captives should be ransomed, and the Citizens of *Edesa*, to their great commendation, offered whatever they had toward so pious a work; but the Design was crossed by *Buzes*, who expected to raise some profit out of it. But *Chosroes*, notwithstanding the Emperor's Letters, and his full Agreement, yet could not forbear pilling the Country in his passage; and being come to *Dara*, he fairly laid siege to it. He sprung a mine, and had undoubtedly taken it, but that the thing was discovered seafariously by a man (or more than a man, saith the Historian) who coming from the *Persian* Camp, seemed to gather up the scattered Arrows, and warding with his Shield, as if he jeered those upon the Battlements, told them where their danger lay, and bad them carefully provide for their safety. Then did the Besieged by a crois Mine defeat the purpose of their Enemies, which *Chosroes* perceiving, and seeing there was no hope of taking the Town, capitulated for a thousand pound weight of Silver, and went his way. *Justinian*, by this attempt upon *Dara*, protested that the Peace was broken, and refused to stand to the Ratification. *Chosroes* in *Alyria*, a days journey from *Ctesiphon*, built a City, wherein he bestowed the *Antiochian* Captives, and called it *Antioch of Chosroes*. He maintained them at the publick charge, not like Captives; gave them the name of *Baflici*, as exempt from the jurisdiction of all Magistrates, except the King; built them a publick Bath, a Cirque, and furnished them with other delights, bringing from *Antioch* and the neighbouring *Roman* Cities Chariotiers and skilfull Musicians. If a *Roman* Captive fled hither, and was challenged for a Kinsman by any of the Inhabitants, he might not be taken thence by his Master, of what quality soever he was. At this time *Belisarius* received orders to return to *Constantinople*, where having wintered, at the beginning of the Spring he was sent General against *Chosroes*, with the Officers that accompanied him out of *Italy*. Of his *Gothick* Prisoners *Vitigis* staid at *Constantinople*; the rest served with him against the *Perians*, and to what purpose we shall shortly see.

147. Whilst *Belisarius* made haste to prevent any new Invasion of *Chosroes*, he in the mean time led an Army into *Lazica*, being invited by the Inhabitants upon this occasion. The *Lazians*, who first dwelt in *Chobchis*, were subject to the *Romans*; not to payment of Tribute; but when their King died, the *Roman* Emperour was wont to send to his Successour Ensigns of Majesty. They guarded the Marches of the Countrey, and hindered the *Hunes*, their Neighbours, from invading the *Roman* Territories; receiving for this no money, nor Souldiers; nor serving in the Emperour's Wars, only they traded with his Subjects of *Pontus*, bartering their Native Commodities, as Skins, Hides and Slaves, for Corn, Salt, and other things which their Countrey wanted. But upon account of *Gurgereus* King of *Iberia*, there being some *Roman* Forces lodged in *Lazica*, they were very unruly, and *Peter*, their General was so rapacious, as very much discontented the People. This was in the time of *Justin*; and when *Justinian* came to the Government, he sent several Commanders into *Lazica*, and at last *John Tribius*, a man raised from mean condition, and advanced to this Command only for being the wickedest of all men, and a most fit person, by right or wrong, to raise Money. He persuaded the Emperour to build a Town upon the Sea, which was called *Petra*, wherein he Lorded it, and tyrannised over all the Countrey; for he prohibited Merchants to import Salt, or any other Wares to the *Lazians*, setting up a Monopoly, and selling to the People at what rates he listed. Upon this account, and by reason of the unusual burthen lying upon them from the *Roman* Army, they were much discontented, and at last resolved not to endure it, but revolt unto the *Perians*. There was no need of using many Arguments to *Chosroes*, to accept the protection of them, though their Ambassadors insisted upon the convenience he would have of infesting the *Roman* Territories by Sea; the only difficulty lay in the unpassableness of the Countrey. But they told him, that by cutting down Trees, and casting them into the ill Places, the way might be made easie enough for his Forces to march, and they themselves promised to be his Guides, and to work in the head of the Army.

The *Lazians* revolt to *Chosroes*.

148. Charging then the Ambassadors not to make known their Negotiation, he gathered together a great Army, not revealing his Intent to any but his most inward Counsellours, and pretending a Journey into *Iberia*, where a Nation of *Hunes* was reported to invade the *Persian* Confines. And he had this advantage by his secrecy, that the Spies which *Belisarius* sent into *Perse* assured him there would be no invasion of the *Roman* Territories, the King being engaged in a War with the *Hunes*. But *Belisarius*, believing there would be no invasion by *Chosroes*, resolved to take the advantage which the pretended *Hunnish* War would afford him, and to enter *Perse* with a considerable Army. All his Officers concurred with him, one ly *Reguianus* and *Theodosius*, Commanders of the Forces in *Phoenicia Libani*, though they approved of the Invasion, yet feared in their absence that *Alamundarus* the *Saracen*, would forrage *Phoenicia* and *Syria*, and that the Emperour might be offended with them for neglecting their charge. Hereupon they hung back, and refused to join in the Expedition; but *Belisarius* told them, they imagined that which would not be; for in Summer, for two months of that Season, the *Saracens* intended Religion, only busied themselves in the Service of their God, and made no Inroads; but in case there should be occasion, he promised to dismiss them and their Troops within two months, and commanded them to march along with him. *Chosroes* by this time taking that course the Ambassadors had directed him, passed through *Lazica* without interruption, and came into the middle of the Countrey, where the Poets feign the Story of *Jascon* and *Medea* to have been acted. Here *Gubazus*, King of the *Lazians*, came and adored him as his Liege Lord, surrendring together with himself, his Royal Palaces, and the whole Countrey into his hands, except *Petra*, which *John Tribius* held with a Roman Garrison. *Chosroes* sent a Party under command of *Aniavedes*, to surprize this Town, but by a Strategem of *John*, who unexpectedly issued out upon him, when he thought there had not been a Soldier in the Town, so silent they were, he was beaten back; at which the King enraged, some say, crucified *Aniavedes*, then with his whole Army he begirt the Town, and after *John* was killed with a shot, by a Mine made the narrow entrance into the City passable, and the *Romans* affrighted, yielded upon composition for their Lives and Estates. *Chosroes* finding in *Petra* much Wealth belonging to *John*, was, contrary to his wonted humour, therewith satisfied; and not suffering the Goods of the *Romans* to be toucht, permitted them to live and mingle with the *Persian* Army.

149. *Belisarius* hearing nothing of these Matters, marched with his Army towards *Nisibis*, which he faced and skirmished with a Party that fell out against him. The *Perians* slew fifty of the *Romans*, and took the Ensign of *Peter*, General of *Armenia*, who had a particular Post assigned him; but *Belisarius* coming in to his relief, beat them back within their Walls, killing one hundred and ten of them; and though they set up the Ensign as a Trophy on their Walls, and brav'd the Enemy, yet durst they fally no more out of their Fortifications. Having no hope to take *Nisibis*, he marcht on to a Fort called *Sifbranum*, full of Inhabitants, besides eight hundred of the choicest *Persian* Horse, commanded by *Blechanes*, a Person of great quality. But having not laid in any Provisions, they were prevailed with by promises and fair words to yield. The Inhabitants being Christians, and anciently *Romans*, the General treated with all fairness and civility; the *Perians*, with *Blechanes*, he sent to the Emperour, who caused them to be transported into *Italy* against the *Goths*. Eer this Castle was taken and demolished, he considerid there was no marching any farther; and refolved to send *Arethas* with his *Saracens*, being men unfit for Assaults, but excellent Plunderers, with some of his best Souldiers commanded by *John* and *Trajan*, to enter and haras *Affryia*. They passed the River *Tigris*, and finding good Pillage, ransackt many Towns, and got great Wealth, of which *Arethas* fearing he might be deprived by the *Romans*, refused to return to the Camp, as he had been ordered, and causing a report to be spread of a great Army at hand, at the Rivers side, advised *John* and *Trajan* to return some other way into the *Roman* Territories. The Army of *Belisarius* hearing nothing of these Forces, were distractred in their thoughts. The Heats were to great, that the Souldiers, especially those of *Thrace*, could not endure them, stirring much, and lying in close Cabins, so that a third part of them lay half dead of Fevers. All earnestly desired to return, and *Reguianus* and *Theodosius* now alledged, that the consecrated Time of the *Saracens* being at an end, the Towns of *Libanus* and *Syria* would become a prey to *Alamundarus*. It was resolved therefore in a Council of War to make a speedy retreat. *Chosroes* in the mean time having taken *Petra*, had the news of *Belisarius* his Invasion, and what *Arethas* had done beyond *Tigris*. Leaving there fore

He and *Chosroes* both retreat.

**Sect. I.** before a Garrison in *Petra*, he marched back into *Perſia*, with the rest of his Army, his Prisoners and booty. *Belisarius* was sent for by the Emperor to *Constantinople*, and there spent the Winter.

**150.** In the beginning of the Spring, *Chosroes* invaded the *Roman* Territories the third time with a great Army. *Candidus* Bishop of *Sergiopolis*, having not kept his word with him, he Imprisoned and tortured, whereby he procured much Treasure out of the Church, but besieged the City to no purpose. Being come into *Comagena* (or *Euphrates*,) he neither foraged the Country, nor took Towns as formerly, but relolved to make a farther Journey, and pass directly for *Paleſtine*; for, hearing this Province was very fertile and well inhabited, he longed to take the spoils thereof, and especially of the Treasures of *Jerusalem*. The *Romans* in his paſſage made no reſilence, thinking it ſufficient that they ſecured themſelves in their Garrisons. *Justinian* hearing of the Invasion, again fent away *Belisarius*, who paſſed by Poſt with great speed into *Comagena*. *Justus* the Emperor's Brother's Son, with *Buzes* and ſome other Officers were got into *Hierapolis*, and fent for *Belisarius* to come to them; but he likēd not their advice, and went to *Europus* a Town ſituate upon *Euphrates*, where he fell to levying of an Army, and called the Officers away from *Hierapolis*. *Chosroes* hearing he was come hither, marcht no farther but diſpatched *Abandanes* one of his Secretaries to him to complain that the Emperor had not ſent his Ambaſſadours to ratify the Treaty. *Belisarius* having notice of his coming, choſe out fix thouſand of the goodlieſt of his men, as if he would ſend them out to hunt. He ordered *Diogenes* one of his Lanciers, and *Adolius* the Son of *Acacius* an *Armenian*, and one of thoſe Officers near about the Emperor, which the *Romans* called *Silentarii*, being alſo at preſent Captain of the Forces in *Armenia*, to skirt along the ſhore of *Euphrates*, and at times to make ſhew of paſſing the River and invading the Country. He himſelf when the Ambaſſadour was at hand, retired to his Pavilion made with Boards according to the cuſtome, that he might ſeen to be in a poor Town without Proviſions. On the one ſide of the Pavilion flood the *Thracians* and *Ilyrians*, behind them the *Goths*, next the *Herculians*, and then the *Vandals* and *Moors*. They took up muſch ground, not ſtanding ſtill but walking at a diſtance, and lookeſt careleſt and conſidenſt upon the Ambaſſadour. None had his Mantle on, but Linen Coats like Women girt about them, holding in their hands an Horfemans whip. For Arms, ſome had Swords, ſome Battle Axes, others Bows onely, looking like Hunters that gave the chace to wild Beaſts.

**151.** The Ambaſſadour coming to Audience, ſaid it was a foul Indignity, that *Cæſar* (ſo the *Perſians* called the Emperor,) had not ſent Ambaſſadours about the Articles, and that thereby his Maſter was conſtrained to enter the *Roman* Territories in an hoſtile manner. *Belisarius* with a ſmiling countenance, and a look altogether void of trouble or fear, anſwered that *Chosroes* made War quite after another manner, than other Princes uſed, who firſt were wont to demand their right, and if they were refuſed, then tooke themſelves to Arms; whereas he being firſt entred into the Bowels of the Empire, did not ſtame to talk of Peace; and with this he diſmiffed the Ambaſſadour. *Abandanes* returning, perfwaded his Maſter to lay down his Arms and be quiet, for he had light upon a Captain, the rouſteſt and the wiſteſt in the World, and upon ſuch Souldiers, as eye never beheld the like, whose order and demeanour he could never ſufficiently admire. Besides he told him, the match betwixt them was very unequal; for if he overcame, he ſhould but vanquish a Slave of *Cæſar's*, but ſhould he be defeated, he ſhould get infinite diſhonour to himſelf and his Houſe. If the *Romans* ſhould be beaten, they might eſcape into their Fortrefles, being in their own Country; but if his Army ſhould be worſted, not one would eſcape to carry the News into *Perſia*. *Chosroes* moved by the reaſons, had a mind to go home, but march back again through the Wildernes he could not, his Proviſions failing: he knew the paſſages of the River to be Guarded, but in conclusion thought it beſt, though with hazarding of a Battel, to geſt over the River, and to make his Retreat through a plentiful Country.

**152.** *Belisarius* knew well that one hundred thouſand men could not ſtop his paſſage, much leſs could he doe any thing effectually with his ſmall Numbers. Now he concluded it better policy, to make him a Bridge than to hinder his Deſign, and therefore fearing that *Diogenes* and *Adolius* might interruſt his quittin the *Roman* Territories, he ſent them orders to forbear, and to *Chosroes* ſpeedily making a Bridge, paſſed with his Army over the *Euphrates*. This was done with much eaſe, for the *Perſians* had ever ready in their marches great Iron hooks, wherewith fastning long Timber together, they could make a Bridge with great Expedition. Being got on the

other ſide, he ſent to tell *Belisarius* that he had gratified the *Romans* by his Re-treat, but he expeſted Ambaſſadours from them immeadiately. *Belisarius* alſo went over the River, and ſent to *Chosroes* to command his Refoluſion of Retreating; he promiſed that Ambaſſadours ſhould ſpedily be diſpatched after him from the Emperor to finiſh the Articles accordeed, and he defred him that in his paſſage, he would treat no otheſwif than as friends the *Roman* Subjects. This he promiſed, on condition he might have ſome Principal man for Hoſtage, and accordingly *Belisarius* ſent him from *Edessa*, *John* the Son of *Basilis*, though fore againſt his mind, being the chief man of that City, both in reſpect of Birth and Fortune. But e'er the Hoſtage could reach him, he negeleced the agreement, and in his way not able to bridle his humour took *Callinicum*, wherein were none to defend it. For their Walls being just at this time in mending, and therefore part of them down, upon report of his approach, the wealthier fort carried out their goods, and retired to other ſtrong places. The reſt with many Peaſants that flockt thither continuing in the Town without any Garrifon, he made Slaves, and laid the City even with the ground. Shortly after receiving *John* the Hoſtage, he retired into his own Country. The *Armenians* who had revolted to *Chosroes*, took aſſurances from the *Romans*, and with *Baſſaces* went to *Constantinople*. Thither alſo was *Belisarius* ſent for, being, and that worthily, highly admired and extolled by all men; for, this action of ſeizing away *Chosroes* ſeemed to ſurpaſs his Triumphi, over both *Vitigis* and *Gelimer*. Certainly it was a matter of great moment, when the *Romans* were terrified and hid in their ſtrong holds, and *Chosroes* with an huge Army was in the midſt of their Country, for a General, coming Poſt from *Constantinople*, to incamp with a few in the very face of the Enemy, to ſtop his paſſage, and then either frightening him with his good Fortune and Valour, or deceiving him by Art, to make him in effect run away, and really to deſire and exchange Peace for War, after a tedious and fruitleſs expedition. This his proſperity, which feemeſt hither-to conſtant and unmatchable, the Emperor reſolued farther to try in the War of *Italy*, where things at this time went very ill, upon what occaſion we ſhewed e'er our pen left the History of that Country. Though his fortune now began to change, and ſhew the fickleneſs of her own nature, with the lubricity of all humane greatness and excellency, yet having followed him in his proſperous Estate, we shall not leave the conduſt of ſo great a Captain, in his adverſe Condition, but accompany him into that Country, and leave *Chosroes* a while to ruminante upon his late great Archeivement. But here in our Journey we had like to have been prevented by a ſad accident, which being more deſtructive than War it ſelf, had almoſt effected a Peace by taking away the Perſons, and confequently the quarrels of both parties.

**153.** This was a Plague which almoſt conuulfed Mankind, of which *Procopius* concludes there was no other caufe, than the immediate hand of God himſelf. For it neither came upon one part of the World alone, nor in one ſeaſon of the year, whence ſubtile wits (as he ſaith) might fetch pretensions. It afflieted the whole World and all Conditions of men, though of never ſo contrary a nature and diſpoſition, ſparing no Conſtitution nor Age. The diſference of men as to their places of Dwelling, Diets, Complexions, Inclinations or any other thing did no good in this Difeafe. Some it took in Summer, ſome in Winter, and others in other ſeaſons. It began amoungſt the *Egyptians* of *Pelufum*, and ſpread to *Alexandria* with the reſt of *Egypt* one way, and the other to thoſe parts of *Paleſtine* which border upon *Egypt*. From thence it travelled to the utmoſt bound of the world, as by ſet Journeys and Stages, making deſtruction its onely buſines, and ſparing neither Iland, Cave, nor top of Mountain where mankind inhabited; for if it leapt over a Country, returning afterward, it left no caufe to rejoice aboveits fellows. It began full at the Sea Coaſt, and thence went to the inland parts. In the ſecond year of its Progres, it arrived at *Constantinople* about the middle of the Spring, where it was the fortune of *Procopius* then to reſide. Appariſtions of Spirits in all ſhares humāne were ſeen by many, who thought the man they met, struck them in ſome part of the Body, and ſo ſoon as they ſaw the Spirit, they were feized with the Difeafe. At firſt when they met them, they repeated Divine Names, and fled into Churches to no purpoſe. Afterwards they were afraid to hear their friends call them, locking themſelves up in their Chambers and ſtopping their Ears. Some dreamed they ſaw ſuch fight, others heard a Voice tell them, they were inrolleſt in the Number appointed to die. But moſt without warning became feveriſh ſuddenly. Their Bodies changed not colour, nor were hot, the Fever being to remiſis till Evening, that neither the Patient nor Physician, by his Pulse could apprehend

A dreadfull Plague.

*Belisarius* by his cunning, cauſes to retreat.

Sect. I. prehend any danger. Yet to some the same day, to others the next or many after, arose a Bubo both in the Groat, the Armeholes, under the Ear and in other parts. Those were the general symptomes which happened alike to all the visited Persons.

154. There were others different, whether so made by the diversity of Bodies, or the will and pleasure of him that sent the Distemper, our Authour cannot say. Some were feized with Drowsines and Slumbring, others with a sharp distractio[n]. The Slumberers forgot all things, if they were looke to, some would eat, some that were neglected starved to death. Those that were distractred were vexed with Apparitions, crying out there were men to kill them, and running away, being so troublesome and unruly, that their Keepers were pittied as much as they themselves. No Physician or other caught the Disease by touching sick or dead Bodies; many strangely continuing free, though they tended and buried infected Persons, and many catching it knew not how, and dying instantly. Many leapt into the Water, though not for thirst; and many into the Sea. Some without flumping or madnes had their Bubs gangreen'd, and died with extreme pain, which doubtless happened also to those that had the Phrensie, though being not themselves they understood it not. Some Physicians hereupon conceiving the venome and head of the Disease, to lie in those Plague sores, opened the dead bodies, and searching the Sores, found an huge Carbuncle growing inward. Such whose bodies were spotted with black Pimplies the bigness of a Lentile lived not a day. Many died of vomiting Blood. Some that were given over by the most eminent Physicians, unexpectedly recovered, others, of whose recovery they thought themselves secure, suddenly perished. No caufe of this sicknes could be reached by man's reaon. Some received benefit by Bathing, and others it hurt. Many died for want of Cure, and many escaped without it; in a word, no way could there be found of prevervation, either by preventing the sicknes, or mastering the Disease, no caufe appearing either of their falling sick, or of their recovery.

155. Women with Child which were visited, certainly died, some miscarrying, some fairly delivered, and perishing with their Children; three Women only were safely brought to Bed and recovered, their Children dying, and one died whose Child had the hap to live. Such as had their Sore great and running plentifullly escaped; the violence of the Carbuncle being thereby awfaged, and this was the most certain sign of health. Such whose Sores staid as they first arose, underwent the miserable Accidents formerly mentioned. Some had their Thighs withered, when the Sores rofe upon them and did not run. Some escaped with diminished Tongues, and lived flammering or uttering sounds without distinction all their days. In *Constantinople* this Pestilence lasted four months, raging three months with all extremity. In the beginning few died more than usual. Then it growing hotter and hotter, it came to five, and at last to ten thousand and more every day. At first they buried their Dead carefully, but at length all came to Confusion, and many lay long unburied. Servants were without Masters, Rich men had none to attend them. In the afflicted City was little to be seen, but empty Houses, no Trade going, nor Shops open. The Emperour was much concerned as he had reason, and committed the oversight of the poor to *Theodorus*, one of the *Referendarii* that subcribed the Emperour's awnwers to Petitions, who to those that were in want distributed money out of the Treasury. To these paiges *Procopius* adds, that many out of fear left their bad courses of Life, and consecrated themselves to God; and many when the danger was over, fell to their old despising of God again, and so he ends the description of this Pestilence, which though it continued but four months at *Constantinople*, yet *Euagrius*, who both himself and his Family Vide Euagrius Hist. lib. 4. c. 28.

Plague was not peaned till the time that he undertook it; for we cannot in the least imagine but it was the self-same Plague they both speak of. Never any Plague was so like it, as that dreadfull one in the time of our *Edward* the Third. It began, as may be gathered from *Procopius*, not in the tenth, as some have written, but about the eighteenth year of *Justinian's* Reign, the third after the Consulship of *Basilius*, the third of *Totila*, the *DXLIV.* of our Lord, and the ninth of the Gothic War in *Italy*, to which we must, after this digression, now return.

*Belisarius* sent a Redund. ad hanc Stet. parage 129. gain into Italy.

156. *Belisarius* being designd to give a check to the Arms of valiant and prosperous *Totila*, levied with his own Money Volunteers in *Thrace*, and in conjunction with *Vitalius*, General of *Ilyrium*, raifing about four thousand men, came to *Salone*, determining to go to *Ravenna*, and thence raise the Siege, for the Enemy lying in *Campania* and *Calabria*, there was no landing near *Rome* either with seafrey or security. He reinforced the Garrison of *Ortranto* by frelh men well supplied, ta-

*Totila* takes king out the old, who were half starved. In the mean time *Totila* took *Tibur*, and put all the Townsmen to the Sword, together with their Bishop, the manner of whose death, *Procopius* tells us, he would conceal, lest he should leave to Posterity Monuments of Inhumanity. But the *Goths* being now Masters of this City, which was situate fifteen miles above *Rome*, and commanded the River, the *Romans* could not import any more Provisions out of *Tuscany*. *Belisarius* came with his Fleet to *Ravenna*, where in vain indeavouring to draw over to him the Souldiers of *Totila*, he sent a Party into *Emilia* to attempt some of the Cities of that Countrey. The *Huns* now left the service, and went home, excusing themselves to the Emperour by their want of Pay, and an Invasion which the *Huns* had made into their Territories. *Totila* not ignorant hereof, sent some Forces to drive the *Romans* out of *Emilia*, but they were worsted by *Belisarius* his Troops, who then reinspiring *Auximum*, which the *Goths* had besieged, two hundred of his men were slain by an Ambuscado, and all their Arms and Baggage were lost; for when upon consideration of their disability to match the Besiegers, and that by staying, they did but consume the Towns Provision, and make it more liable to be taken, they refloved to depart, their Resolution was made known by a Renegado to the Enemy. *Pisauras* a small Town upon the Gulf betwixt *Auximum* and *Ariminum*, *Belisarius* fortified, which *Totila* having attempted to storm, but to no purpose, returned to the siege of *Auximum*, where the *Romans* kept close within their Walls. Finding both by espials and his demeanour that *Belisarius* was not able to fight him, he fell upon other strong Towns, blocking up *Firmum* and *Afcalum* in *Picenia*; and so ended the Winter with the tenth year of the War, written by *Procopius*.

157. *Belisarius* being most concerned for *Rome*, sent *Artasfris a Persian*, and *Barbatios a Thracian*, two of his Life-guard, to defend it, together with *Bessas* the Governo[r] at present, and ordered them, in case they were besieged, to make no Salutes at all. Being utterly unable to relieve the beleagured Towns, he sent *John* to *Constantinople*, taking of him an oath for his speedy return, and to impoerte the Emperour to send a new Army, and sufficient supplies, for the old Souldiers were quite out of heart, by reaon of the want of their expected Pay for so long a time. The substance of these things he signified to *Justinian* in a Letter, which though they were sufficiently pungent, yet they moved the Court very little, and *John* staid long at *Constantinople*, where he married the Daughter of *Germanus* the Emperour's Nephew by his Brother, and was so taken up with his Bride, that he minded none of those Matters for which he was sent.

In the mean time *Totila* took in several Towns in *Tuscany* and elsewhere; and having in vain attempted *Perufa*, though he procured *Cyprianus* the Governo[r] to be treacherously murthered, departed towards *Rome*, which he closely besieged. During the Leager he did no damage at all to the Husbandmen of *Italy*, letting them securely till their Ground; only the publick Revenue or private Rents he took to his owne use, and thereby sufficiently provided for his Army, while the Besieged laboured under all sorts of miseries. For after a brisk fairely made by *Artasfris* and *Barbatios* against the mind of *Bessas*, wherein having fain into an Ambuscado of the Enemy, they lost most of their men, and hardly escaped themselves with their lives, the Famine began to grow sore in the City, no Victuals being imported either by Land or Sea. For the *Goths*, after they had reduced *Naples*, scoured the Seas by a Fleet of Barks, and surprized all Vessells in the way from *Sicily* to *Rome*. *Totila* having men enough to spare, sent an Army into *Emilia*, and laid siege to *Placentia*, a City standing upon the *Poe*, and only continuing in obedience to the *Romans*.

158. *Belisarius* by this time repented his coming to *Ravenna*, upon the perfusions of *Vitalius*, where being shut close up, he gave sufficient scope to the *Goths* to advance

The *Huns* de-part home from the *Romans*.

The *Romans* re-ceive a lo[ss].

*Belisarius* sends for a new Army.

*Totila* besieges *Rome*.

Sect. 1.

advance their Affairs, Providence indeed turning all his Councils and indeavours to the contrary end. Fearing not only the loss of *Rome*, but all the rest, and not able with so small an Army to relieve them, he once resolved to rise and surprize some Places near the City, whence he might in certain junctures of time be able to afford the Besieged some succour. Yet committing *Ravenna* to the care of *Justinian*, he marched through *Dalmatia* to *Epiddamus*, and thence writing Letters of a freher date to the Emperour, expected in return an Army from *Constantinople*. At length came a number of Souldiers, partly *Romans*, partly Barbarians, under conduct of *John* the Nephew of *Vitalianus*, with whom were joined in Commission *Iaac the Armenian*, Brother to *Aratus* and *Narses*. *Narses* also the Eunuch, whom he had sent to the *Herculian* Princes upon the same account, brought many of that Nation along with him, who were commanded by *Philimachus* and others, and in their march did the *Romans* a very great service by adventure. For meeting by chance with a multitude of the *Sclavi*, who having passed the River *Ister*, plundered all the Countrey, and took a great number of Captives, they had the courage to fight them; and though inferior in numbers, beat them out of the Field, reluced the Prisoners out of their hands, and sent them home. *Belisarius* in the mean time sent *Valentinianus*, and *Phocas* an expert Souldier, one of his Life-guard, to relieve *Rome*, which from *Portus* they attempted to no purpose, as also did *Vigilus* the *Roman* Bishop from *Sicily*, who sending some Ships laden with Corn to relieve the City, they all fell into the Enemies hands. And so ended the Winter and the eleventh year of the *Gothick* War, written by *Procopius*.

*Placentia* yielded to the *Goths*.

159. *Vigilus* the following Summer was sent for by the Emperour to *Constantinople*. *Placentia* was by famine (which constrained the Besieged at length to eat one another) forced to surrender upon composition. *Rome* was well nigh brought into the same extremity, though the poorer fort were very much supported by the liberality of *Pelagius* a Deacon of that Church, who having dwelt long in *Constantinople*, in the grace and favour of *Justinian*, was grown very rich; and being newly come to *Rome*, spent most of his Riches upon such as were in want by reason of the Siege. He also at the desire of the *Romans* undertook to plead their Cause before *Totilas*, who received him very graciously, but dismissed him without any satisfaction in relation to his Message. Herewith the Besieged were utterly disengaged, and the Famine growing sore upon them, though the Souldiers Victual was not yet all spent, Multitudes flocked to *Bessas* and *Conon* weeping, and bitterly lamenting their condition, and praying them either to give them Food, to let them go, or else kill and dispatch them out of the way. The Officers answered, that to supply them with Victuals was impossible, to kill them was impious, and to let them go unsafe; but they cheered them as much as they could, and put them off with great assurances of *Belisarius* and an Army from *Constantinople*. The Famine grew every day more unsupportable. *Bessas* and *Conon* having laid up great quantities of Corn for the Garrison, at first retrenched their own allowance, and sold to the Richer fort at huge rates; as for example, a bushel of Wheat for seven golden Staters. The meane fort not able to reach so high, paid a fourth part, and the Bushel was fill'd up with Bran, which their Stomachs were able enough to digest. An Oxe was sold at fifty Staters. He thought himself no mean man that could get a dead Horse to feed on. The Multitude fed on Nettles growing near the Walls, and amongst Rubbish, which they first boiled to prevent stinging. Such as had Purses at first to go to the Rate of the Wheat and Bran, when they failed, purchased it with their Houshold-stuff, till all the Corn being spent (save a little preferred by *Bessas*) and Money failing, they all betook themselves to Nettles. There not being enough of this to fill their Bellies, much less to supply the necessities of Nature, they pined away, their Skins grew pale and wan, and they looked like so many moving Ghosts. Many chewing Nettles, fell down and died with them in their Mouths as they went along. They forbore not one another's Excrements; and many, when Dogs and Rats killed them, killed themselves. Afterward the Commanders, seeing things reduced to this extremity, for Money, suffered such as would, to go out of the City. Some few staying behind the rest, fled whither they could; but most of them were so weak, that they died on Shipboard, or else upon the High-ways. Such as the Enemy caught, he failed not, though not out of any compassion, to rid out of this miserable life. To such a dreadfull condition was reduced the State of the People and Senate of *Rome*.

160. *Belisarius* moved with this sad Calamity, sailed from *Epiddamus* unto *Portus*, giving in charge to *John* to march through *Calabria*; and having cleared those Parts of the *Goths*, which were not very many, to meet and join with him about *Rome*. But *John* having done some execution upon several Parties in his passage, durst

durst not venture to pass by *Capua*, though it had no more in it than three hundred men, and he had at his heels the choicest of the *Roman* Army, so strong were his fears of being surrounded by the *Goths*. Therefore did the General, fearing some desperate Resolution of the starving *Romans*, study some means to victual the City, which he had not Forces enough to relieve by fight. Upon the *Tiber*, about eleven miles below *Rome*, where the Chanel is narrowest, *Totilas* had laid a Bridge of Planks, and at either side built wooden Towers, and put good Garrisons into them to hinder the passage of Barks up to the City. *Belisarius* therefore tied two Barks together, upon which he raised a Tower of Wood, higher than those the Enemy had made at the Bridge; and launched into the *Tiber* two hundred Pinaces, the sides of which were full of Loop-holes to shoot at the Enemy. Aboard the Pinaces he put Corn and other Provisions, and towards the River's mouth, in places of advantage, laid Horse and Foot by either Bank, to hinder the designs of the Enemy upon *Portus*. This Garrison he committed to the care of *Iaac*, together with the charge of his Wife, and what other things he had there, expressly charging him not to stir, though he heard *Belisarius* were slain, but to keep close to his Guard, that upon any ill Accident there might be a place of retreat; for other Forts in the Countrey there were none, all the rest being in the hands of the Enemy. He himself conducted the Pinaces, and caused the two Barks with the Turret to be towed after; on the top of which he put a little Boat, full of Pitch, Rozin, Brimstone, and other combustible matter. That these his Devices might better succeed, he had the day before sent order to *Bessas* to make a general Sally, and alarm the Enemies Camp.

161. *Bessas* making great gain of the Corn which had been laid up for the Souldiers, was not willing the Siege should be raised, and therefore neglected both these and former orders. But *Belisarius* rowed up the stream, which ran strong against him; the *Goths* all this while lying quiet in their Trenches. Near the Bridge he found an Iron Chain crosses the River, which, after he had killed some, and frightened away the rest who made opposition, he easily removed, and passing on to the Bridge, fell presently to work. The *Goths* from their Towers valiantly defending themselves, caused the Barks with the Turret to be rowed near to the Enemies Tower, which stood in the water by the way from *Portus*. Then was the Cock-boat set on fire, and shewed down just upon the said Tower of the Enemy, which instantly fell afire, and burnt with it self two hundred *Goths*, together with their Officer, one of the valiantest of their Nation, the *Roman* Souldiers in the mean time plying with Shot such as came from the *Gothick* Camp to the relief of their Fellows, so thick, that being amazed at the Accident, they ran all away. They laid hands on the Bridge, and had suddenly pulled it down, and gotten into *Rome*, none opposing, but that Fortune now shewed her fickleness, and some envious Demon plotted the ruin of the *Roman* Affairs, in the opinion of *Procopius*. The good Success of the *Romans* at the Bridge had the ill luck to be too soon reported at *Portus*, which tickled so much *Iaac* the Governor, that not able to hold, he must needs have a share in the honour; and forgetting or slighting the Commands of the General, went hasty to the other side of the River where *Ostia* stands, and with an hundred Horse of the men left him by *Belisarius*, charged the Enemies Quarter, commanded by *Roderick* a skilfull and valiant Souldier. Surprising the *Goths*, he wounded many besides *Roderick* himself; and they suspecting more to be coming, or rather on purpose to draw him on into danger, quitted their Quarter. For *Iaac* having entered the Trenches, and falling to pillage, the *Goths* returned upon him, killed many, and took himself and others Prisoners. The news being carried to *Belisarius* by some Horsemen, that *Iaac* was taken by the Enemy, affrighted therat, and never inquiring the manner, but thinking *Portus* and his Wife to be lost, and all ruined, by reason that now the Army had no Fortres to retire to, he had not a word to say, a thing which to him before had never happened. Immediately he drew back his Forces, meaning to charge the Enemy unprepared, and by all means to recover the Place.

162. Coming to *Portus*, and there perceiving as well the precipitancy of his own Councils, as the Rashness of *Iaac*, the thoughts thereof so tormented him, that he through perturbation of mind he fell into a Fever, which afflicted him a long time, and brought him to death's door. *Roderick* died of his wounds within three days, which so incensed *Totilas* against *Iaac*, that out of revenge he put him to death. In the mean time *Bessas* drives a great Trade within *Rome*, hunger and necessity being his balef, co-raising his Market to such a pitch, that wholly taken up with the thoughts of his profit, he totally neglected his Charge, so that the Souldiers were negligent, the Sentinels slept securely, none ever visiting them, calling them to account, or going the

*Belisarius* at  
tempo to relieve  
*Rome* with Pro-  
visions.

His Design frustrated.

Through trou-  
ble of mind, he  
falls into a fe-  
ver.

*Bessas* basely co-  
verous.

*Petropog.*, Ro-  
derick, quite pol-  
ler : *Alibi* &  
in *voce* *Al. Roderi-  
cus*, non enim etiam  
nomen Hispanus ex  
Gotho frequent.

Sect. I. the Round, as was usual; and the Citizens almost starved, refused to keep any watch. Matters standing thus, four *Isaurians* being Sentinels near *Porta Asparia*, slipped down the Walls by Ropes tied to the Battlements, late at night, when their Fellows were asleep, and coming to *Totilas*, undertook to receive his Army within the City. He sent them back loaded with promises, and with them two Souldiers, who found all things in repose and security, and accordingly made their report of the easiness of the Enterprize, yet would he not trust to it, fearing some treachery in the *Isaurians*, who not many days after came to him again, and so urged him to the busines, that he sent two other Souldiers with them. These examining all exactly, made such a report as agreed with the former; but in the mean time some *Goths* were taken by the *Roman* Scouts, who being brought to *Bessas*, acquainted him with the hopes of *Totilas* to have *Rome* betrayed into his hands by *Isaurians*. Yet did both *Bessas* and *Coson* make flight of the Advertisement; and the *Isaurians* coming the third time to *Totilas*, and he sending others, and one of his own Kindred with them, and they reporting still the same thing, he resolved upon the Enterprize.

163. The same night therefore he silently armed his Forces, and led them to *Porta Asparia*. Four *Goths* strong and valiant he appointed to mount the Battlements with the *Isaurians*, who being got into the Town, went to the Gate, and not meeting any body, with their Battle-axes cut in two the Timber Posts upon which the Gates hung, and wrenched off the Iron-work and Locks, which being done, *Rome* surprised. they opened the Gates, and received in *Totilas* with his Army. *Totilas* to provide against all Ambushes, suffered not his men to scatter abroad, but drew all up to one place. Upon the Alarm the City was presently in a tumult. Most of the *Roman* Souldiers ran out with their Commanders at another Gate. Some of them took sanctuary with the Townsmen in Churches. Of the Patriarchs, *Decius*, *Basilius*, and some others, having Horses, fled with *Bessas*. *Maximus*, *Olybrius*, *Orestes*, and others, fled to Saint Peter's Church. Of the common sort remained but five hundred men, who took sanctuary also; the rest were either fled or starved. *Totilas* in the morning, fearing no Ambush, went to Saint Peter's Church to prayer, his men in their way killing about six and twenty Souldiers, and sixty Commoners. Thither being come, *Pelagius* the Deacon, with the Gospels in his hands, came a Suppliant to him: Crying out, *O spare, my Lord, your own People.* *Totilas* scolded at him at first, but won with his impertinent Supplications, forbade his *Goths* to kill any more, but gave them leave to plunder the City, referring the choicest of the Pillage to his own use. Much Wealth was found in the Housies of the Patriarchs, but the most considerable was the Treasure of *Bessas*, which by his covetous exactions he had heaped up for *Totilas*. Many Senatours, and *Ruficiana* the Widow of *Boetius*, and Daughter of *Sympactus*, a most pious and charitable Matron, went begging their Bread of their Enemies, wandering from door to door, and craving sustenance without blushing. The *Goths* indeavoured to put her to death, for bribing the *Roman* Commanders to break down the Images of *Theodorich* in revenge of her Husband's and Father's deaths, but *Totilas* preferred both her and all other Women from the cruelty and insolence of the Souldiers, to his great honour and reputation. But thus was *Rome* taken, and handled by the *Goths* in the twelfth year of the War, the sixth after the Consulship of *Basilius*, the one and twentieth of *Justinian's* Reign, and the sixth of *Totilas*, A. D. *DXLVI*.

164. *Totilas* perceiving his men to be elevated with their good success, made a sober discourse to them, wherein he shewed, how according to the justice and moderation of their Actions, both the one side and the other had hitherto risen and fallen, gone down the wind, and prospered. The *Roman* Senatours he reproached with some bitterness, that having received such benefit from the *Gothick* Kings, been employed in all Offices, managed the whole State, and enriched their Families, they had carried themselves so ingratefully to their Benefactours, and betrayed their own Interest by bringing *Greeks* into their Country. For whereas they had never received any hurt from the *Goths*, but abundance of good, he affirmed they never could boast of any benefit from *Justinian*, except it were their being deprived of almost all Commands, called to account for their Arrears, even the Treasury of the *Goths*, and paying their Tributes in times of War as well as Peace. He objected many things, carrying himself as angry Masters are wont to do towards their Slaves, for such he told them they must account themselves; yet at the intercession of *Pelagius*, when they stood silent before him, he promised them pardon, and let them go. But to *Justinian* he sent the said *Pelagius*, with *Theodosius* a *Roman* Oratour, as his Ambassadors, threatening, if the Emperour would not embrace Peace, to lay *Rome* flat with the ground, to kill all the Senate, and bring the War into *Illyria*; by

by Letters he propounded to him the example of *Anastasius* and *Theodorich* their reigning peaceably together; offering, in case he would doe the like, to own him for his Father, and that he should have the *Goths* his Friends and Allies against whomsoever he pleased.

165. To this *Justinian* only answered, that he had made *Belisarius* his General and Vicegerent, with absolute authority, who had full power to manage all things of that nature as he pleased. During the Voyage of the Ambassadors, *Totilas* in vain attempted to open the passage into *Lucania*, the Straits being guarded by *Tullianus*, who had levied some Peasants in that Country, and had three hundred *Antians* left him by *John*, who of all Barbarians were most proper to fight in a fastness. *Totilas* enraged at this repulse and defeat of his men, resolved to demolish *Rome*, leaving part of his Army in some Town thereabout with the rest to go against *John* and the *Lucanians*. He threw down a third part of the Walls, or thereabout, was ready to set fire to the fairest and most eminent Buildings, and had nothing more in his thoughts than to make the Seat of *Rome* a Pasture for Sheep; when *Belisarius* advertised, sent a Message to him, and by Letters diverted him from his purpose. He insisted much upon the Majesty and Grandure of this Ancient City, which having been raised to this pitch of greatness by the vertue and industry of so many Ages, Posterity could not but look upon him that destroyed it as an Enemy to Mankind, depriving them of the Pattern and Spectacle of the worth and gallantry of their Ancestours. Should he prove victorious, he told him, he would by demolishing *Rome*, ruine not what was another's, but his own, being the goodliest Possession in the World; whereas, in case he was worsted, by preserving it, he should obtain abundant thanks from the Conquerour; but by destroying it, deprive himself of all pretence to mercy and favour. In conclusion, that he would get nothing by it, but a fame in the World, suitable to such a proceeding which now attended his Resolution herein either way; forasmuch as whatsoever the Actions of Princes be, such must necessarily be the Name and Reputation they must bear from them.

166. *Totilas* upon perusing the Letter, and seriously considering the Advice, forbore doing any farther harm to *Rome*; and signifying his determination to *Belisarius*, dismiss the Messengers. Most of his Army he caused to encamp at *Algidum*, fifteen miles to the Westward of the City, to keep *Belisarius* fast in *Portus*; with the rest he himself marched against *John* and the *Lucanians*. Not a man did he leave in *Rome*, leading some Senatours with him, and sending the rest, with their Wives and Children into *Lucania*. *John* hearing of his coming, retired into *Oronto*, after whose departure, the Husbandmen were directed to manure their Grounds as formerly, which were now declared to belong to their old Landlords. *Tullianus* also ran away, and his three hundred *Antians* betook themselves to *John's* Army; so that all on that side the Gulf, *Oronto* excepted, became again subject to the *Goths*, who grown bold, and stragling abroad in small Parties, *John's* Forces killed many of them, which caused *Totilas* to unite his Army about Mount *Gargarus*, almost in the middle of *Apulia*, where he incamped in the very Intrenchments of *Hannibal*. In the mean time *Spoleto* was retaken by the means of *Martianus* a *Roman* Soldier, who counterfeited himself a Fugitive; and *John* seizing upon *Tarentum*, fortified it by a Ditch cut through the Isthmus. *Totilas* surprized *Acherontium*, a strong Castle of *Lucania*, upon the Confines of *Calabria*, into which he put four hundred men, then led his Army toward *Ravenna*, leaving a Party in *Campania* to look to the Senatours thither confined.

167. But *Belisarius* hearing how *Totilas* had quitted *Rome*, burnt with a desire of once more possesting himself of that City, and leaving a small Garrison in *Portus*, went thither with the rest of his Army, and a full resolution to hold it. Not able in a short time to repair the great breach made by *Totilas* in the Wall, he heaped Stones rudely one upon another without any Morter, only to give it the form and shape of a Wall, but without it pitcht good store of Stakes, having formerly made a Ditch round about, as was said before; And the whole Army labouring chearfully, the Work was finished in five and twenty days. The *Romans* out of the Adjacent Countrey flocked thither, as well out of love to the Place, as to be supplied with *Victual*, which in abundance was imported by *Belisarius* up the River. *Totilas* at the News went instantly back to *Rome*, not fearing to recover it; for the Gates he had broken down, were not yet set up for want of Artificers. But where the Gates had stood, *Belisarius* placed some of his best Souldiers, commanding the rest from the Walls to oppose the Assailants. And that they did with such courage, that the *Goths*, who hoped to take the Town at the first onset, finding the businses difficult, grew angry, and their anger made them more resolute and venturous.

*Q. 2*

Sect. I.

*Totilas* returns  
against it.

Necessity

Sect. 1. Necessity also constraining the *Romans* to be valiant, the fight was hot, and continued from morning to night, which being come, the *Goths* who had received great loss, returned to their camp, and dressed their wounded men. The besieged kept guards upon the walls, and causing their best men by turns to watch the gates, pitcht before them many *Tribuli* or *Murices*, which were made after this fashion. Four iron sprigs of equal length, they fastened together in such a form, that their right lines made a triangle every way. These they cast upon the ground, and three of them stuck fast; the other standing upright, hindered the approach of horse and men, and if by chance they were turned over, the point that stood up before, pitched into the ground, and another got up in its stead, hindring thus a charging enemy.

After many attempts the *Goths* drew off. 168. *Totila* the day following, assaulted *Rome* the second time, but receiving the worst, the enemy failed out upon him, and killed many of his men; and many days after though he had made great preparations, he had the same fortune, and was forced to draw off to *Tibur*, breaking down the bridges upon the river, that the enemy might not fall upon his rear, only that called *Pons Milvius*, he could not demolish. He caused to be rebuilt the castle of *Tibur*, which formerly his countrymen had demolished, and kept himself for some time quiet within it. *Belisarius* in the mean while setting up the gates at his ease, which he lined with iron, and once more sent the keys to the emperor, with which passages ended the winter, together with the twelfth year of the war. The *Goths*, who had formerly magnified their king, esteemed his valour, admired his fortune, and accounted themselves happy in their choice, upon this little misfortune and want of success, began to be quite altered in their thoughts and demeanour towards him, reproaching him contumuously for his unadvisedness, in not demolishing all *Rome* when he took it, or in not keeping it himself, but thus ruining what they had effected with much time and labour. Having sent forces to besiege *Perusia*, and the siege wanting some assistance, where he purposed with his whole army to march thither, they received his directions repiningly. This put him upon an apology, wherein he shewed the vicissitude of all humane things, the inconstancy of fortune, especially in matters concerning war, and proved that his want of success, was the product of his disastrous stars, not the effect either of his neglect or ignorance. From these and such like topics he so framed his discourse, that he persuaded them to undertake the enterprise of *Perusia*, and fate down before it. As the *Goths* thus ordered their matters, *Jobn* who had besieged the castle of *Acherontis*, departed suddenly from before it into *Campania*, and there set at liberty the senators and their wives, sending them into *Sicily*. And he routed a party of four hundred *Goths*, he accidentally met at *Capua*, whom *Totila* sent to prevent that which he accomplished upon the senators.

John escapes his hands. 169. *Totila* enraged to be thus robbed of his prey, must needs be revenged upon *Jobn*, and marched presently upon the news against him, over mountains and through by-ways to avoid his scouts, and by night he set upon him contrary to the true maximes of war, which plainly shew it to be the best for a stronger army to make an open fight. He was ten to one in numbers, and might easily have taken them all as in a net, but upon the alarm, they most of them slipt away by the advantage that darkness afforded them, and with loss of scarcely one hundred men escaped with their leader to *Otranto*. Things standing thus in *Italy*, the emperor, upon the importunate letters of *Belisarius*, sent about one thousand four hundred men in several parties, and under several officers, and wrote to him that he was to expect a great army in *Calabria*, wherewith he would have him give the enemy battle. Hereupon he picked out of his men, seven hundred foot, and two hundred horse of the choicest, and leaving the rest to *Conon*, to guard the places about *Rome*, departed for *Sicily*, thence intending to put in at *Tarentum*. But making for this place, by contrary winds and storms, he was constrained to come to anchor in the haven of *Crotone*, to the eastward of the bay (*Tharion* being on the north, and *Tarentum* standing about the middle,) and there to stay with his wife and all the foot intending to send for *Jobn's* army. His horse he commanded to march higher into the country, and quarter there where the mountains of *Lucania* reaching into *Brutia*, and meeting at a strait make two narrow passages, the one called in *Latina* *Petra Sanguinis*, and the other *Labulla*, neighbour to which was *Rufciana* the arsenal of the *Thurians*, and seven miles and an half above it a strong castle, built by the ancient *Romans*, which the *Goths* had a little before possessed, and therein placed a strong garrison. The horse being hither sent, that they might better get provisions, and keep off the enemy in safety, met forces sent

sent by *Totila* to relieve that castle, which they utterly defeated killing above two hundred. The news hereof being brought to *Totila* by those that escaped, he also understood of the ill government, and carelesse demeanour of the late *Victors*, for they neither lay together in one body, nor kept guards upon the two passages, but elevated with their success lodged securely far afudder, and all the day strangled for provisions, without sending abroad their scouts, or advising upon any course of safety. *Totila* therefore with three thousand chosen horsemen, comes suddenly upon them, and easily amazed and defeated them, whereas the *Romans* were much cast-fain, having let their hopes upon these, as being extraordinary good men. *Belisarius* having news of the defeat, and that the *Goths* would suddenly be with him at *Crotone*; in great grief ran to his ships, weighed anchor, and with a fair wind came the same day before *Messina* in *Sicily*, dittant from *Crotone* eighty seven miles, standing right over against *Rhegium*.

The *Scalvi* pass the *Danube*. 170. About this time, a mighty power of the *Scalvi* passed the *Danube*, and did infinite mischief in *Ilyrium*, piercing as far as *Epidamnum*, killing and captivating all they found, and spoiling the country. They took many castles none defending them, and roved up and down without controul; the commanders of *Ilyrium* waiting still upon their motions, with fifteen thousand men, but not daring to come near them. The same winter were many terrible earthquakes in *Constantinople* and elsewhere, all by night, but no hurt was done. But the river *Nile* swelled eighteen cubits, and overwhelmed all *Egypt*. In the country of *Thebaea*, and the upper grounds, the waters abated in seasonable time, but retired not at all from the lower, but covered them all the seed time, a thing which had never before happened, as *Proopus* affirms. To some places the water returned again, and rotted the seed put into the ground, during the abatement, so that most of the cattle perished for want of sustenance. The great whale was now also taken by the *Constantinopolitans*, called *Porphyron*, which, at times, for the space of above fifty years, had infested them, drowning ships and forcing mariners through fear upon great inconveniences. *Justinian* had attempted many ways to take the monster, but still unsuccessfully. Now the purusing a great number of dolphins, which came up the mouth of the *Euxine*, as far as the river *Sagrus*, and following her prey too near the shore, fell into the mud, where tumbling and strugling, she farther intangled her self, and the people of the country coming upon her, hewed her with axes, but not able to kill her, with great ropes drew her ashore, where they found her thirty cubits long, and ten broad, and some presently fell of eating her, and others pickled her up. The news of this whale added to that of the *Nile*, and the earthquake, gave great occasion of discourse to the *Constantinopolitans*, amongst whom was no talk now, but of strange things to come portended by these prodigies. Whatever they signified as to the future, for the time past the overflowing of *Nile* had caused much calamity, and the killing of the fish, according to common apprehension, was the riddance of a great mischief; though some said it was not the *Porphyron* it self, but some other whale. In the mean time, *Totila* in *Italy* unconcerned at those prodigies, and rather prophesying good to himself, than any harm by them, understanding that the *Romans* in *Rufciana* were scarce of provisions, fate down close by it, hoping to matter it e'er it could be relieved. And thus ended the winter, and the thirteenth year of the war, written by *Procopius*.

*Totila* besieges *Rufciana*. 171. The emperor now sent two thousand foot into *Sicily*, and commanded *Valerianus* instantly to repair to *Belisarius*. Passing the gulf, he found him at *Otranto* with his wife *Antonina*, who then sailed to *Constantinople*, to obtain from *Theodora* the emperors better supplies for her husband; but he found her dead, having lived in that supreme dignity the space of one and twenty years, concerning whose actions and demeanour we shall have enough to say, when we come to the character of her husband. *Belisarius* sent for *Jobn* to *Otranto*, and with him and *Valerianus* having got a fleet together, sailed to the relief of *Rufciana*. The garrison had capitulated to yield up the castle by midsummer, provided they had no hurt done them, in case they were not succoured in the mean time, but now discerning the fleet, they took courage and refused to yield; though the day assigned was at hand. But the coast having no harbour, a storm dispersed all the ships, and in the haven of *Crotone* they all met and made for *Rufciana* again. The *Goths* from the shore were ready to oppose their landing, which seeing they durst not come nearer, but lay at hull off in the sea, and at length despairing, tacked about to seaward, and came again to anchor in the haven of *Crotone*, where they resolved in council that *Belisarius* should make for *Rome* and victual it as he could, and that *Jobn*

Takes it.

Belisarius returns without honour to Constantinople.

Sect. I. *John* and *Valerianus* should go into *Picenia* to hinder the beleaguring of the Towns there, hoping to draw *Totilas* also toward them, and so by a kind of Revulsion, to raise the Siege of *Rufciana*. *John* with a thousand men did accordingly; but *Valerianus* was afraid, and through the *Ionian Gulf* sailed by *Ancona*, thinking to get that way more securely into *Picenia*, and joyn with *John*. But *Totilas* raised not his Siege, sending two thousand select Horfemen into *Picenia* to joyn with other *Goths*, and beat away the *Roman Forces*. Provisions failing now the Garrison of *Rufciana*, he yet pardoned them all, except *Chalazar* who had formerly broken faith with him, and so received the Castle. Him he put to Death, cutting off his Hands and privy Members. The Souldiers that would, he received to equal Rank with *Goths*, and left them their goods, as his custome was in all places. Such as would not, he dismiss'd, stript and unarmed, not desiring any shoud serve him unwillingly. Eighty of them quitted their goods, and went to *Crotone*. The rest fled; of whom the *Italians* had afterwards their goods taken away, but no hurt was done to their Persons.

*Antonina* finding the Empress dead, when she came to Court, besought the Emperour to recall her Husband, which she easily obtained, the *Persian War* forey presing *Justinian*. And so he returned to *Constantinople* without Honour, having in five years space never marcht up into the land parts of *Italy*, nor made any expedition, but being all the while as in a perpetual flight, sailing from one Sea Town to another, which gave the Enemy opportunity to captivate *Rome*, and all the rest. And he now abandoned *Perusa* the chief City of *Tuscany*, which was taken by storm whilst he was on his way homeward. Thus the same men are not always the same as to external circumstances, their own tempers and humours alterring, and fortune as it were taking a delight to shew her power, in procuring them disrepect as well as honour, castign them down, as well as raisign them, and making them feel themselves subject to her Sovereignty and Jurisdiction. *Procopius* our Historian in the Books he wrote concerning the *Gothick War*, modestly expresseth himself in this case of *Belisarius*, laying the fault rather upon fortune than the man, those Books being published abroad, whilst *Belisarius* and *Justinian* yet lived. But in the *Anecdota*, or secret History, wherein with freedom enough, (if not more than enough,) he (or some body else,) published the defects and vices of those great men, after their Deaths; he reprehends him for several mistakes and willfull Errors. He confesses he had nothing allowed him out of the publick Treasury, to the expence of this War, and yet charges him with extraordinary avarice and scraping. He accuseth him of fleecing the Inhabitants of *Ravenna*, *Sicily*, and all others where he came, pretending to punish them for former faults, and their old Opinions: Lays to his charge, how being to animadverst upon *Herodian*, he required moneys of him, and used, to accomplish his ends, such continual threats, that the man wearied and afraid, renounced his Oath made to the *Romans*, and betaking himself with his Troops to *Totilas*, gave up *Splotum* into *pag. 22.*

*Artabanes* and others Conspire against *Justinian*.

173. What is farther objected against *Belisarius* in that Work, we shall observe when we part for altogether with this Great General, and return to *Procopius* his Volumes of the *Gothick Wars*, where we shall find an account given us of some Conspiracies against the Emperour's Person, at such time as *Belisarius* was upon his Journey. *Artabanes*, who slew the Tyrant *Gontharis* in *Africk*, had a great desire to Marry *Projecta* the Emperour's Sisters Daughter, having already betrothed her, and she indeed affected the March very much, but not so much out of love to his Person, as in gratitude to a man that had revenged the Murther of his Husband *Areobindus*, and rescued her a Captive, and ready to be thrust into the loathed bed of *Gontharis*. Both consenting, *Artabanes* sent her to her Uncle, and being made General of *Africk*, desired leave upon some pretences to return to *Constantinople*, hoping thereby to effect the Marriage, get many other advantages, and in conclusion, to put for the Empire it self. The Emperour making another General in his stead, granted his request, and he accordingly returned to *Constantinople*, where being

being a comely tall Person, and liberal, though of few words, he became loved and admired by the Citizens. The Emperour respected him with the best, made him General of his Forces in *Constantinople*, gave him the Command of all the Confederates, and farther graced him with the Title of Consul. But here was the mischief, he could not enjoy *Projecta*; for all this while he had a former Wife, his Countrywoman, whom he Married young, and had put off upon some flight pretences. And so long as his fortunes were a-making, she sat quiet at home, but now that he was grown famous for his Actions, and great in his Incomes, she would no longer contain her self, but made suit to the Emperors to be restored to her Husband, which was effected fore against his will. And *Projecta* was Married to *John* the Son of *Pompey*.

174. *Artabanes* enraged to have this return for all his good Services, so soon as the Emperors was dead, presently put away his Wife. It happened at this time, that the Emperour's Brothers Son was offended at him, for withholding from him and his Sons, an Estate left them by his Brother *Boraides*, and protecting against them, the Daughter of the Deceased, though her Father had only left her so much as the Law compelled. There was also in *Constantinople*, one *Arfaces* an Armenian, of the race of the *Arfascide*, and kindred of *Artabanes*. Whom being convicted of a Conspiracy with *Chosroes* King of *Persia*, *Justinian* only punished by some lashes upon his Back, and making him ride through the City upon a Camel taking nothing from him, nor so much as Banishing him the Court. Yet herat was he discontented, and devising how to be revenged, he took the occasion to break his mind to *Artabanes*, knowing him to be much also out of humour. He upbraided him with poornesse of Spirit, for suffering himself to be abused, and his Country burthened with perpetual Garrifon and unual taxations, having formerly been Valiant, and forward to refuse others, and pull down Tyrants. He told him there would be no difficulty at all in killing *Justinian*, who was wont to sit up till Midnight without his Guards, discoursing with some old Priests, and bifie in disquisitions and endles in scanning the Oracles of Christians; besides his Kinmen would not oppose, but rather joyn with him: *Germanus* and his Sons being wronged and dislodged by him. Finding him yielding, he imparted the matter to one *Charananges a Perfermanian*, an handfome Youth, but nothing serious, and having brought *Artabanes* and him together, promised to draw *Germanus* and his Sons into the Plot.

175. *Justinus*, the Elder of them, who was but young, his Beard newly sprouting, yet Valiant and sharp witted, he desired to meet him in a Church, where having taken from him an Oath of secrecy, he chid him for that, being the Emperour's neareft Kinman, he suffered Petty-togging, and mean felows to hold the greatest Offices, whilst *Justinian* despised both him and his Father, though a man that had attained to the height of Virtue, and suffered *Justinian* his Brother still to lead a private Life, having also deprived them of the greatest part of his Uncle's Estate, though left them by Will. *Justinus* was amazed, and flatly refused to joyn with him, affirming the same also in his Father's behalf, to whom he revealed the matter. *Germanus* acquainted with it *Marcellus* the Captain of the *Palatine Guards*, a man grave, austere, and of a rigid Life, who advised him not to reveal it yet to the Emperour, left the Conspirators discovering it, *Arfaces* should run away, and they be left utterly without proof, but he desired that either he himself or some of his friends might hear their Discourse. Accordingly one *Leontius* a man he could trust, was placed by *Germanus* in his Dining Room behind the hangings, and he and his Son *Justinus* staid in the Room, where they all heard *Charananges* plainly declaring the Conspiracy, betwixt himself, *Artabanes* and *Arfaces*; and it was agreed that the Emperour should not be killed till *Belisarius* came to Town, who being now upon his way, in case they should, after the deed done, make *Germanus* Emperour, would leavy an Army in *Thrace* and come against them, and they should never be able to keep him off; But being in the Court with the Emperour, they might enter some Evening with their Daggers suddenly, and kill *Justinian*, *Belisarius* and *Marcellus* altogether. *Marcellus* having this account from *Leontius*, yet forbore to report it to the Emperour, left by too much haste he should Ruine *Artabanes*. But *Germanus* fearing that which happened, to be suspected for delay, revealed it to *Buzes* and *Constantianus*; and afterward *Belisarius* being reported to be near at hand, *Marcellus* acquainted the Emperour with it, who caused *Artabanes* and his Complices to be committed to the common Prison, and to be stricktly examined by some Principal Officers.

The Conspiracy revealed.

Sect. I.

176. The Conspiracy being manifest, and reduced into writing, the Senate was assembled in the Palace, where, notwithstanding the Confession of the Prisoners, yet *Germanus* and *Justinian* had been involved in the Crime, if the testimonies of *Marcellus* and *Leontius* had not cleared them, and *Buzez* also and *Constantianus* had not deposed that *Germanus* had hid nothing from them, but demeaned himself as aforesaid. So the Senate acquitted them as innocent, but the Emperour in his Chamber stormed, and was much inflamed against *Germanus*, for his flowness in the discovery, being seconded and footed by two officious Officers, furious to ingratiate themselves by the miseries of other men; and the rest stood amazed without speaking a word; yielding by not opposing. Only *Marcellus* by urging the truth vehemently, by taking all upon himself, and affirming that he discovered it more lately, because he desired more narrowly to search into it, pacified the Emperour, and got great reputation by so reasonable a virtue. *Ariabanes* only was removed from his Office, having no other harm, no more than the rest who were restrained, but not dishonourably, nor now in the common Prison, but the Palace. Thus was the Emperour in danger in the East, and his Empire at the same time more than in danger in the West, of which the Barbarians now were clearly Masters; the *Romans*, who at first carried all before them, having after vast expence of Blood and Treasure, lost Italy, and standing looking upon *Illyrium* and *Thrace*, shamefully wafted by their Barbarous Neighbours. In the beginning of the *Gothick War*, the *Goths* gave to the *Franks* all that part of *Gall* subject to them, being not in a condition to fight with both, which gift *Justinian* confirmed, that he might not be croft and diverted by a War with that People; nor would the *Franks* have thought their Title sure, if the Emperour had not put his Seal to the Act. Hereupon the Kings of the *Franks* got *Marseilles*, (anciently a Colony of the *Provençans*,) and became Masters both of the Sea and the Maritime Towns. And now, faith lie, they fit in *Arles* beholding the Horse-Races there, and Coyn Gold Staters out of the Mines in *Gall*, not with the stamp of the *Roman* Emperours, (as the custome at this time was,) but with their own Images. Yet could not the King of *Perſia* though he Coined silver Money as he pleased, nor any other Barbarian King, put his own stamp upon a Gold Stater, yea though he was now a much greater Master of Gold than the Emperour; For such Coin they could not put away, though they traded with Barbarian Merchants. Moreover the *Franks* seeing *Totilas* prevail, seized the greatest part of *Venetia*; the *Romans* having no power to resist, nor the *Goths* to grapple with both at once.

The *Gepids* also  
Win.The *Lombards*.And *Hervili*.The *Roman* Army  
in a *Noof*.The *Gubri* prof.  
per in *Italy*.

177. The *Gepide* also took *Syrmium* and almost all *Dacia*, so soon as *Justinian* had taken them from the *Goths*, and proceeded in making spoil of the Provinces, so that the Emperour made a stop of the Pensions paid them formerly by the *Romans*. To the *Longobardi* or *Lombards*, he gave *Noricum* and the strong places in *Pannonia*, with other Towns and great Sums of money, who thereupon left their own Country, and feated themselves by the *Danube*, near to the *Gepide*, pillaging *Dalmatia* and *Illyrium* as far as *Epidamnum*. The *Hervili* had also part of *Dacia* assigned them near the City *Singedon*, where inhabiting, they thence overran and spoilt both *Illyrium* and *Thrace*, notwithstanding they received their full Pensions, without much attendance, and some of them served the *Romans* in their Wars, and were ranked with the Confederates. But not long after, the *Gepide*, and the *Lombards* being too near Neighbours fell out, and a Day was appointed for a pitch Battel between them. Both *Thoristus* Prince of the *Gepide*, and *Audoxius* of the *Lombards*, sent their Ambassadors to *Justinian* for aid against this great and bloody day. The Ambassadors on each side used many arguments, and *Justinian* after a long Consultation, refused the *Gepide*, and swore a League with the *Lombards* to whom he sent ten thousand Horfe, and fifteen hundred *Hervili*. But the *Gepide*, understanding the *Roman* Army to be near, compounded the difference with the *Lombards*, and concluded a Truce without the *Romans*, who thereupon durst neither go backward nor forward, but lay still, and advertised the Emperour of their misfortune.

178. But *Vigilius* Bishop of *Rome*, and the *Italians* at Court, who were both many and powerful, solicited the Emperour in behalf of their Country. Above all *Corticius* prested him to it being a Patritian, and lately Consul, who was newly come to *Constantinople* for this purpose. The Emperour gave them good words, and promised to take care of *Italy*, yet he spent most of his hours in Christian Controversies, and such things as tended to the settlement of Church matters. Certainly at this time, his Affairs in that Country more and more went down the wind. For *Totilas* his Forces increased by an accession of six thousand men, brought to him

to him by *Ildiges*, a Prince of the *Lombards*. And about the same time *Haup*, one of *Belisarius* his Life-guard, revolted to him, by whom he was presently sent with a Navy and Forces into *Dalmatia*. There being thought as honest as formerly, and appertaining to *Belisarius*, he had opportunity enough to do mischief, putting all the Inhabitants of *Monecurus*, a Sea-town near *Salona*, to the Sword, which having fact, he removed, and did the same to *Laureata* a Castle also upon the sea. Certain Forces in Pinaces sent against him by *Claudianus*, the Governor of *Salona*, he worsted, and forced them to quit their Vessels, which he took in the Haven of *Laureata*, together with other Ships laden with Corn and Provisions, which having done, and killed and spoiled all they found, he returned to *Totilas*: when the Winter ended, and the fourteenth year of the War, written by *Procopius*.

179. *Totilas* all this while had his mind set upon *Rome*, whither now he removed, and besieged it with his whole Army. *Belisarius* had there left three thousand of his best men, commanded by *Diogenes*, one of his Life-guard, a discreet man, and a good Soldier, who so ordered his matters, that the Siege was drawn out in length, for he diligently attended his Guards, valiantly repelled the many Assualts of the *Goths*, and by sowing Corn within the Walls, prevented want of Victual, which they cut off from the City, now blockt up by their continuing Maffers of *Portus*. Had *Justinian* upon *Belisarius* his return sent another General with an Army, as he gave out he would, he might possibly have vanquished the *Goths*, *Rome* being in his obedience, and he having there an Army to join with his Succours from *Constantinople*; but though he commanded once *Liberius*, a Patritian, to be in readiness, afterward he grew remiss, and cooled again. Therefore *Diogenes* having no relief, after a long time spent in the Siege, some *Iaurians* that watched at St. Paul's Gate discontented for their pay which had been wanting many years, and seeing the advancement of their Countrymen, who had formerly betrayed *Rome* to the *Goths*, came to a secret conference with *Totilas*, and agreed at a day affigned, to betray the City to him. He sent some Trumpeters to sound at another part of the Walls, which amazing the Defendants, when they ran to the succour of that part, he at St. Paul's Gate was received in with his whole Army. Much slaughter there was in the City; and such as ran out at other Gates in their way to the *Centumcellae*, the only Fortres the *Romans* had thereabouts, were cut in pieces by Ambulches laid beforehand for that purpose: some few hardly escaped, and *Diogenes* amongst them; but not without having received an hurt. Yet *Paulus a Cilician*, formerly Steward of *Belisarius* his Household, afterward a Commander of a Party of Horfe, and now joined in Commission with *Diogenes* in the defence of *Rome*, with four hundred Horfe made for *Adrian's* Tomb, and possessed himself of the Bridge leading to St. Peter's Church. He and his men valiantly repulsed the conquering and insulting Enemy; and when they had no Provisions left, and *Totilas* was resolved to starve them out, determined by charging the Enemy in a sudden sally to end their lives honourably, and by killing as many *Goths* as possible, to sell them at as dear a rate as they could.

*Totilas* again takes *Rome*.

180. For a confirmation and seal of such an agreement, they imbraced and kissed one another, as being all ready to perish; whereof, when *Totilas* was adverstified, fearing what might be the effects of such a desperate Resolution, he sent, and offered them either to quit their Horfe and Arms, and swearing never to serve more against the *Goths*, to return to *Constantinople*; or retaining their former Estates, Wealth and Privileges, to serve in his Army, in equal condition with the *Goths*. Though at first they chose to go to *Constantinople*, yet afterward fearing Ambulches, ashamed to travell on foot, and angry for want of pay, they gave their Names to the service of *Totilas*; onely *Paul*, and one *Minde* an *Iaurian*, desir'd to be sent into their own Countries; and *Totilas* commanding them for fidelity and plain dealing, gave them Provisions for their Journey and lave conduct. The rest of the Army having taken sanctuary in Churches, and being in number about three hundred, upon assurance of Indemnity yielded to *Totilas*. He now resolv'd neither to quit *Rome*, nor demolish any Part of it; but replant it with *Goths* and *Romans* together, and that upon this occasion. He had late asked in marriage the Daughter of the King of the *Franks*, who rejected his motion for this Reason, That he neither was, nor ever would be King of *Italy*, having indeed taken *Rome*, but not being able to keep it, because he had demolished part of it, and quitted the rest to his Enemies. Now therefore he brought in Provisions, and commanded to re-edifie what he had formerly broken down, sent for the Senatours, and other, *Romans*, confined to *Campania*; held the solemnity of the *Circenian* Games, and then prepared for a Voyage into *Sicily*. Yet he sent and desired Truce of the Emperour, offering that

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Sect. 1. the *Goths* should serve him in his Wars against any other Nation. But *Justinian* suffered not the Ambassador to come to his presence, and utterly rejected the Proposition. Which having understood, he first thought fit to attempt *Centumcellae*, and then having once mastered it, to prosecute his intended Voyage into *Sicily*. But coming to treat with *Diogenes* the Gouvernor, and finding the Garrison reasonably strong; he was content, that according to their motion they should send to the Emperour for Relief; and if none came, then to surrender the Town by a day prefixed, and thirty Hostages were given on both sides. Raifing then his Siege, he went for *Sicily*; in his passage attempted *Rhegium*, which holding out stoutly, he blockt it up with part of his Army, hoping to starve them out. He sent Forces also, and took the Castle of *Tarentum*; And at the same time *Ariminum* was betrayed to some of the *Goths* lying in *Picenia*.

181. *Justinian* moved at this his Succes, named *Germanus*, his Brother's Son, General in the War with absolute Authority, and commanded him to be in readiness; at the report whereof the *Goths* were troubled, *Germanus* having a great Name in the World, and the *Roman* Souldiers were much incouraged. But the Emperour, for what reaon is uncertain, changed his mind, and appointed *Liberius*, a Citizen of *Rome*, for the service; who accordingly made himself ready, expecting instantly to sail away. But afterward *Justinian* again changed his Resolution as to sending him with a Land Army, and the Affairs of *Italy* were neglected, where also about this same time, *Verus* having headed many of the most valiant *Roman* Souldiers, was after much los defeated and slain. Now also a Party of some three thousand *Sclavi* passing the *Danube*, and the River of *Hebrus*, parted into two Companies, and did much mischief, defeating several of the *Roman* Commanders in *Thrace* and *Illyrium*, although they overmatched them in numbers. *Asbadus*, one of them, *Asbadus* *Hæfip-*  
*bote, celer Nas-*  
*cium. A swift*  
*Back.* Though never before they had passed the *Danube*, nor foraged the *Roman* Provinces, now they pillaged and wasted all without controll, and took in *Pro Bete postea* *irrupti Franci-*  
*cum Melinger.*  
*Sed eti bote in*  
*utri apud Belga-*  
*VIator enim pa-*  
*tibus dictur En-*  
*dotate.*

The *Sclavi* make great de-  
vastations.  
They take *Thrace* by assault.  
Their Cruelty.

182. They having headed many of the most valiant *Roman* Commanders in *Thrace* and *Illyrium*, although they overmatched them in numbers. *Asbadus*, one of them, *Asbadus* *Hæfip-*  
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*dotate.*

he resided. *Germanus* had a great ambition to add the glory of recovering *Italy* to his former Reputation got in *Africk*, which he thought he might the more easily effect by means of *Mattafuntha*, the Daughter of *Amalasuntha*, and Granddaughter of *Theodoric*, whom after the decease of *Paffara*, his former Wife, he had married, she being also now a Widow; for *Vitigis*, her former Husband, was lately dead. He more than hoped that the *Goths* would be ashamed to lift up their hands against this Lady, out of respect to the memory of her Progenitors. To this Incouragement was added a great confidence he had in the strength and affection of his Souldiers. For being very liberal in disbursing, not only the Emperour's Treasure, but his own private Money, he levied quickly and unexpectedly a very gallant Army. The best *Roman* Souldiers left their ordinary Commanders to follow him, though of fundry Nations. Nay, the very Barbarians about the *Danube*, allured by his Fame, joind with him, and that not empty handed, but bringing with them good store of Money. The Prince of the *Lombards*, particularly, ingaged to lend him a thousand men well armed. Now Report, as in all humane things else, making all this much more in *Italy*, the *Goths* were much afraid and troubled, especially considering they were to make war against the Poorerty of *Theodoric*. The *Roman* Souldiers there, to his farther content, sent him word they were ready to join with him; and taking courage, resolved to keep their Towns for the Emperour's service; nay, those that were beaten in the defeat of *Verus*, and now strangled up and down, hearing that *Germanus* was upon his way, rallied in *Istria*, and expected his coming. *Diogenes* also being summoned by *Totilas* to surrender *Centumcellæ* according to their Capitulation, answere, that now that *Germanus* was declared absolute General, he had no power; but he desired him to send him back his Hostages, and he would restore those given him by the *Goths*. So he carefully guarded the Town, expecting *Germanus* with his Army. And thus ended the Winter, together with the fifteenth year of the War, written by *Procopius*.

185. But more than all this, *Germanus* had a farther incouragement and Omen, as it might well be esteemed, of his future Succes, while he was yet drawing his Army together, and exercising his Troops at *Sardice*, a City of *Illyrium*. For a number of *Sclavi*, greater than ever formerly had passed *Ister* (or the *Danube*) foraged the *Roman* Territories as far as *Nayrum*; but hearing that he was appointed to oppose their Deigns of sacking *Thebætonia*, and the Towns about it; and having formerly understood what, in the days of *Justinian*, his Great Uncle, he had done against the *Antians* their Neighbours (whom he so totally defeated in an Invasion they had made, that he scarcely left one of them alive) and supposing him to have a very great Army, as being sent against the *Goths*, they relinquished their former Purposes, and departed over the Mountains of *Illyrium* into *Dalmatia*, not daring to appear in the Champian; so that he despising them, ordered his Army to be in readiness within three days to begin the Journey into *Italy*. But here see the lubricity of humane hopes, prosperity and greatness, with the potent fate of the *Roman* Empire now in her decrepit Age. He suddenly fell into a sicknes and died, both a virtuous and valiant man, an excellent General, and a daring Souldier. In peace and quietnes an earnest Observer of Laws and good Government; an upright Judge, and so charitable, that he often lent great sums without so much as talking of a penny Interest. In the Palace and *Forum* he was fevere and grave; but at home and at his Table pleasant, free and obliging: preventing, as much as in him lay, all disorders at Court, and never ingaging himself in any of the Factions of *Constantinople*: a thing too much practized by other great ones. The Emperour much afflicted with this sudden Accident, commanded *Justin*, one of the Sons, and *John*, the Son-in-law of *Germanus*, to lead the Army into *Italy*; who, forasmuch as it was not possible in that season to compas the *Adriatick* Gulf; and wanting Ships where-with to cross it, marched into *Dalmatia*, with intention to winter at *Salone*.

186. *Liberius*, who, as it seems, had heard nothing of the Emperour's change of mind, nor their Alterations, with the Fleet under his command put in at *Syracuse*, now besieged by the Enemy, and forcing his way into the Haven, got his Army into the City. *Artabanes* making towards him through the *Adriatick* Sea, near the Coast of *Calabria*, met with a great Tempest, which scattered his Fleet, and overset some of his Ships, that wherein he was imbarke spen also her main Mast; and being abandoned to the Wind and Waves, after much danger, drove to the Island of *Malta*, by which means he was unexpectedly preserved. *Liberius* within a small time not able to fight with the Enemy, and starved out of *Syracuse*, stole thence into *Panormus*. *Totilas* in the mean while ranackt all *Sicily*; and having got much Pillage, departed back into *Italy*, leaving four strong Garrisons in the Island,

Sect. I.

Island, thereto perwaded by one *Spinus a Roman of Spoleto* and his Assesour, who being taken Prisoner by his Countrymen, they refuled to difmis him upon other terms, than that he shold perwade the *Gothick King* to this Retreat, which he easly did, by frightening him with the approach of *John* and *Justinian* with a great Army. Those two Commanders intended, by the beginning of the Spring, to march from *Salone* by Land to *Ravenna*, when the *Sclavi*, both thofe who formerly foraged the Empire, and others, spoiled again with all liberty the *Roman Provinces*, wheter hired by *Totila*, to divert the Emperour from the *Gothick War*, as fome suspected, or otherwise led by a desire of booty, and their own inclination to a Ravenous kind of life. They divided themfelves into three Parties, and were now grown to that height of Confidence, that they facked not the Cities, but Wintered in them as in their own, without all fear or fufpicion. The Emperour with the laeft fent an Army againft them, Commanded by *Scolasticus* an Eunuch of his Palace, which met with one party of them near *Adriano*, a City Situate in the heart of *Illyricum*, and five days Journey from *Constantinople*. The *Sclavi* loaded with booty, declined the fight, and encamped upon a Mountain, where the *Romans* besieged them, till the Souldiers murmurred at their Commanders for want of Provisions, and delayed to ingage the Enemy. But being at length forced to ingage, the Battel was hotly fought, and the *Romans* were beaten; many of their best men slain, and the Commanders themfelves escaped narrowly, the Ensign of *Constantianus*, one of them, being taken in the Field. Now the Barbarians depifing the *Roman Arms* proceeded in their course, and wafted the Countrey called *Africa*, which having never formerly been touched, afforded them good store of booty. They ranged up the Countrey as far as the Long Walls, but one days Journey from *Constantinople*, but provoked the *Romans* to so great an height of Indignation thereby, that afterward part of them they routed, after much slaughter, refued great numbers of Captives, and recovered the Ensign of *Constantianus*. The rest of the *Sclavi*, with the remainder of their booty departed home.

185. *John* the Sifters Son of *Vitalianus*, and Son in Law to the late *Germanus*, as was before hinted, paſt that Winter in *Salone*, with which the sixteenth year of the *Gothick War* received its period. The Commanders in *Italy* expeſing daily his coming, forbare all Action, and when in the Spring following, he refolved to lead his Army againſt *Totila*, he was countermanded by the Emperour, who ordained him to expect the coming of *Narses* the Eunuch, whom he had made Captain General, with full authority in the War. Thus did *Justinian* by changing to often his Resolutions, much hinder the progreſs of his own affairs, for *Narses* his march was but few, being oppoſed by fome *Hunnes* in his paſſage, fo that *John* might expeſt long enough, as he was Commanded, and be ſufficiently wearied with expeſtation. Therefore shall we leave him for the preſent at *Salone*, and giving time to *Narses* to make his expedition into *Italy*, return again and viſit *Chosroes*, to fee how he has behaved himſelf all this while, and what use he made of his ignominious Retreat into *Persia*, beginning where we left at the time of the Plague, and the return of *Belaſarius* to *Constantinople*. We ſhall find him march Northward to *Ardagara*, a Town in *Affryca*, and there repenting what he had formerly done, with purpoſe thence to invade the *Roman Territories* again, having incouragement, it feems, from the Oracle of this place; for here was a great *Pyramus* where the *Magi* kept a perpetual fire, which the *Persians* worshipped above all Gods, offering much Sacrifice, and conſulting it after their manner, in their affairs of greatest Importance. But when he thought of War, he changed his Resolution, hearing of two Ambaffadours ſent from the Emperour to treat of Peace, of whom *Constantianus* fell ſick by the way, and the Plague at length came into *Persia*. This put him upon a neceſſity of defiring an Accommodation, and he accordingly ſent to *Valerianus*, praying that all hofftily might be forborn, and the Ambaffadours diſpatched away. But the *Romans* knowing well enough that his difficulties and ſtraiſts were their advantage, and hearing moreover that his Son conſpired againſt him, by order from the Emperour invaded *Perfamenta*, with an Army of thirty thouſand men. Coming into *Dubia*, territory eight days Journey from *Theodoſiopolis*, there in a Village ſeated in a narrow paſſage of a ragged Mountain, *Nabades* had fortified himſelf, who, with four thouſand men laid in Ambuſh, firſt put the *Roman Army* into Conuſion, and then drawing out his whole power, routed them, and made them all run away. The *Persians* could not believe them to be egegious Cowards, but ſuſpected ſome Ambuſhes, to that driving them out of the Faſtnesse, they then turned head, not daring with a few to encounter ſo many in a Plain. But the *Romans*, (and eſpecially the Commanders,) thinking the Enemy ſtil purſuing,

*Præcep. de bell. Gath. lib. 4.*

*Justinian* by often changing his Resolutions, much indamaged his own Affairs

The *Romans* invading *Perfamenta* shamefully beaten.

*Redendum. ad parag. 143. be- jus cap. Sed. 1.*

*Præcep. de bell. Perſico. lib. 2.*

*It falls upon*

ran without intermission, urging their Horses both with Whip and Voice, and caſting away their Arms in fear and haſte. In a word, ſuch a diſaſter the *Romans* had not formerly felt, and fuſh a running away it was, that ſcarce an Horse over-lived it, but died Hartbroken as foon as the courſe was ended. Many were slain, more taken Prisoners and made ſlaves, and ſo great a quantity of Arms and Baggage was left, that the State of *Perſia* rich before, appeared much richer by this viſtory. But ſuch are the effects of the equal power of many Generals, and the licentioufness and negligence of an Army. For, the Commanders taunted one another, were careles of fighting, and fearles of dangers, attending only pillage and rifing. They march confudely without discipline, nay without a watchword (as the uſual cuſtome is,) or diſtinction by any kind of order. The Souldiers not concerning themſelves, where they found their Officers void of all care and circumſpection, mingled with thoſe that attended upon the Baggage, and marcht as to ſome great booty ready prepared for them; which in conclusion ended in ſuch an entertainment as they had deſerved.

186. *Chosroes* incouraged by ſo unexpected good fortune, when he could leaſt hope of any ſucceſs, the next year invaded the *Roman Territories* the fourth time, making an Inrode into *Mefopotamia*. But this Expedition ſeemed not made againſt man, but God himſelf, and had an iſſue ſutable to Irreligion and Impiety, though proceeding from a Paganiftiſh ſuperſition. For in his firſt Invasion, when he retired from *Edeſſa* without having any thing performed, he and his *Magi* were much diſcontented to be overcome by the God of the Christians, whereupon he threatened and reloved, to make the *Edessian Slaves*, and to turn their City into a Paſture for Cattel. Being now come before the place, and disappointed of his expeſtation at the firſt Onſet, being alſo, as ſome thought, troubled with a dream, or apprehending the diſgrace of muſting *Edeſſa* twice, he thought preſently of ſelling his Retreat to the Inhabitants for money. *Paul* his Interpreter, procuraſe a conference, wherein all the money they had in the Town being demanded, they refuled to buy their ſecurity at ſo dear a rate, and the Commissioners he commanded to be gone in great Anger. The eighth day then of the Siege, he began to raiſe a Mount, the Foundation of which was a ſquare work of Trees cut down with the leaves on; over them was ſpread much Earth, and above lay ſtones in a rude unwright manner, (his onely care being to raiſe the Mount ſpeedily,) putting between the earth and ſtones, peices of Timber to faſten the Work, and make it stronger. The Defendants at firſt did the Workmen much damage, but afterward the Guards were ſo ſtrengthened, that none durſt approach, and the *Persians*, by hanging upon Poles before the Labourers Clothes made of Goats hair, kept off both the fiery Darts and Arrows. The *Romans*, now afraid, ſent Meſſengers to the King, and with them one *Stephanus* a famous Physician, who had formerly done a cure upon *Cabades*, and had got a great Eſtate by him. He upbraided him, though in ciwil expreſſions, of ingratiouſness toward himſelf, telling him that *Edeſſa* could leaſt have expeſted ſuch cruel usage at his hands, it being the place of his Nativity, who had formerly forſteſted him, and by counſelling his Father to appoint him his Succesſor, had been a principal Authour to him of the Empire of *Persia*, and to his County of all thoſe miſeries it had undergone. Yet *Chosroes* flatly refused to raiſe from thence, till the *Romans* had delivered into his hands *Peter* and *Peranius* his Father's Slaves, who now preſumed to bear Arms againſt him; or inſtead of this, paid him five hundred centenaries of Gold, or elſe would admit his Officers to ſearch the City, and thence to bring him all the Gold and Silver they could find within it. This he ſpoke at random, not caring what he ſaid; for he expeſted with eaſe to take the Town. The Meſſengers finding his propoſitions imposſible, returned much troubled. And the City, upon their report of his Demands, was filled with noife and lamentation.

187. The Mount in the mean time roſe to a great height, and went on apace. The besieged in great perplexity, ſent other Meſſengers becoming Sutors for the fame things, but they were not regarded, but driven out of the *Persian Camp* with ſcorn and deriſion. Their way then they thought was to raiſe their Walls higher toward the Mount; but herein they were not able to keep pace with the *Persians*, and ſo gave it over. Then did they employ *Martinus*, (who with *Peter* and *Peranius*, two other *Roman* Commanders, lay in the Town,) to treat and conclude as well as he could for them; but the *Persians* only amuzed him with fair words, to ſpend time till they could bring their Mount to perfection. In the mean while, the *Romans* drew a Mine to the Enemies work, and left not till they came under the middle of the Mount, where being discovered, the *Persians* croſs-mined on both fides,

Sect. I.

Sect. I. sides, to catch them in the middle. They perceived it, and there stopped up their Mine with Earth ; then hard by made them a little hollow Room, where they laid dry Logs steeped in Cedar Oil and *Affyrian* Pitch. These Logs, when the *Perfians* had sent back *Martinus*, and were failing to work, did they set on fire, which burnt part of the Mount, and when they were burnt out, and spread not to the whole, they supplied still the little Room with more. The smoak from the Mount appearing at Night, they prevented the discovery, by shooting small Vessels filled with burning Coals and fire Darts all over the Mount, and the *Perfians* thinking the smoak came from them, ran to quench them. But the fire prevailing at length, they were undeceived, and pitifully crying, were shot and killed from the Walls. *Chosroes* in the Morning discovered the matter, and they all cast on some earth others water, which abated the smoak there; but presently it brake out in another place more vehemently; the water also added force to the Sulphur and the *Affyrian* Pitch, so that the fire prevailed over it, and about the Evening following, the smoak was so high, that it was seen at *Carrae*, and other neighbouring parts. Then followed several Skirmishes upon the Mount, wherein the *Romans* still had the better, till the flame rose so clearly, that it forced the *Perfians* to abandon the Work.

188. *Chosroes* thus disappointed of his hopes from the Mount, kept himself quiet for five days, and then resolved to make an assault before it was light, to take the Enemy at advantage and surprize him. And his Design was not far from taking effect, for the *Romans* were all fast asleep, and the *Perfians* set to their Ladders and were mounting, when in the nick of time, they were discovered by a Peasant who awaked the besieged. Then they opposed the Assailants with such vigour, that they drove them back to their Camp, and took up their Ladders they had left behind them. About Midnight, *Chosroes* had the same success at the Great Gate, from which he was repelled, and as the *Romans* were giving the Chafe, *Paul* the Interpreter put himself amongst them, and told them that *Recimer* was newly arrived, being sent Ambassador from *Constantinople* about a Peace. And he had indeed been four days in the *Perfian* Camp, but they concealed it from the besieged, expecting the event of their Attempts, which if they succeeded well, they resolved to come to no treaty at all; but in case they were beaten, as now they were, they thought they might come to it safely, the *Romans* having invited them. Upon demand of some to be sent out to treat with *Chosroes*, the besieged answered, they would within three days send *Martinus*, who at this time was sick; which delay, the King suspecting not to be sincere, prepared for War, and commanded good store of Bricks to be laid on the Mount. Then, after two days, did he with his Ladders and Engins begin another Storm, placing his Squadrons at every Gate, and behind them *Saracens*, who, when the Town was taken, should lay hold on such as ran away. The *Romans* not being aware of the Assault, and very few in comparison of the Assailants, at first seemed to have the worst, but what they wanted in numbers, they supplied in diligence, for none were idle, the men resisted Valiantly, the Peasants themselves did bravely, and the very Women and Children, together with Aged Persons, did their part, some bringing stones to the Combatants, and others throwing down scalding Oil upon the Heads of the Enemy.

189. The *Perfian* finding this opposition refused to fight any longer, yet *Chosroes* in a rage with threats and some violence brought them on again, and with shouts and Engins they began a new Assault, with such seeming alacrity, as if they would presently enter. But the Courage of the besieged again prevailed, who having repulsed *Chosroes* and his men, now hst at him, and dared him to a fresh Encounter, taking encouragement from some Sallies which had been made very successfully. The fight having lasted all the day, both sides passed the Night unquietly, the *Perfian* being afraid of their Trenches, and the *Romans* providing stones and other things necessary against an Assault the next morning. Yet did not the Barbarians then come on, but the day following, a part of their Army animated by *Chosroes*, set upon one of the Gates, but were sent back again with disgrace to their Camp. Then did *Paul* the Interpreter call to the Walls for *Martinus* to treat an Accord, which being done, *Chosroes* received from the *Edessianians* fifty thousand Gold Staters, and subscribing the Articles, promised no more to infest the *Romans*, but setting his Palisadoes and other Works on fire, went home with his Army. About this time, *Julius* the Nephew of *Justinian*, and *Peranius* dying, the Emperor constituted *Marcellus* his Sisters Son, as yet but a youth, and *Constantianus* his Ambassador to *Chosroes*, who having Audience in *Affyria* near *Seleucia* and *Ctesiphon*, they demanded restitution of places in *Lazica*, and a Ratification of the

the Peace. But the *Perfian* alledged, that a Peace would hardly be good without a Truce first concluded, during which by mutual concourse and Communication, they might better understand one another, and firmly determine the perpetual Peace, which he also affirmed the *Romans* must purchase with money, and farther send him one *Tribunus*, with whom by a certain day he would conclude the Buyness. This *Tribunus* was a Physician, who having cured *Chosroes* of a great Sicknes, he was much his friend and very grateful; The Emperour therefore sent him, and with him twenty thousand Staters of the money demanded. And so a Truce was concluded for five years, in the nineteenth year of *Justinian's* Reign, which was the eleventh of the *Gothick* War, at what time *Rome* was besieged by *Totalis*, and *Belisarius* expected supplies from *Constantinople*, A.D. DXLV.

The Quinquev-  
bi Collation.

Sect. I.

190. Shortly after, *Alamundarus* and *Arethas* had Wars with each other, with out any assistance from either *Perfians* or *Romans*. In an Inrode *Alamundarus* took a Son of *Arethas* Prisoner, and Sacrificed him to *Venus*. From him was discovered how *Arethas* sold the Emperour's Affairs to *Chosroes*. But *Chosroes* now rid of the War with the *Romans*, had his mind running upon *Lazica*, of which he had a great desire to make himself Master, and that with good reason, for the Countrey he truly apprehended would be of manyfold use to the Crown of *Perfia*. First, it would keep the *Iberians* in perfect awe, who in case of a Revolt would then have none to fly to, as formerly they had upon all occasions. Then would it joyed to *Perfia*, not only keep the Provinces thereof free from the Inroads and devastations of the *Hunnes* bordering upon it; but by this mean, the King if he had a mind might oblige them to invade the *Roman* Territories, there being no Rampart against the Barbarians of Mount *Caucasus*, but only *Lazica*. In conclusion, *Lazica* would advantage the *Perfians* in a matter of no leſs moment than, by iſſing from thence, to infest both by Land and Sea, the places upon the *Euxine*, to subdue *Cappadocia*, *Galatia* and *Bitlynia*, and to surprize *Constantinople* it ſelf, for there would be no ſufficient Obſtacle in their way. Upon these important Considerations, he defired to have *Lazica*, but was at a loſs how to compaſt it, having no reaſon to have any confidence in the Nation. For the *Lazians* were not formerly ſo diſcontented with the *Romans*, but they were much more diſcontented at the demeanour of their new Freinds the *Perfians*, who of all men had leaſt variety in their humours, their manner of Life being extremely ſtrict, their Laws hard of digeſtion, and their Commands intolerable. In reference to the *Lazians*, the diſference appeared infinite, not only in reſpect of humour and diſpoſition, but Religion alſo. The *Lazians* were Chriſtians, none more, but the *Perfians* quite contrary. And another thing yet diſorderd them above meaſure. For no Salt being made in *Lazica*, nor Wine, nor other Native Commodities, all was Imported to them from the *Roman* Sea Coasts, not for money, but in exchange for Skins, and Slaves, or other things wherewith they abounded. From which being now barred, they were highly diſcontented. *Chosroes* being to quick as to perceive it, conſulted upon ſome ſafe courſe for prevention, before they ſhould ſir for an alteraſion; and all conſidered, thought it moſt expedient to rid away *Gabazes* their King, to tranſport the Nation, and to plant their Country with *Perfians* and others.

191. But that he might not be abſolutely idle and wanting to his Interēſt on the *Roman* ſide, but strengthen himſelf in thoſe parts as muſh as poſſible; he ſent *Ifdigunas* to *Constantinople*, ordering him under preteſt of an Embaſſy, and the atteſtance of his Wife and two Daughters, with five hundred men to get into *Daras*; to ſet ſome Houſes thereof on fire, which whilſt the Inhabitants ſhould be buſie to quench them, they ſhould open the Gates, and receive in the Gouerneur of *Nifſbu*, who was ordered to be in readiernes with Forces concealed thereabout. But the matter was revealed by a *Roman* fugitive, and *Ifdigunas* failing in his Plot, proceeded on to *Constantinople*, where having access to the Emperour, he had little to ſay, but delivering Prefents and Letters of Compliment, he was entertain'd with more grace, favour and charge, than ever Ambaſſadour had been known to be. For both him and his Interpreter *Justinian* admitted to his own Couch at Meat, whereas no man ever before, ſaw an Interpreter ſit at table with the meanest Gouerneur; And though he had no buyness, he was diſmiffed with more respect than ever any Ambaſſadour, his Charges and Prefents coming to more than ten Centenaries of Gold. In the meane time, *Chosroes* driving on his Deſign for *Lazica*, ſent thither much Ship Timber, giving out it was for Engins, to ſtand upon the Walls of *Petra*. Then ſent he one *Fabricus* with three hundred choſen Men, and privately inſtructed to kill *Gabazes*, but his diſcovery of his Errand to *Pharanes*, then in ſome diſgrace whom he expeſted to have an Aſſistant in the Work, he was ſo honest as to reveal the

**Sect. I.** *Sendis ad Lazica.* the Treason to *Gubazes*, who stood upon his Guard, and reporting to *Justinian* the present State of his Affairs, begged his pardon for what was past, and his present affiſtence to ſhake the *Perfan* Yoke from off his Shoulders. The Emperor was glad of the News, and ſent him eight thouſand men under Command of *Dagiflæus*.

**192.** Theſe Forces joyned with the *Lazians*, and besieged *Petra*, which being Viſtualled held out a long time, againſt all their Aſſaults and Stratagemſ. *Chofroes* much diſordred at the News, ſent to its relief a great Army of Horſe and Foot, under the Conduſt of *Mermeroes*, whereoſt *Gubazes* having notice, wrote to *Dagiflæus* to ſend Forces to stop the Paſſage beyond the *Phasis*, and not to raife the Siege till *Petra* was taken. He himſelf with his own Army marcht to the utmoſt borders of *Lazica*, to fortify the Paſſage there; and having hired ſome *Alans* and *Sabrians*, to help to Guard his Country, he wrote to the Emperour for money, alledging that he was alſo in arrear to himſelf for ten years, being inrollef in a *Silentiary* of the Imperial Palace. *Justinian* at firſt purpoſed to gratify him, but the matter was put off, and the money delayed to be ſent. And *Dagiflæus* being a young man, and unable to maſage a *Perfan* War, made no advantage of the opportunities which were offered him. For whereas he ſhould have ſent to the Paſſage moſt of his Army, and been himſelf preſent at the Action, he ſent, as if the buſineſs had been flight, but two hundred men, and did nothing upon *Petra* without his Forces, where the Enemy within being at firſt not fifteen hundred men, and continually ſhot and ſlain at the Aſſaults, after as muſh Valour as even men shewed, were reduced to a very few, and thoſe deſpairing and unable now lay ſtill. Had he made right uſe of his Mine, and put in due time fire to the Supporters, the Town had been taken, but he dallied with hopes from the Emperour to whom he wrote, urging him for rewards of Victory, and appointing what he and his Brotheſ ſhould have after the taking of *Petra*. Nay, when part of the Wall was ruined, he negeleced to enter the Town, but ſuffered himſelf to be amazed and fooled by *Mirranes* the Gouerneur, who gave him fair words, and told him he would ſhortly ſurrender the Place. In the mean time, *Mermeroes* with loſs of a thouſand men, when the two hundred *Romans* weary of killing, had retired to the Mountains, entred the Paſſage; which *Dagiflæus* understanding, without giving any direcſion to the Army, gaſſoſt away toward the River *Phasis*, (which firſt having the name of *Boat*, runs through the Country,) with all the *Romans* at his Heels. Leaving their Baggage for hate, the Garrison iſſued out and riſed it; but a thouſand *Tzaniſians* who had followed *Dagiflæus* in the expedition but not in his flight, came in to the reſcue, and having beaten them back, they themſelves ranfackt the *Roman* Camp. Which done, they went to *Rhizæum*, and thence returned home by *Athens*, (a populous Town ſituate in the *Roman* borders,) and ſo by *Trapezond*.

**193.** The ninth day after the flight of *Dagiflæus*, *Mermeroes* with his Army came to *Petra*, where he found remaining of the *Perfan* Garrifon but three hundred and fifty men, whereoſt one hundred and fifty were only found, the reſt were wounded and unfevicerable. Having hence occasion enough to ſcoſt, as he did, at the demeanour of the *Romans*, he had alſo much cauſe to rejoice and triumph at the Valour of his Country-men, whom he found ſo ſelf-denying, and carefull of the intereſt of their Prince, that the ſurvivours had not caſt the Dead bodies from the Wall, but endured almoſt ſtiſling with the ſtench, that the Enemy by ſeeing fo many loſt, might not be the more encouraged to freſh Aſſaults. The Walls he carefully repaired as well as he could, and wanting Lime and other Materials, he filled with Sand the linen Bags, wherein his men had brought their Proviſions, and laying them iſtead of ſtones, made this ſerve for Walling. Then leaving three thouſand men for a Garrifon, not Viſtualled for any long time, with direcſions to proceed in the Repair of the Walls, he himſelf with the reſt of the Army, returned homeward. For though he had forced the Paſſage beyond the *Phasis*, yet could he not incommode *Lazica*, being not able to croſs the River without Ships, which is fo deep and broad, and fo ſwift, that it enters the Sea a good way, (at leaſt it did in the days of *Procopius*,) unmingled with Salt water, Paſſengers taking up freſh there to their great conveience; beſides the Ships and many Fortrefſes on this ſide made landing very difficult. Moreover *Justinian* had at laſt ſent away the money promiſed to *Gubazes*, beſides a good Army, under Conduſt of *Recithangus a Thracian*, very wife and an excellent Souldier, though it was not yet arrived.

**194.** *Mermeroes* quittinh *Lazica*, went into *Perfarmenia*, and lay quiet in the Towns about *Dubis*. But having an eye ſtill to *Petra*, which he knew was very

*The hafe flight  
of Dagiflæus.*

*Mermeroes re-  
tires out of La-  
zica.*

meanly viſtualled, he left five thouſand men with *Fabrozas* and other Commanders, who of the Proviſions they could get were to tranſport the greateſt part to *Petra*, and live upon the reſt. Theſe men incamped by the River *Phasis*, on the fartheſt Confines of *Lazica*, stragling about for boſty; *Gubazes*, who was aware of it, feint for *Dagiflæus* to come up to him. He endeavoured it, marching with the *Phasis* on his left hand, till the *Lazians* underſtanding the River to be fordable, paſſed over and joined with him, neither the *Perfans* nor *Romans* themſelves knowing the Ford. Then did they jointly ſet upon a thouſand men, whom the *Perfans* had ſent out as a flying Guard to prevent any inſeſting of their Camp, of whom none eſcaped, but moſt were slain, and the reſt taken. Incouraged by this ſucceſs, they proceſſed farther; and learning the eſtate and condition of the main Body, unexpeſtedly fell upon them after midnight; and finding ſome aſleep, ſome hardly awake and naked upon their Pallets, but all ſurprized and without a thought of fighting, killed moſt of them. Some they took, and ſome few eſcaped in the dark. But of their Camp they eaſily made themſelves Maſters, with all their Enigmas, much Arms and Baggage, beſides a great number of Mules and Horſes. Following the execution far into *Iberia*, they cut oſ several other *Perfan* Troops they met with, and burnt a quantity of Meal and other Proviſions which was on its way for relief of *Petra*. So leaving at the Paſſage ſome numbers of *Lazians* to block up all acceſſes with Proviſions to *Petra*, they returned with all their Booty and Captives. And thus ended the fourth year after the *Quinqvennial Ceflation*, being the fifteenth of *Justinian's Reign*. A.D. DXLIX.

*A great victory  
of the Romans  
and Lazians  
over the Per-  
fans.*

**195.** The year following another *Perfan* Army invaded *Lazica*, commanded by *Corianes* a *Perfan*, and an experienced Commander, with whom joined alſo a number of *Alans*. They incamped in a Province called *Muchirisſis*, lying upon the River *Phasis*, not navigable there, but paſſable by Men and Horſes, and they in-trench to the right hand of it at ſome diſtance. Full often had the *Perfans* invaded the *Roman* Territories under *Chofroes*, and done miſchief not by any Pen to be ex-preſſed, yet they got little by it, but returned ſtill with much loſs, fo that they murmured againſt their King, and ſtuck not to call him *the Ruiner of their Nation*; Once particularly coming home out of *Lazica*, and being fallen into ſome great extremitieſ, they were ready to mutiny, and had ſlain him, if he had not foreſeen and prevented it by gaining the Principal of them with fair words. Being therefore diſtirous to find ſome real Apology and a ſerious excufe, he had long bear his Head how he might notably advance the Interēt of the *Perfan* Empire. He attempted *Daras*, and failing in this Enterpriſe, as we ſhewed before, thought of ta-kiing ſome other *Roman* Town; but to doe any thing of moment within the Coun-try, he judged it imposſible, leaving ſo many ſtrong Places at his back. For this reaſon he laid *Antioch* flat with the ground; and quiting the *Roman* Territories, his thoughts mounted after hopes farther off and full of difficulty. For hearing how the Barbarians, feated on the left hand of the *Euxine* Sea, about the Lake of *Meotis*, did without controll waſe and overrun the *Roman* Provinces, he thought why might not he, having *Lazica* in his hands, without croſſing any Sea, make his In-roads as far as *Conſtantinople*? This made him to reſleſt to become Maſter of *La-  
zica*, as we hinted before.

*Corianes ſent by  
Chofroes.*

**196.** *Corianes* with his Army removed to the River *Hippis*, whence it was refol-ved by *Gubazes* and *Dagiflæus* to fall upon him, to give a demonstration of their courage, and abate the ſpirit of the Enemy. The *Lazians* were frolick and confident out of meaſure, diſdaining that the *Romans* ſhould ſhew themſelves equally valiant, the ſlate being theirs for which they were to ſtrive, their Lives, Fortunes, Wives and Chidren being all in gaſt. Yet when they, marching before, came to charge the Avant Courriers of the Enemy, they fairly gave back and retired to the *Roman* Horſe, who renewed the charge, and forced the *Perfans* to retire and expeſt the coming of the reſt of the Army. Then came up the Infantry both of *Gubazes* and *Dagiflæus*, and joining with the Horſe came to handy-blows. But the *Roman* Horſe proving too weak for the *Perfan* Cavalry, order was given for both *Lazians* and *Romans* to alight, and with the Foot they flood in a deep battalion oppoſite to the Enemy, and charged with their Lances. This pulſed the *Perfans*, who could not grapple with their Enemys now on foot, nor break their battalion, their Horſes flying back, diſorderd by the heads of the Lances and noise of the Targets. They reſolved therefore to try if they could break them by floweres of Arrows, whereupon the *Romans* and *Lazians* let fly thick again upon them, and many were ſlain on both ſides; the *Perfans* and *Alans* diſcharging oftner, but their Arrows for the moſt part re-bounding

*Prop. de Bell.  
Goth. t. 4.*

**Sect. I.** bounding from the *Roman Shields*. At length *Corianes* the *Perisan General* was slain by a shot in the Neck, and his death swayed the Victory to the opposite Party ; for his falling from his Horse, his men presently ran away to their Camp with the Enemy at their heels, who thought to take it at the first Assault. But an *Alan*, a strong and lusty Fellow, and very dextrous in shooting, put himself into the narrowest entrance into the Trenches, and stopt the Invaders a long time, untill *John Guzes*, a valiant *Roman Officer*, killed him with his Lance, and then was the Camp speedily taken. Many *Perians* were cut off as well here as in the Fight, and the rest returned home as they could : such being the success of this *Perian Invasion of Lazica*. After which another Army came, and victualling the Garrison in *Petra*, retired without more ado.

197. In the mean time, whilst *Dagisheus* was thus employed against the *Perians*, the *Lazians* at *Constantinople* accused him of Treachery, and favouring their Enemies in the management of the Affair at *Petra*; the bunglings of the Mines, and the Fortification by Sackfull of Sand, being all ript up. Hereupon he was by the Emperour's Order confined to his House, and *Bessas*, lately come out of *Italy*, was made General of *Armenia*, with instructions to command the Army in *Lazica*, sent thither before under conduct of *Venulus* and others. *Nabodes* the *Perian* coming again into *Lazica*, drew the *Absogians* to revolt from the *Lazians* and *Romans*. For being tired out with the incroachments and oppreſſions of the *Roman Garrisons*, after they had depoſed their Kings, they grew desperate, and chose rather to resume their former condition, though bad, than fall into absolute slavery ; and fearing still worse and worse, ſet up Kings again, and revolted ſecretly to the *Perian*. *Justinian* ſmelting it out, commanded *Bessas* to march againſt them, who ſent a choice Party of his Army under *Uliganga* and *John Guzes*, by which their chiefest Fort was taken, and after much slaughter they were reduced to obedience ; as alſo were the *Aphilians*, who having been anciently ſubjeſt to the *Lazians*, had alſo of late revolted. Whilſt the Affairs of *Chosroes* ſucceeded not very well in *Lazica*, they were in a worse condition at home, by means of his eldeſt Son *Anaforzadus* (which in the *Perian* Language ſignified *Immortal*) who made no ſcruple to lie with his Father's Wives ; and afterwards, being confined to *Lapat*, a City ſeven days journey from *Cteſiphon*, upon report of his Father's death, uſurped ; and though his Father recocered, put the City into a Revolt, and eagerly purſued the War. Indeed *Chosroes* was dangerously ſick, being ever of a fickle conſtitution, which made him keep Physicians by him of all Countries, and amongst others, one *Tribunus of Palestine*, a man inferior to none of his time, and beſide that, both a wife, and a very good and conſcientious man. Ne had cured the King formerly, and came loaded home with Preſents ; again at the *Quinquennial Ceſtation*, the *Perian* begged of *Justinian* that he might have him with him for one year, which being ended, *Chosroes* bad him ask whatſoever he would, whereupon inſtead of Wealth he asked the liberty of ſome *Roman Captives*. He got free'd three thouſand men, beſides ſome of quality, whom he demanded by name ; and by this Act of Generofity obtained a great Reputation amongst all forts of People. But *Chosroes* ſent thoſe who overthrew his Son in batteſt, and taking him Priſoner, brought him to his Prefence. He to prevent any farther effects of his Ambition, blemiſhed the young Man's Eyes, not by taking away the ſight, but by diſtorting the Eye-lids into much ugliness, with hot Irons applied to their outſides, being ſhot. Hereby he cut off his hopes to the Kingdom, the Law not permitting any blemiſhed man to be King of *Perſia*.

198. Now was the fifth year of the *Quinquennial Ceſtation* expired, of which *Justinian* being aware, ſent to *Chosroes* to conclude an absolute and laſting Peace for the East. *Chosroes* put him off, ſaying he would ſend ſome of his own to *Constantinople* to do it ; and he ſent indeed *Iſdigmas*, that inſolent and impudent *Perian*, concerning whom it's hard to ſay, whether he was more ridiculous for his pride and humour, or the Emperour for the unſitting and extravagant honours he heaped upon him. As for *Badicis* his Interpreter he came not now with him, and ſome ſaid his King had put him to death for preſuming to fit at Table with *Justinian*, who, he concluded, would not have admitted an Interpreter to ſuch an honour upon any account below the betraying of his Maſter's buſineſs. But *Iſdigmas* coming to his Audience, ſaid not one word of Peace, but complained that *Arethas*, and other *Saracens* Confederates of the Empire, had, during the Ceſtation, committed ſpoils upon *Alamundarus*, with other frivoſous things, and of ſmall importance. In the mean time *Bessas* ſet down before *Petra* with his whole Army, where the Garrison had ſo plied their buſineſs, that after the Retreat of *Dagisheus*, by ſtones and beams of wood, they had made a pretty good foundation where the Wall was formerly ruined,

Whom by blemiſhing his Eyes he makes incapable of the Kingdom.

*Bessas* ordered to command in *Lazica*.

The *Absogians* and *Aphilians* recduced.

The Son of *Chosroes* uſurps.

ruined, ſo that the Assailants found great difficulty to assault the Town, because they could no more Mine, neither could they bring the Ram to the Wall, the Place being ſteep, and the Ram not to be drawn but on even ground. In this ſtrait, when they ſaw the *Romans* despairing, three Princes of the *Sabirian Hunnes*, who being ſent to receive the Pension paid them by the Emperour, were now at the Siege, deuived ſuch an Engine, as never formerly had been thought of by either *Perians* or *Romans*, though they had excellent Artiſts. Time ever proceeding with the wit of Men to new Inventions.

A new fort of Ram.

199. In forming this new fort of Ram they uſed no Timbers upright, nor lying acroſs, but inſtead of them ſmall Poles tied and fitted together. Yet had it the perfect form of an ordinary Ram ; and in the midſt was placed the uſual Beam, with a top headed with Iron to batter the Walls. The whole Engine was covered with Hides, and was ſo light, that it needed neither Men nor Cattle to draw it, only forty Souldiers within it, and covered with the Hides, carried it with ease upon their Shoulders, wound up the Ram, and let it fall againſt the Walls. On either ſide flood men well armed with long Poles in their hands, topt with great Iron hooks to pull off the ſtones which were loofened and unjointed by the ſtrokes of the Engine. The *Romans*, in making trial of this new device, did great execution, and the Town was at the point of being taken, when the *Perians* from a wooden Tower, provided beforehand, caſt down Vefſels upon their heads full of Sulphur, Babylonian Pitch and Naphtha, a Drug uſed by the *Perians*, which the *Greeks* called *Medean Oil*. These Vefſels failed little of burning the Rams, which were only preſerved by the men with the long Poles, who cleared ſtill the fire away, but long they could not be able to doe it, the flame raging ſo vehemently, that where it toucht, it instantly took, if not as ſpeedily put off. *Bessas* therefore cauſed Scaling-ladders to be ſet to a certain part of the Wall, which by Mining was funk, but ſtood upright as if it had been ſet with an Engine ; and uſing the belt fort of exhortation, which was the example of his own valour, being an old man paſt ſeventy years of age, firſt mounted the Ladder. Never was a Fight more valiantly fought on both ſides, the *Perians* being two thouſand three hundred men, and the *Roman* Army about ſix thouſand. *Bessas* himſelf fell from the Ladder, whereat was made a great flout by the *Perians*, who from all parts ſhot at him ; but he was protected by the Targets of his Lanciers, that by his order dragged him away by the heels (that ſo they might beſt cover him) till coming out of ſhot into a ſafe place, up he roſe, encouraged his men, and gave on again, mounting the Ladder the ſecond time. The *Romans* following him, and doing very valiantly, the *Perians* demanded time to quit the place ; but he ſuſpecting it was craftily proponed to fortify the Wall, refuſed to ſtop the Fight, but offered to treat at another part of the Wall, while the Armies fought. The motion being not entertained, the Fight was hotly purſued with equal ſucces, until the arrival of ſeveral ill Accidents on the *Perian* Part.

200. Firſt another part of the Wall, where the *Romans* had formerly Mined, ſuddenly fell down. This neceſſarily divided the *Perians*, and their fewneſs to much appeared by the diſtivion, that they did not equally endure the charge. Then did *John Guzes* with ſome *Armenians* his Countrymen, while the Armies were here engaged, mount the Rock where the City was thought impregnable, and by killing one of the nobleſt *Perians*, made the Place acceſſible. And in the mean time, thoſe that from the wooden Tower caſt the fire upon the *Roman Rams*, were themſelves ruined by the force of a strong Southern wind which kindled one of the Boards of the Tower, and they within being overtoiled and full of tumult and disorder, percieved not the Accident, till the flame kindling by degrees with the Naphtha and other ingredients burnt all the Tower and the miſerable *Perians* in it, who conuained to coals fell down, ſome within the Town, fame among the *Roman Engines*. At the ruined Wall by this time the *Perians* gave back, and now *Petra* was abſolutely taken ; only five hundred *Perians* reſted to the Citadel, the reſt were taken alive, beſides ſeven hundred and thirty men, of whom eighteen only were unhuert. To the *Romans* it proved a bloody Victory, many gallant men having lost their lives, amoung whom *John Guzes* was killed with a ſtone whiſt he was valiantly entrieng. The next day thoſe in the Citadel would neither with all the Rhetorick *Bessas* could uſe, nor the terror of burning be peruaaded to yield, but all perished in flames together with the Fort. By this placing of his beſt men in the Town, *Chosroes* ſufficiently declared how much a value he had for *Petra* : As alſo by the proviſions he made of Arms and Viſtuals. For the *Romans* found five mens furniture for every Souldier, beſides what was burnt ; and ſo much Corn and other ſalted Meats as would ſerve for a Siege of five years. The Priſoners *Bessas* ſent to the Emperour, and caſt down the Walls

*Petra* retaken by *Bessas*.

**Sect. I.** Walls of *Petra*, that no more trouble might arise from it, which *Justinian* much approved, and commended him both for his Valour and good Conduct. After his ill fortune, or rather, his ill administration at *Rome*, and an apparent ruine of the *Roman* Interest, yet at his return to *Constantinople*, the Emperor made him General against the *Perians*, to the wonder and derision of the World, which flouted *Justinian's* Resolution herein, in committing the *Perian* War to an old man who had had one foot long in the grave, and been lately so grossly beaten by the *Goths* in *Italy*. Yet notwithstanding did *Bessus* shew that valour, and found the good fortune we have now mentioned. So are humane Affairs determined, (faith *Procopius*) not as men imagine, but as God himself swayeth the Balance. And this they call Fortune, finding matters succeed in a way and Method by them not discerned, and so attributing a Name of Fortune to things which are above their own reach and Reason.

His Avarice  
spoils all again.

**201.** *Bessus*, as appears from this Action at *Petra*, wanted not Courage nor Conduct; neither yet was he void of a fault familiar to old Men, and that vice which the continual prospect of the Grave can hardly mortifie. This was his Avarice, by which formerly he had lost *Rome*, and whereby he again ruined that Interest, which of late he had so notably advanced. For if after his victory he had made haste to fortifie the Passages from *Iberia* to *Lazica*, the *Perians* had not entred this Country, but he retired into *Pontus* and *Armenia* his Government, intending to toil himself no more, but get what he could by his place, and so as good as delivered *Lazica* to the Enemy by his neglect and carelessness of the Emperor's Indignation, who indeed was wont to connive much at the errors of his chief Ministers, whence followed many great faults, both in the courses of their Lives, and of their Governments. *Mermereos* in the mean time, afraid of *Petra*, as soon as the seafon of the year would permit, was on his way with an Army thither, but hearing what had happened, he laid his Journey, and passing over the *Phasis*, because the *Lazians* had no Towns but *Petra* on that side the River, he led on toward *Archæopolis*, the chief City of the Country. *Bessus* had left in *Lazica* Twelve thousand men, whereof Three thousand lay in *Archæopolis*, with *Odontachus* and *Babas*, two expert Commanders; the rest encamped near the *Phasis*, with intention to succour any place where the Enemy should fall, and were commanded by *Bonitus* and *Oligangus*; beside, Eight hundred *Tzaniens* were brought hither out of *Italy* by *Varazes* the *Perfarnenian*. *Mermereos* therefore for fear the *Roman* Army at his back, which quartered upon the *Phasis*, would not sit down before *Archæopolis*, went toward them first; which the Commanders hearing, and finding themselves too weak, got them aboard their Barks, and having carried with them what Baggage they could, cast the rest into the River. *Mermereos* arriving shortly after, was much out of humour, to find never a man in the *Roman* Camp, which having burnt in much wrath, he returned to *Archæopolis*, and set all his wits on work how to assault the City.

**202.** He made use of the same Ram which the *Sabirian Hunnes* had invented for *Bessus* at *Petra*, having many of this mercenary Nation now in his Army. This was for the plain ground; and against the rocky part of the City he set the *Dolomites*, a People dwelling in the midst of *Peria*, among unaccessible Mountains, and therefore not subject to the *Perian*, but free; only in his Wars they were wont to serve him for Wages, being all Foot-men, with Sword and Buckler, and two Javelins, and as nimble to climb Rocks, and run along by the sides of Mountains as on the plain ground it self. By the Rams on one tide to which *Mermereos* joined his Elephants, (which he used as Towers to shoot on) and these *Dolomites* on the other, the besieged were sore distressed in making good the Walls. *Odontachus* and *Babas* in their extremity advised them to make a Sally, as the only possible means of freeing themselves, for though they might one day have the better from the Battlements, they shoud gain nothing, the danger being renewed as fresh as ever the day following, and so they must perish by little and little, and loose at last what they had defended to small purpose. *Mermereos* before this had hired a certain Townsman to set the City Stores on fire, of which they had an inckling, and therefore left a sufficient number in the Town, to prevent this mischief, in case it should be attempted. And the man did indeed set fire to the Stores, but it was timely quenched, without much damage; and those who fellied terrified the Enemy by the suddenness of the Enterprise, who suspected no such matter from so few Defendants, but were all in disorder, and scattered about as upon an Assault, some having the Rams upon their shoulders, and without their Arms.

How to fight an  
Elephant.

**202.** Here *Procopius* makes it a matter of wonder, that the *Romans* knowing so well the means of resisting, and rendering Elephants useles, did not at all apply themselves to that course, being confounded it seems by their urgent business; the thing was this. When *Chosroes* besieged *Edessa*, an Elephant was brought close to the Walls, with many of the most gallant *Perians* upon him, where standing like a Tower, and the shot being made directly from him upon the Defendants heads, the taking of the Town was certainly expected. But the *Romans* avoided the danger, only by hanging out an Hog from the Bulwark, which with his squeaking noise scared the Elephant, that he turned about, and would not be kept to his Station, by all the skill his Governors could use. This was now omitted by them, but the best of it was, their good fortune supplied their forgetfulness or negligence, for one of those Elephants now employed, either wounded or otherwise starting, flew back, cast his Riders, brake the Ranks, and drove the *Perians* backward, while the *Romans* securely cut down all in their way. The *Perians* were by those means so disordered, that they in the Rere, seeing the confusion of those in the Van, ran away for fear. Nay the *Dolomites*, who being upon high ground saw all, ran away as shamefully as the rest, and the Overthrow was now clear, four thousand of *Mermereos* his men being killed, with three principal Officers, and four Ensigns taken which were sent to *Constantinople*. And two thousand Horses they lost, either slain in the Battell, starved or heart-broken. *Mermereos* being thus Defeated at *Archæopolis*, however continued Master of the Field, and led his Army a days Journey off into the Province *Muchirisis* a plentiful Country, with intention to re-edify an old City or Castle called *Cotesis*, or *Cotatum*, moreover to cut off Provisions from *Uthimerium*, a strong Fort guarded by *Lazians*, with some *Roman* Soldiers intermingled, and to hinder their march into the Countries of *Suania* and *Symania*, subject to the *Perians*; an Army in *Muchirisis* stopping easily the passage into these Countries. Such were the Successes of the Armies in *Lazica*.

*Mermereos* de-  
feated.  
Yer is Master  
of the Field.

*Justinian* pur-  
chases another  
Cession for  
five years.

To the great  
trouble of the  
People.

**204.** In the mean time *Ifdiguna* the *Perian* Ambassadour, had many Conferences with the Emperor at *Constantinople*, concerning a Peace. After a long time spent in disputes, at last they came to this Agreement. That in the Empire, and proper Dominions of *Peria*, there should be a Cessation of Arms for five years, during which, endeavours on both sides should be used to compose the Differences, concerning *Lazica* and the *Saracens*. That for this Cessation, the *Romans* should pay to the *Perians* twenty Centenaries of Gold, besides six Centenaries more for the eighteen Months, passed betwixt the end of the *Quinquennial Cessation*, and their sending Ambassadours to each other; the *Perians* pleading that upon that Condition, they yielded to a conference about a Truce. The Emperor would have paid them by four Centenaries every year, and given caution for so doing; but *Ifdiguna* insisted upon present payment, and in the end, he prevailed to have the whole Sum paid down, the *Romans* yielding to it, that they might not seem to pay a yearly Tribute to the Crown of *Peria*. Thus are men more sensible of the dishonour of Names than Things. But at the desire of *Ifdiguna* also, who promised to persuade his Master to remove his Army out of *Lazica*, one *Barbates*, a *Perian* of great Quality, and a great favorite of *Chosroes*, who had offered for him a great Ranfone, having been taken Prisoner in *Armenia*, was sent to *Constantinople*. Thus was the Cessation concluded, to the great discontent of the understanding *Romans*, who complained that the *Perians* being now strong in *Lazica*, might securely and without interruption for five years to come, hold the fairest places of the Country; and that they were never after to be driven out, but might have easie access to *Constantinople* it self. Most men indeed were troubled to see that which the *Perians* ever aimed at, but which by War they could never effect, viz. to make the *Romans* tributary, now fully established under colour of a Cessation of Arms; for upon this specious pretence, *Chosroes* did really impose a Tribute of four annual Centenaries, until his forty six Centenaries were paid, calling his Tax a Truce, and shewing most manifestly, that he plotted it from the beginning of the War. And the worst of it was, from this Taxation they could never hope to be freed, but faw themselves constrained to remain in quality of Tributaries to the *Perian*.

**205.** So well succeeded the Embassy of *Ifdiguna* in his Master's behalf, who having received high honours from the Emperor, together with vaister Presents than ever Ambassadour before him, returned home probably the richest than in *Peria*. This was the onely Ambassadour that had no Guard put upon him, he himself and his followers freely conferring and keeping company with whom they pleased;

*Sect. I.* pleased ; and in the City buying, selling, and making contracts in their own Persons with all liberty, no *Roman* attending them to observe their doings, as in those times was wont to be. But this was a year of strange Accidents, there being such Heats at this time, as none ever could remember the like ; Rofes towards the Winter growing in abundance as in the Spring, with no manner of difference, and the weather as hot as at Midsummer ; besides the Vintage being long past, new Grapes came as they had done before. Much talk hence there arose, as is wont in such cases, of strange things betokened, and likely to succeed ; but the natural cause of this temper of the Air, was the continuance of the Southerly winds longer than ordinary. This Cæsation was concluded, and these Heats happened in the twenty fifth year of *Justinian's* Reign, the seventeenth year of the *Gothick* War. A.D. DLI.

206. Now we must behold the fruit of the Cæsation, and consider the veracity of *Chosroes*, as also how true Prophets the understanding sort of *Romans* were in their predictions concerning the Issue. During the Negotiation then at *Constantinople*, King *Gubazes* in *Lazica* affected the *Romans*, because he found *Chosroes* to plot his Death ; but the generality of his People now again inclined toward the *Perfians*, offended with the oppresions of the other, and the Infidelity of the *Roman* Officers, of two ills chusing that which they did not at present feel, not for any love to the *Perfian* Government. The *Romans* lay concealed, some near the *Phasis*, others in *Archœpolis*, and others in Fortresses, and *Gubazes* lay quiet upon the tops of the Mountains, so that the *Perfians* visited all the Towns at their pleasure, and the Garrison of *Uthimerium* frightened with false tales, concerning a total Defeat both of *Gubazes* and the *Roman* Army, yeilded the Castle on condition to have their Lives and Goods secured. By this means the *Perfians* became Masters of the Country, and held *Scymnia* and *Suania*, so that all places from *Machiris* to *Iberia*, were inaccessible to their Enemies, who durst not appear abroad nor stir, the *Romans* from their Fortresses, nor *Gubazes* with his *Lazians* from off the Mountains. *Mermorioes* applied his busines, reinforcing several Garrisons, and he marcht toward the *Phasis*, where he understood that the *Romans* and *Lazians* had encamped and newly made head ; but at the first news of his coming, they all separated and fled ; *Gubazes* betaking himself to the Mountains with his Wife and Children, whence notwithstanding the extremity of Poverty and hard weather, he would not be drawn down by all the good words and fair promises *Mermorioes* could give and make him. For so strong was his hatred and aversion to *Chosroes*, that it suffer'd him not to despair of succours from *Constantinople*, the Judgments of men being generally biased by their wills and affections. The Winter being now ended, *Jajiguna* arrived at the *Perfian* Court, where *Chosroes* signed the Treaty, and received the money, but with intentions so cordial to the drift of *Justinian*, that with the same Treataise he levied a great Army of *Hunes*, and sent them to *Mermorioes*, resolving what ever he did, not to quit *Lazica*. With these Forces *Mermorioes* coasted about the Country, and the *Romans* opproved him not, lying quiet in their Fortifications, about the mouth of *Phasis* in Company of *Gubazes*. Having without success attempted several Garrisons, he retired with his Army, which then the *Romans* followed in the fast Country, intercepted many, and kill'd the chief Commander of the *Sabrian Hunes*. But fighting about the dead body, the *Perfians* forced away the Enemy, and retir'd to *Cotais* the Fort of *Machiris* formerly mentioned.

*The Perfin Master of Lazica.*

Things go well in Africa.

207. So went the Emperour's affairs in the East, rather backward than otherwise. In the South all things were in a fair Condition, by the incredible successes of *John* the General in *Africk*, who first drew to his Party *Cuzinas* a Prince of *Numidia*, then overthrew all the other *Numidians* in Battel, and soon after brought *Anatas* and *Zabdas* Princes of the *Moor*, inhabiting *Byzacum* and *Numidia*, to follow him in no better Quality than that of Slaves. Thus in this Province *Justinian* had no Enemies, and indeed not many Subjects, whom the former Wars and disorders had miserably wasted. And that Fortune might seem now and then, to cast a gracious aspect upon the Empire in her extreme and decrepit old Age, amid all her frowns, another thing happened about this time, which tended much to the enrichment of the Provinces. Certain Monks coming out of *India*, and getting Acces to the Emperour, promised him to effect what he had long desired, that the *Romans* should not need to buy any more Raw Silk of the *Perfians* or any other Nation. For having lived long in a Country called *Serinda*, which contained many sorts of *Indians*, they had learnt the way how the same might be had in his own Dominions. *Justinian* being very curious and inquisitive to know how, they told him, that certain Worms taught by Nature, did Spin this Silk, which Worms to bring

bring alive was not possible, but easie to get their Bags, wherein were intinable Eggs, which being covered in Dung, and thereby heated, produced the Worms. The Emperour promised them great Rewards, to bring their undertaking to effect, and they returning to *Serinda* brought those Eggs to *Constantinople*, where being by the means aforesaid grown to Worms, they fed them with Mulberry-leaves, and so brought the making of Raw Silk into the *Roman* Territories.

208. In Europe in the mean time, the *Gepide*, who, as we formerly said, made a Truce with the *Lombards*, not composing thereby their differences, resolved to renew the War, which grew as hot as ever, the *Gepide* being led by *Thorifis*, and the *Lombards* headed by *Auduin*. Their Armies coming near each other, were both fitched with such a pannick fear, that as well the one as the other ran away, leaving their Commanders with some few behind, who neither with fair words, nor threats could stop their running. *Auduin* not knowing the Enemy was in the same condition, sent Ambassadors to demand a Truce, who finding *Thorifis* deal truly with them, freely also told him how the *Lombards* were run away, and persuad'd him, since God, as they said, had cast upon both Nations that laving fear, to concur with that gracious dispensation, and make an end of the War. A Collation was accordingly concluded for two years, during which term, they were to send their Ambassadors mutually to compose all differences ; yet not being able to end their Debates, they fell again to their old course of Hostility. Now the *Gepide* fearing the *Romans* would joyn with the *Lombards*, procured twelve thousand men from the *Uturgurian Hunes*, inhabiting on this side the Lake of *Mæotis* ; whom, for that one year of the Cæsation was yet to come, and having no occasion for such a Multitude, they perswaded in the interim to invade the *Romans*, who kept no exact Guards upon the *Danube*, either on the Coasts of *Ilyrium* or *Thrace*. Hereupon the Emperour sent to the *Uturgurian Hunes*, planted beyond the Lake of *Mæotis*, and by money won them to invade the Country of the *Uturgurians*, whom, having pass'd the *Tanais*, assilid by two thousand *Tetraxitæ Gotis* dwelling near them, they routed in a Battel long fought, and having kill'd many, took their Wives and Children Captives, and returned home. During the Contefit betwixt them, some thousands of *Romans* took the opportunity, and slipping away, recovered their Native Seats. And such *Uturgurians* as had before invaded the Emperour's Territories, were perswaded for money to retire, and if they could continue in their Country, to remain faithful to the *Roman* interest, otherwise to come back, and have Towns assign'd them in *Thrace*, where living as Confederates, they should protect the *Roman* Provinces from all Barbarians whatsoever. Of them already two thousand, after the Overthrow received from the *Uturgurians*, came into the *Roman* Dominions, and becoming Servants to the Emperour, were feated in *Thrace*, which Sandik King of the *Uturgurians* understanding, grew very angry, and sent a Message to the Emperour by word of mouth, (for the *Hunes* knew no Letters, nor Grammar, nor bred their Children to Learning,) wherein he compared the *Uturgurian Hunes* to Wolves, which would never be tamed, and upbraided him both with folly, for nourishing them amongst his Sheep, and with ingratitude toward his Subjects the *Uturgurians*, whom he likened to Shepherds Dogs, for their Service and fidelity. But *Justinian* soothed the Ambassadors with good words, presented them richly and sent them home.

209. From these *Hunes*, its time now to return to the other sort, which we said put a stop to the Voyage of *Narses* into *Italy*, and forced him to stay at *Fiblippopolis*. They having driven and carried all away without opposition, and being gone some towards *Thessalonica*, and some toward *Constantinople*, he marcht on, having hardly distinguis'd himself from them. *Totilas* in the mean time had burnt most part of *Rome*, especially beyond the *Tiber* ; but now expecting the coming of *Narses*, placed some of those Senatours in the City, who had been formerly confined to *Campania*, with other *Romans*, Commanding them to Guard it, and professing to repent for what he had lately done unto it. Yet were those men in a condition, little better than that of Slaves, being strip'd of all they had, and so unable to vindicate the publick Interest, that they could not recover every man his peculiar right, although the *Romans*, in the judgment of *Procopius*, were the best Patriots in the World, studying to regain from all parts, what belonged to their City, and to save all the ancient Ornamenta of *Rome* from perishing. During so long a subjection to Barbarians, (so he writes,) how did they preserve their publick Buildings and Ornamenta ! Even the Original Ornamenta of their Race do yet continue, the sufficiency of those ancient Workmen holding out against the Ruines of time, and the negligence of men ; and then he instances in the Ship of *Eneas*, which

*Auduin* & *Antiochus* *Vandalis* *Andalici* *Ascopi* *in inv. Al. Ascopi*  
*Thorifis* *Torifis* *Feros*  
*Scyph. id enim*  
*vix Thor. signat*  
*cabat quod nunc*  
*pro folio sum-*  
*tut.*

A strange panick fear.

*Justinian* sets  
one fort of  
*Hunes* against  
another.

*Totilas* burnt  
most part of *Rome*.

*Tarazis*, *Te-*  
*trans-Silem, fa-*  
*vidus, solitus*  
*quod nomen græca*  
*voce iexuvante*  
*reddidit, addi-*  
*gitur Scylax, ut*  
*multa alia,*  
*Exscripta diuina*  
*Gothica Genitrix*  
*et amans ad*  
*Pontum Excul-*  
*petit. Sit dicit ab*  
*Utar-garis, Gre-*  
*tua.*

Sect. I. which to his time remained so uncorrupted, (for he saw it himself) as if it had been but very lately built. But (not to follow our Author in his Digressions out His Fleet at Sea of the Roads) *Totilas* also manned three hundred Gallies with *Goths*, Commanding them to pillage and spoil the Coasts of *Greece*. Yet they hurt nothing till they came to *Coryea*, the only inhabited Island in the passage from the Straits to *Sylla*, which they foraged together with the Islands adjacent called *Sybole*. They landed also in *Epirus*, and pillaged the Towns about *Dodona*, especially *Nicopolis*, and *Anchialus*, where *Anchiles* Father to *Aeneas* Died, and gave Name to the Town. They took also upon the Coast many Greek Ships, and amongst them some Transporting Provisions to *Narses* his Army.

210. In Italy *Totilas* caused *Ancona* to be blocked up both by Sea and Land. *Valerianus* was then at *Ravenna*, but being unable to relieve it, he wrote to *John* as yet lying in *Salone*, acquainting him how this Town which only remained to them of all that part of Italy, lying upon the *Ionian Gulf*, was straitly besieged, and likely to be lost, if he would not come speedily, and joyn the Forces with him for its Assistance. The Emperour had forbidden *John* to stir, yet conceiving that Necessity must dispense with his Instructions, he adventured to go, and with his best men Ships in forty Vessels, appeared before *Ancona*, whither *Valerianus* came shortly up to him with twelve Ships. The Commanders of the *Goths* Manned out forty seven of their choicest they had against them, leaving the rest to block up the Caffle, and to a Sea Fight they came, which was stoutly Fought, and much like to a Land Battel; they standing with all their Ships in Front against one another, and plying their Bows. But the unexperience of the *Goths* in Sea Fights, and their disorder undid them, their Ships jumbling like so many Baskets together, so that they could neither shoot at the Enemy, nor manage any Weapon, being perpetually employed in getting clear of one another, and spending all their Shouts and Cries not upon the Romans, but their own men, to keep off. The Romans on the other side behaved themselves both Valiantly and Skilfully, making use of the advantage which the folly of their Enemies presented; so that they took and sunk all with the men in them, except eleven Ships which got away, and were set on Fire after the men were Landed, left they should come into their Hands. Such as escaped in them going on foot to *Ancona*, and relating there the Accident, the Siege was raised, and the Camp left to the Romans, who having put Provisions into the Caffle, sailed away; *Valerianus* to *Ravenna*, and *John* to *Salone*. This Defeat much abated the power and interest of *Totilas*, whose affairs went to wrack in *Sicily*, where *Artabanes* having succeeded *Liberius*, took all the Castles from the few *Goths* lying in the Island. The Hearts of the *Goths* were so dejected with these Losses, that should any Succours come to the Romans, they had no thought of sub-sisting, or keeping one foot in Italy. And from the Emperour they had no hope to obtain any thing, for *Totilas* had sent to him many Ambassadors, shewing how the *Franks* had feized on a great part of Italy, and the rest was become waste and void. He offered that the *Goths* should quit to him *Sicily* and *Dalmatia*, which only remained unspoiled, and shoud pay Tribute for the wasted Lands in Italy, and serving his Majesty against all the World, in all other things also be obedient to him. But *Justinian* would take no notice of these Overtures, but still sent away the Ambassadors being dilatated at the very name of a *Goth*, and purposing to hurry them all out of the *Roman Empire*.

211. In reference to what *Totilas* said concerning the *Franks*, the Reader must understand that *Theodebert* their King who lately Died, had unjustly made Tributary some Towns in *Liguria* and the *Cottian Alpes*, together with a great part of *Venetia*; he thus getting without blows, what the two angry Antagonists were, busily Fighting for. Indeed in *Venetia* the *Goths* had little, the Sea Towns were in the hands of the Romans, and the *Franks* feized on the rest, while neither *Goths* nor *Romans* had leisure to look behind them. The *Goths* thought it sufficient to agree with them, that during the War with the Emperour, both should hold what they had, and forbear Hostility, and in case *Totilas* should become Conquerour, then the Acquisitions of the *Franks* were to be dispossed, as should be agreed on among the Parties. But to *Theodebert* had succeeded *Theudibald* his Son, to whom *Justinian* sent an Ambassador, to demand the Towns unjustly feized in Italy during a Truce, and to persuade him to a League against *Totilas*. As to the latter he put him off, with a modest refusal, telling him, that should he prove false to the *Goths*, no Friend should ever have reason to trust him; and as to the former, he denied that his Father had been an Oppreffer of his Neighbours, or an Intruder, but in case it should appear he had taken them unjustly from the *Romans*, and not rather

The Romans  
beat the *Goths*  
at Sea.

The *Goths* de-  
feated.

*Justinian* will  
give them no  
terms.

ther outed *Totilas* of his unjust possession, he would refer the matter to Arbitration, Sect. I. and send himself Ambassadors to *Constantinople*, which he did, and they effected what they went about. *Totilas* in the mean time, being ambitious to get the Islands belonging to *Africk*, into his hands, sent an Army to *Corsica* and *Sardinia*, and made them tributary to him. A mighty Company of *Sclavi* at the same time fell upon *Illyricum*, and doing mischeifs not to be exprest, went home with innumerable Prisoners, and all their Booty, none incountring them. The *Gepidae* transported them over the *Danube*, having for every head a Golden Stater, as their fare. This troubling the Emperour, who hereby had no means to hinder their passage over that River, he made a League with the *Gepidae*; but they notwithstanding still transporing the *Sclavi* over the *Danube*, he sent an Army to the Afflence of the *Lombards* their Enemies, who invading them with so great a Force, overthrew them in Battel, and made great slaughter of them.

212. Great Earthquakes happened in those days, in several parts of *Greece*, about the Gulf of *Criseum*, overthrowing many Cities, as *Charonea*, *Corone*, *Patra* and *Naupactus*, and many men perished. In *Italy*, *Crotone* was straitly besieged by the *Goths*, and wanting Necessaries, sent to *Ariabanes* in *Sicily* for relief, protesting that if none speedily came, they must be forced to Surrender the Town; yet none came, and so ended the Winter, together with the seventeenth year of the War. But in Spring, the Emperour Commanded *Crotone* to be relieved by the Garrison of *Thermopoli* in *Greece*, which Sailing for *Italy*, the *Goths* upon sight of the Ships, ran away from the Siege and were dejected; inasmuch that two of their principal Commanders began to capitulate for the renditon of the Towns under their Government. And now at length, *Narses* began to draw near *Italy*, with a very gallant Army, as well he might, having received very much Treasure from the Emperour, to levy and furnish the same. And what was of more Consequence, he brought wherewith to pay the Souldiers in *Italy* their Arrears, which were very great, and had been due for many years together: Nay he was furnished with money to invite the Revolted, to return again from the *Goths* to their ancient Obedience. The great and effectual Engin which moved all, was the Emperour's Resolution, who in the beginning managed the War very coldly and carelessly, but now set himself with all earnestnes and sincerity to the Work. And *Narses* was to be commended for making use of his present temper, who seeing him very eager, that he should lead the Army into *Italy*, protested plainly he would not therein obey his Comtrands, unles he might have competent Forces; by which stoutnes he procured men and money, with Provisions of Arms and other Necessaries, all befitting the *Roman Empire*. Now might he clearly see about his busines, and had credit enough to raise Forces, and obtain Auxiliaries out of all Places. And many gallant and eminent Persons, willingly accompanied him in the expedition. *John* waited on him, both with his own Troops, and those left him by *Germanus* his Father-in-Law. *Dagilphæus* also accompanied him with his Troops, being discharged of his Imprisonment for this purpose. *Cabades* the Son of *Zames*, and Grardchild of King *Cabades*, (who having by the practice of *Chavaranges*, escaped his Uncle *Chyfores* his cruelty, long agoe came into the Emperour's Dominions,) followed him in the expedition with many *Persian* Fugitives. Besides these *Abades* a young *Gepida* and very Valiant, with four hundred of his Nation all good Souldiers; *Arub* an *Herulian*, accompanied him with many old Souldiers of the *Herulians*; and *John Phagias* commanding many *Roman* Volunteers, well practised in War. Moreover *Audius* Prince of the *Lombards*, by virtue of the League, and for a good Sum of money given him by the Emperour, sent him five and twenty hundred select men, accompanied with retinue of above three thousand others. He had three thousand *Herulians*, commanded by *Philimuth* and others, besides many *Hunnes*; but his cheifest levies were out of the *Constantinopolitan Guards*, many Garrisons of *Thrace*, and the Country of *Illyrium*. The truth was, *Narses* was very obliging, especially to the Barbarians, and to this his great Power with the Emperour being added, as well Commanders, as common Souldiers, were eager to serve under him; both in acknowledgment of former favours, and in expectation of great advancements in time to come.

213. Being arrived at the Confines of *Venetia*, he sent to those that commanded the *Franks*, demanding passage for himself and followers, as for Friends, to which they returned a denial, protesting they would hinder him, both in respect to the interest of *Franks* and *Goths*, and farther pretending a frivilous excuse, as that he had *Lombards* in his Army, their greatest Enemies. Yet he was told by some *Herulians*, that had the *Franks* given him passage, he could not possibly have gone far-

The Franks de-  
nied him passage  
through *Venetia*.

T.

**Sect. I.** ther than *Verona*. For in this City *Totilas* had placed *Teias* a most Valiant man, with a choice number of *Goths*, who by his order had flopt up all the Passages with Works, and with much art and labour, had made in some places Thickets, in others Ditches, deep holes and bogs, and drowned the Grounds, being ready to fight the *Romans*, in case they should force their way. *Totilas* did this, upon consideration that *Narses* could hardly be able to pass along the Sea Coast, by so many great mouths of Rivers, having not Ships enough to transport his Army over the Gulf at once, and he imagined that coming but in small parties, he might easily hinder their Landing. But *Johannes* who knew those Parts exactly, advised him notwithstanding to march by the Sea shore, the People there being the Emperor's Subjects, and to be attended with some Ships and many Boats, with which Boats, they might make Bridges over the Currents of the Rivers. He followed his advice, and got to *Ravenna* with his whole Army, where *Valerianus* and *Justinus* the Generals, with the remainder of the *Roman* Forces joyned with them.

**214.** After nine or ten days stay, he left *Justinus* Governeur of *Ravenna*, and began his march. At *Ariminum* being to pass the River, and searching diligently for a passage, *Uzdrilas* the Governor of the *Gothick* Garrifon there, Sallied with some of his best men, thinking to surprize and kill him in that posture. But some *Herali* by mere accident encountered and killed him, and a *Roman* knowing him, brought his Head to *Narses*, which filled the *Romans* with much Courage, taking it as a sign of God's favour and a good Omen, that the Enemy having a design upon their General, should so suddenly loose their own Commander without any humane Plot or forecast. Though he might have had encouragement upon the Death of *Uzdrilas*, yet he medled not with *Ariminum*, nor with any other Town, that he might not retard his main design, nor divert it by any other busines. And the Enemy disengaged at the loss of their Governor, gave him no impediment in making a Bridge and passing the River, which having done, he left the *Via Flaminia*, and took the left hand, that huge Street being unpassable, by reason that the *Goths* had seized on the Rock called *Petra Pertusa*, and all other places lying upon it. *Totilas* in the mean time, hearing what had passed in *Venetia*, expected *Teias* and the Army about *Rome*, which being all come up, except two thousand Horse, he marcht away with the rest, intending to fight the *Romans* at his best conveniency. Understanding how matters stood at *Ariminum*, he went through *Tuscania* toward the *Appennine*, where he incamped in a Village called *Tagria*; And afterward came *Narses* and sate down upon the *Appennine* also, at twelve miles and an half distance near the little round Hills, wherein the *Galls* slain by *Camillus* were buried, and at that day called *Busta Gallorum*.

**215.** *Narses* presently sent to *Totilas*, to advise him to entertain peaceable Councils, and not contend, because he was backed by a few lawles men, with the strength of the whole *Roman* Empire; And in case he was resolv'd for War, he instructed the Messengers to bid him appoint a day for a pitch Battel. He with a resolute and daring Countenance, told them they shou'd have War, and that eight days after he would not fail to meet them. But *Narses* suspecting some cunning in the answer, prepared to fight as the next day, and he was in the right; for the day following, *Totilas* came with his whole Army. Both had a mind to gain a little Hill for an advantage of upper ground, and *Narses* by Night sent fifty men, who feiz'd it without opposition. Against them *Totilas* sent a Troop of Horse, but standing thick and firm, they frighted the Horses with the noise of their Sheilds and with their Lances; the men who failed often in the attempt, at length gave it over, and *Totilas* sent several Troops afterward, who came off with the same disgrace, so that he gave over the enterprize, and those fifty men deservedly got great reputation, especially one *Paul* who indeed did wonders, and for this Service was made one of *Narses* his Targetiers. In the mean time both Armies prepared for Battel, and the Generals bespake the courage and fidelity of their Souldiers, using arguments fittid to the occasion. The *Lombards*, *Herali* and other Barbarians, *Narses* caused to alight and serve as Footmen, that in case they should turn Cowards, they might flye but slowly. And his left wing he cast into the form of a Wedge, setting there fifteen hundred Horsemen, whereof five hundred were to relieve their Friends, in case they were put to the worst, and the other thousand get the backs of the Enemies Foot, and gall them in the fight. In like manner *Totilas* placed his Army, and rode about with Countenance and words animating his Souldiers. *Narses* did the like, holding out to them gilt Chains and Bridles, as the Prizes of their Valour.

216. Both

Yet he gets to  
*Ravenna*.

*Uzdrilas* the  
Goth slain.

*Narses* sends to  
*Totilas*.

*Totilas* will have  
War.

**216.** Both Armies stood still a while, expecting the Assault of their Enemies, till one *Cocas* a *Goth* of good repute for Valour, rode up to the *Roman* Army, and challenged any to fight with him, having formerly served the Emperour, but since revolted to *Totilas*. But *Anzalas* an *Armenian*, and *Lancier* to *Narses*, encountered and slew him, at which the *Romans* made a great shout. Now by this time *Totilas* understood that his two thousand Horse were at hand, and therefore laboured all ways possible to defer the Fight. He came in his bright Armour, and very goodly to behold, on a prancing Horse, betwixt the two Armies, not to challenge any to a Dutch, but by severall postures and feats of Activity, to attract the eyes of Gazers, and behaved himself like a cunning and skilfull Rider of a managed Horse. In these Exercises he spent a great part of the Afternoon, then to gain more time, sent to *Narses* and offered a Parley. *Narses* said he jugled; and before the meeting was agreed on, came the two thousand Horse, which when *Totilas* understanded, and it being now Dinner time, he caused the Army to draw off, and going to his Tent commanded his men to Dine, then he put on other Armour, and suddenly led out against the Enemy, thinking by so unexpected an Onset to surprize them. A pitch Battel. But *Narses* was aware of his design, and forbade his Troops to retire to Dinner, to repose themselves, or so much as to put off their Corselets, or unbridge their Horses, Commanding them to take a息 as they stood in their Ranks, and have a watchfull eye upon the Enemy. They accordingly stood still in the same order, onely the General with an addition of four thousand Foot, put both his Wings into the form of an half Moon. The Infantry of the *Goths* stood behind their Horse, to receive them if routed within their Ranks, and joyned to renew the charge.

**217.** But *Totilas* commanded his men to use only their Lances, and not their Arrows, which sensib[le] Strategem ruined him; making hereby his Army inferior in their offensive Weapons, as in all things else. For the *Romans* as they had occasion, used both their Arrows and Lances, and came up to the Sword, and did all which convenience required, either on Horse back or on Foot, sometimes surrounding the Enemy, and sometimes receiving his Charges. The *Gothick* Horse without their Infantry, rushed on with unadvised fury, trusting only to their Lances, and presently found their Errour, being ingaged amongst eight thousand Foot, so that before they could reach the *Roman* Cavalry, they had lost both many Men and Horses, and coming up to it very late, they found both *Romans* and Auxiliaries, striving who should most warmly first receive, and then repel them. Not able to stand after their first furious Charge, they began to retire, and the *Romans* to pursue, the Evening coming on; for the *Goths* thought that some Spirits fell upon them, and that Heaven it self fought against them. And when they came to their Foot, then their mischief increased, for they made not any orderly retreat, as to take breath for a new Charge, or for any other point of War, but ran in among them so confusidly, that they spoiled many, and the Foot opened not their Ranks to receive them, but ran away with them for Company; and it growing dark, they destroyed one another. Already Mastered by Terror and Cowardise, the *Romans* killed them sparing none. And now the darknes put an end to the Fight, six thousand being slain, and many taken, who were not long after put to the Sword; amongst them many *Roman* Souldiers perishing, that had revolted to *Totilas*.

**218.** The King himself with five men fled in the dark, but was purfused by some Romans who knew him not, and by one *Asbades* a *Gepide*, was mortally wounded with a Lance, but was drawn on by them that accompanied him, who rode amain, and having run about ten miles, they came to a Town called *Capre*, where they refid and dressed his wounds, but he soon after expid in the place, and there they buried him and went their way. Such a conclusion had the Life and Reign of *Totilas*, after he had been King of the *Goths* eleven years, not suitable to his former Actions and Successe[s]. For in his Fortune insulted upon the frail condition of Mankind, and shewed the abfolutenes of her Dominion, having without apparent merit bestowed on him a long time of happiness, and now hurrying him at her own pleasure, into Cowardise and an ignoble Death. The *Romans* knew nothing of it, till a *Gothick* Woman shewed where he was Buried, and then some diffiriting the Report, opened the Grave, digged up the Coffin, and upon search finding it to be *Totilas*, put him in the ground again, and reported all to *Narses*. Yet there were who gave out a quite different relation of these matters, as that the *Goths* made not this unadvised Retreat, but in the first Encounter, an Arrow by chance light on *Totilas*, who being Armed like a common Souldier, and ranked among them to conceal

*Cocas* (by *Cocas* mutatis scaliibus) *Cocas* mutatis scaliibus *Cocas* mutatis scaliibus  
Cocas (by *Cocas* mutatis scaliibus) *Cocas* mutatis scaliibus *Cocas* mutatis scaliibus  
ex Cagen-hart, ut in voc. All. aut Cagen-hart, Libo datus. Sic Gratius interpret.

The Roman  
have the better.

*Totilas* dies  
his wounds.

Sect. I. ~ conceal himself, could not be known nor purposely shot at. But that being mortally wounded, he galloped away in great pain to *Caprae* with some few, and after much Misery and Languishing died under the Cure. That the *Goths* amazed at what had happened to their King, being otherwise too weak, were wholly out of Heart, and shamefully ran away. But however it fell out, *Narses* rejoicing at the success, took the right course, as *Procopius* well observes, to attribute all to Almighty God.

219. That he might order his affairs, as was futable to such an acknowledgement, and take order for present occasions; he sent away his *Lombards*, who were infinitely unruly, burning Houses, and ravishing Women that fled into Churches. Presently after, *Valerianus* besieged *Verona*, but the *Franks* who sought to get the whole Country into their own hands, hindered the Design when the Garrison was coming to Capitulations, so that he retired without effecting any thing. The *Goths* that escaped the Overthrow, went over the River *Poe*, to the City of *Picenum*, and the Towns thereabout, where they advanced *Tetias* the Son of *Frediger*, *Tetias*, *Tat*, *Lenut*. *Fridger*, *Pais* low Condition, to which they were reduced, and having the Treasures laid up by *amans in ux.* *Allent*, *Fridiger*.

*Tetias* made King of the *Goths*. *Narses* understanding that he intended to assemble his *Goths* together, commanded *Valerianus* to keep with his Troops about the *Poe*, and if possible to prevent their Uniting. He himself with the rest of the Army, marcht toward *Rome*, taking in several Towns in *Tuscany*, as *Narnia*, *Spoletum* and *Perusa*. *Totilas* having burnt most of *Rome*, and considering he had not men enough left, to Guard the whole Circuit of it, had taken in with a Wall a lesser part of it about *Adrian's Tomb*, joyning to the City Walls, which making a sort of Castle, the *Goths* therein put their best things, and lookt to it carefully, neglecting the other Parts. Yet now to try *Narses*, who was come to the Siege, they left a few to Guard the Castle, and put themselves upon the Battlements. But the circuit of the Walls being so vast, that they could neither man them, nor the *Romans* attaque them all, while several Parties assaulted in several places, *Dagiflheus* set Ladders to a part quite destitute of Guards, and mounting without any resistance, set open the Gates, which the *Goths* beholding, quitted all their Posts and ran away, some to the Castle, and some to *Portus*. Here our Author makes more Reflexions upon Fortune, how she plays with poor and helpless Men, changing her looks with times and places, and varying suddenly, not only her own humour, but even the value and worth of Persons. *Belfas* formerly lost *Rome* very unworthily, and afterward recovered *Petra* in *Lazica* very bravely. On the contrary *Dagiflheus* poorly ran away from *Petra*, and now soon after recovers *Rome* to the Emperour.

220. Then marcht *Narses* to the Castle, and the *Goths* quickly yielded it, on condition of security for their Persons, *Justinian* passing the twenty fifth year of his Reign, in which it had now been taken five times, and *Narses* sent the Keys of the City to him. But to the *Roman* Senate and People this Victory proved extreme Ruine; for the *Goths* now despairing of the Dominion of *Italy*, killed them where ever they could find them in their flight. The Barbarians of the *Roman* Army at their entrance, used them no better than Enemies. And such Senatours as *Totilas* had confined to *Campania*, and were returning to the City, upon report that it was in the Emperour's hands, the *Goths* Quartered in the Towns of those Parts killed, leaving not so much as one Patriarch alive. *Totilas* also going against *Narses*, called for all the Sons of the Principal *Romans*, and chusing out three hundred of the goodliest amongst them, sent them beyond the River *Poe*, under pretence of breeding them, but indeed to keep them as Hostages; and now *Tetias* finding them there, killed them all. Moreover *Ragnar* a *Goth*, who commanded in *Tarentum*, put to the Sword fifty Souldiers, whom he kept as Hostages. Soon after, the *Roman* Army had *Portus* delivered up by composition, *Nepa* in *Tuscany*, and *Petra Pertusa*. *Tetias* finding himself too weak, importuned *Theudebald* by offers of great Sums of money to joyn with him in the War; but the *Franks* took that resolution which was best for their own advantage, not to bestow their Lives either upon *Goths* or *Romans*, but to referre them to the conquest of *Italy* for themselves. *Narses* now hearing how *Tetias* had bestowed the most part of his Treasures, in the Castle of *Cinnae* in *Campania*, with a strong Garrison, staid himself at *Rome* to repair the Ruines, but sent to besiege the Castle, as also another Party to attempt *Centuncelle*. *Tetias* fearing the los of it, and having no hopes to receive any succours from the *Franks*, prepared for Battel, which *Narses* understanding, appointed some Forces to intercept his passage through *Tuscany*; but he left the nearer

*Narses* takes *Rome*.

The *Roman* Se-  
nate miserably  
used, and the  
People.

nearer way on his right Hand, and fetching a great compas by the Sea Coast, so came into *Campania*. *Narses* thereof adverstified remanded the Forces, and with his whole Army marcht thither in order to fight.

221. Both Armies incamped on either side the River *Draco*, which issueth from certain wholesome Springs at the foot of the Mountain *Vesuvius*, and close to the City of *Nuceria*. The Bridge upon it the *Goths* had seized, and had set upon it wooden Towers, many Engines, and *Baliste* to Shoot down upon the Enemy. The River running betwixt them, there was no possibility for a clofe standing Battel, only getting as near as they durst to the Banks; both sides plied it with Arrows, some Challenges and Duels also now and then happened; and so two Months were wholly consumed. The *Goths* did well enough so long as they continued Maffers at Sea, being that way supplied with Provisions. But afterward their Ships were betrayed to the *Romans*, who being also reinforced with many other Vessels out of *Sicily*, and other Parts, *Narses* also setting up his wooden Turrets on the Rivers Bank, they were mighty dejected, and for fear and Famine fled up to a Mountain near at hand called *Mons Ladis*, where the *Romans* for the Fastnesse could not come at them. But finding there no Provitions at all, either for themselves or their Horses, they soon repented their coming up, and chusing rather to die by fight than Famine, came suddenly upon the *Romans* and took them at advantage, neither being imbatelled, nor any way oberving any Order, or Command. The *Goths* quitting their Horses, flood in a deep Battalion: the *Romans* also forsook theirs, and stood together in a Front. Here *Procopius* tells us, that this Battel and the Valour of *Tetias* in it, deserves a long Discourse, being equal to that of the ancient Heroes. Defeat made the *Goths* venture all, and shame caused the *Romans* not to yield to beaten men, though they saw them mad and desperate, and so the one weary of their Lives, and the other to shew their Valour, fought with much fury, the fight beginning in the Morning betimes.

222. *Tetias* accompanied not with many Souldiers, stood in the first Rank in open view, holding out his Sheild, and shaking his Lance. Many *Romans* knowing that by his Fall, the Controversie would be decided for this time, combined against him, some falling on him with their Spears, and others plying him hard with Darts, which he received on his Sheild, and then flying out killed many. When his Sheild was stuck thick, he gave it to one of his Targetiers and took another, continuing in this manner a third part of the day. Having at length got two Darts sticking on his Sheild, so that he could not wield it as he would, nor beat off the Assailants, yet for all this he quitted not his Rank, nor lost one inch of ground; nay he did not so much as turn his body, nor rest his back upon his Target, but stood upright, as if he had been fastned in the Earth, killing with his right hand, warding with his Sheild, and calling upon his Targetier to give him a new one, for his old one was loaded with Darts. In this instant as he made the change, his breast lying open was hit with a Javelin, and he instantly died. The *Roman* Souldiers put his head upon a Pole, to incourage their men, and dishearten the *Goths*, who though they saw their King slain, yet gave not over the Fight till Night came on, and then both

I. killed.  
The fight con-  
tinues till night  
the second day.  
continued alſt till Night, their Savage hatred carrying them through all difficulties; for the *Goths* made account it would be their last Fight, and the *Romans* scorched to be overmatch.

223. At laſt the *Goths* ſent to tell *Narses*, that they perceived their Conſteſt to be with God himſelf; that they ſaw the Power which stood againſt them, and now conſidered their true Eſtate and Condiſion by their former Succes: in concluſion, they promiſed to lay aside their deſperate Reſoluſions, upon condiſion not to be put under the ſubjeſtion of the Emperour, but to enjoy their own liberty, with ſome other Barbarian Nation. The *Romans* they intreated to afford them a peaceable Retreat, and in a moderate conſideration of their wretched Condiſion, to beſtow their own Goods upon them for their Journey, ſuch as they had left in any Forts of *Italy*. *Narses* holding a conſultation hereupon, *John* aduized him by all means to grant their Petition, and not to contend any more with men weary of their Lives, not to provoke a Courage growing from Desperation, which coimmonly proves fatal, not onely to thoſe that are poſſeſſed with it, but alſo to ſuch as venture to encounter them. He affirmed that to moderate men, it was enough to be Victorious, whereas the deſire of too much might end in Inconveniencie. *Narses* could not but allow of the advice, and they agreed on theſe Condiſions, That the *Goths* ſhould have their Goods, and immediately depaſt out of *Italy*, never any more to bear Arms againſt the *Romans*. About a thouſand of his Company went away

The *Goths* offer  
to depart *Italy*.

*Narses* conſents.

**Sect. I.** away to *Picenum*, and the parts beyond the River *Poe*, under Conduet of *Ildulph*, and some others. The rest staid and ratified the agreement by their Oaths; And the Romans took in *Cuma* and all the rest. So ended the eighteenth year of the Gothic War, and together with it the fourth and last Book, written by *Procopius* concerning the Subject, of whom yet we must not here take our leave, having occasion hereafter to make farther use of a certain secret History going under his Name.

**Agathias begins as he professes.** 224. Here being arrived at the end of his Travels in the Gothic matters, we must take *Agathias* for our Guide in our way forward, who professes to begin where the other ends his History; yet the conclusion of the one, and the beginning of the other, do not well agree. *Procopius* writes, that the Goths desired to depart out of the Emperour's Dominions, and that all of them except about one thousand, sealed the Agreement with their Oaths. But in *Agathias* not a word of this; for he tells us, that such as survived the Overthrow, (not mentioning a Party,) being prosecuted by the Romans without intermission, and pressed by frequent Assaults and drought of the places whither they betook themselves, made an agreement with *Narves*, that they should without molestation possess the Lands they formerly held, and thenceforth live in obedience and subjection to the Emperour. These things being thus determined, saith he, every one imagined, that there would be no more Wars in Italy, whereas they became but the seeds and occasions of farther Dissentions. For whereas it might be justly expected that the Goths, who had now recovered their Habitations on both sides the *Poe*, throughout *Tuscany*, *Liguria* and *Venetia*, should sit still and be quiet, and suffer Italy to take some breath and repose; those above the *Poe* had not long there continued, but they began to lay the Foundations of new mischiefs. And thinking themselves too weak, and inconsiderable to grapple with the Romans, resolved if possible, what they could not do in their own Persons, to effect by the power of an Alliance, and betook themselves to the Franks their Neighbours; the other Goths not joining in the Embassy, but standing at gaze and desirous of alterations, yet doubtfull concerning the event, and lately having had their hands in the fire, they desired for a while to look on, and then joyn with the stronger Party. The Messengers having got access, endeavoured to perswade the King and his Nobles, that to joyn with them was the only way to preserve themselves from Ruine, the avarice and ambition of the Romans being such, that the devouring of the Goths would but whet their Appetites, to make a greater Meal of the Franks and other Nations. They promised them not only much Booty and Spoil, but to pay them liberal stipends. And deuid they would send them a good and sufficient Army, over which they would set an able General of their own, who should speedily recover their ancient Lands and Possessions.

**The Goths fol-**  
**cite the Franks**  
**to joyn with them against the**  
**Romans.**

225. *Theudebald* being of a mean Spirit, and nothing fit for matters of War, besides of a weak and sickly Constitution, no way liked of their Message, neither thought it convenient for the benefit of other men, to involve himself in difficulties and dangers. But *Leutharis* and *Butilinus*, two Brothers, for all that contracted an Alliance with them, being *Alemans* by Nation, but of vast Authority and Power amongst the Franks, whom indeed they governed, being first brought in by the late King *Theodebert*. Having got an Army of seventy two thousand men together, they made themselves Cocksure of the Victory, concluding that *Narves* would not once dare to look them in the Face, and that they should speedily become Masters both of Italy and Sicily. *Narves* though he had not fully discovered their Intentions, yet suspecting and providing for the worst, resolved if possible to prevent them, and for that purpose to take in such Towns in *Tuscany*, as yet continued under the power of the Goths. He presently laid Siege to *Cuma*, a strong Town situate on an high Hill, and difficult to come to on the Shore of the *Tyrrhenian Sea*, where he was warmly entertained in his Assaults, by *Aligerus* the Brother of the deceased *Teias*, whose wonderful strength and activity appeared in many particulars. Not able to take it by Storm, he considered that part of the Fort stood over a mighty Hole or Cave, where it was reported, that one of the *Sibylls* of old gave her Answers, and particularly to *Aeneas* the Son of *Aeneas*. This Cave he caused to be enlarged, so far till they came to the Foundations of the Fort, which being underdropped with wood, stell as they digged, and then that set on fire, down fell the Wall, with several of the Buildings thus undermined. Yet did not the Project succeed, for the Cave being deep and vast before, was now enlarged to such a depth and widenes, that a mighty Chasm and Precipice being thereby made, *Cuma* remained as secure as formerly. Therefore *Narves* resolved not to spend all his time, and

*Aligerus, Omnis  
Alemans, Pamphy-  
lus Graec, in vec-  
tum.*  
*Aligerus by Alcar-  
ius, Alemanno non  
ita pridem in vte-  
spud Comites  
Norimburgae, at-  
que etiamnam in  
varius Anglia fa-  
mitatis.*

and employ his whole Force against this one place, inconsiderable in respect of what was farther to be done, but sent the greatest part of his Army to the *Poe*, there, if possible, to hinder the irruption of the Franks.

**Sect. I.**

*Narves takes in several places.* 226. He himself in the mean time attempted other Towns with good success, having left a sufficient power to block up *Cuma*. For the *Florentines* readily and willingly yielded up their City, so did the Inhabitants of *Centumcellæ* and *Volateriæ*, with all the Maritime Coasts; those of *Pisa* also, only the Citizens of *Luca* stood out, and were very refractory, although they had promised by Oath, and engaged by delivery of Hostages, to receive *Narves*, if they had no relief within thirty days, in which space they hoped the Franks would be with them. *Narves* was much concerned to find he was so abused, but carried it very moderately, and with great wisdom, nor suffering himself to be swayed by Passion or Revenge, though he had the Hostages in his hands. Yet did he devise a way by a feigned fort of execution to terrify them in the Town, presenting them with a light of the Hostages made ready for death, placed at such a distance, and so shadowed by cloaths, hung up on purpose, that when they saw the Axes lift up, the stroke of the Executioners, their Relations fall, and heard the noise upon the boards, they thought it a real Tragedy, though a Comical part was only acted. Receiving such imprecisions as their deluded senates presented, they had a futile operation upon their affections, so that lamentable cries, and great tumult followed amongst the Kindred and Allies of those they supposed to be dead. And *Narves* was reviled as an Hypocrite, who had covered the most cruel humour imaginable, with a specious zeal to Piety and Mercy. He told them that what had happened was by their own fault, being the punishment of their perfidious dealings, and that they must expect no better at his hands, yet possibly he could shew a trick, and make them alive again, if he might but be convinced that they deserved such a favour at his hands, and by their speedy repentance would make amends for their former faults. They laughed at the conceit of raising them from death, and conceiving he mocked them, resolved to be even with him, promising to set their Gates open, and receive him in, so soon as they should perceive that their Hostages were safe; for though they never meant it, yet concluding he had killed their Friends, they thought they should be released from the Bargain by the impossibility of the condition.

227. *Narves* thereupon presented the Hostages safe and sound to their view, which sight they were mighty affected; but seeing their Relations alive, and in good plight, though not out of danger, they began to make excuses, and at last it was resolved, notwithstanding their obligations, not to yield the City. Then did the Roman General shew a remarkable pattern of Magnanimity. He dismissed the Hostages freely without any Reward or Ransom, sending them into the Town, and with them this Message, That it was not his custome to flatter or delude any one with vain hopes, for they shoud understand that in case they did not speedily surrender, that thing in his hand, meaning his Sword, should oblige them to it, without the help of Hostages. But the men thus dismissed returned into the City, and there coming amongst their acquaintance, extolled the Justice, Magnanimity and Clemency of *Narves* to the skies, saying, there was never a man of so noble a Disposition, and it soon appeared, that the Discourses of them were stronger and more effectual for the taking of the Town, than all the battering Rams and Engines of *Narves*. They did their endeavour to promote his Interest, and while they discharged this office of gratitude, ill news comes to him out of *Emilia*, where the Roman Army at first oberving good order, did that for which it was sent, but afterward through the temerity of *Fulcaris* the Captain of the *Heruli*, made an excursion to the Gates of *Parma*, and received a defeat there by certain Franks, whom *Butilinus* had placed in ambush in the Amphitheatre. *Narves* was troubled for the los of the man, who was a Person of extraordinary valour, had he been but prudent, and more in respect of the consequences, which he feared might be great; but he was much afflicted when he heard how the other Captains, after the death of *Fulcaris*, for fear of the Franks, (who they knew would be much elevated with this success,) had forsaken the Countrey about *Parma*, and retired to *Faventia*. For he had sent those Forces thither on purpose to be as a Wall and Rampart to keep off the Franks till such time as having dispatched his matters in *Tuscany*, he could bring up his Army, and joyn with them. But now he perceived he might have sudden diversion, being by their removal exposed to the first Assaults of an encouraged and daring Enemy.

228. But

Sect. I.

228. But accommodating himself to the present exigency of Affairs, as well as he could, he first by a Speech encouraged his Souldiers, whom he found a little dejected at the News, shewing them that there was no Army, how victorious or valiant soever, which must not sometimes encounter with adverse fortune. And to the Officers lying at *Faventia* he sent one *Stephanus*, to require them to return to the Post formerly assigned them, which (having with incredible difficulty and speed, accompanied by two hundred stout men, passed through a Countrey filled with *Franks*) he did with such moving and convincing arguments, that, ashamed of their Retreat, they returned to their old Quarters about *Parma*. *Narses* then, delivered in some measure of his former fears, besieged *Luca* more straitly than ever, disdaining they should do peremptorily with him. He set his Engines to the Walls, and began to attaque them in earnest, which he believed perceiving, now more seriously weighed the Motives and Reasons of the Hostages, who using more diligence than ever, as the present occasion required, the Townsmen were inclined to yield; the only obstacle was, there were certain Officers of the *Franks* in Town, to look to the Garrison, who omitted nothing whereby they might inflame their minds, and make them stand it out, though with never so much disadvantage, for part of the Walls were already broken down. They caused them make a Sally, but they did it so unwillingly, and fought so coldly when out, that they ever had the worst, returned with loss and disgrace; and still being more pressed upon by the *Roman* Army, at length, after three months siege, they came to full resolution to yield their City, on condition, that what had hitherto pasted might be forgot and forgiven. So *Narses* took possession of *Luca*, in behalf of *Justinian* his Master.

229. Leaving *Bonus*, a prudent and valiant Person, Gouvernor of *Luca*, he marched with his Army to *Ravenna*, and disposed of his Souldiers into their Winter-Quarters; Autumn now declining, and the winter Solstice at hand, and with order in Spring to meet together at *Rome*. By this time *Aligern*, the Brother of *Tetius*, who held *Cumæ* against the *Romans*, upon notice that the *Franks* were coming to his Assistance, began seriously with himself to consider the reason of their coming, with the effects of their Conquests, in case it should be their good fortune to beat *Narses* out of *Italy*. He concluded their coming was for their own ends, not for any good meant to the *Goths*, and that if they remained Conquerours, they would turn Lords, and domineer over them. He thought it most fit and equal, that if the *Goths* possessed not *Italy*, the ancient owners should recover and enjoy it, and governed by these Reflexions, he came to *Narses*, and gave him the Keys of *Cumæ*, thereby delivering both that City and the Treasures of the *Goths* into his Hands. *Narses* joyfully and courteously received him, and caused him to go to *Nissene*, there to shew himself upon the Walls to the *Franks*, that they might see their expedition to *Cumæ* would be insignificant, the Riches of the *Goths*, and all the considerable Places being now in the power of the Emperour's Officers. And they indeed were startled by seeing him there, perceiving how matters were ordered, and fate in Council, seriously considering, whether they had not best to retreat, and decline the War, upon which they must enter with much disadvantage. But that Party prevailed which was for slaying and putting for *Italy*, let the succels be what it would. Then did they licentiously forage and plunder the Countrey with Two thousand men coming near the Walls of *Ariminum*, where *Narses* being at that time, and beholding some of them stragling from a Turret, could not hold, but mounting on Horseback, called on such Souldiers as he met to follow him. About three hundred accompanied him into the field, whom the *Franks* seeing, united themselves in a clofe body, so as they could not be broken, and therefore the *Romans* pleyed them with darts afar off. But this not breaking them, and they refusing to stir, he caused his men to counterfeit a flight, which they beholding, made after them as fast as the could follow, and then the *Romans* turned about, made head against them, and by a sudden and unexpected Assault so terrified them, that they cut off nine hundred men, and caused the rest to run away. After this *Narses* returned to *Ravenna*, where having set all things in good order, he removed to *Rome*, and there passed the Winter.

230. At the beginning of the Spring, thither all his Forces repaired according to order, where he caused them to be exercised, and continually trained to all points of War, to shake off any indisposition which in Winter they might have contracted. The Barbarians in the mean time, (so the Imperial Writers call all the Emperour's Subjects, and especially the Northern Nations, which poured themselves in upon the *Roman* Territories,) made their Inroads into all the Countrey, pro-

The Franks  
leave Italy.

proceeding leisurely that they might make the greater Preddations. They peirced as far as *Sannium* in one body, but there dividing their Forces, they foraged all quarters of *Italy* to the straits of *Rhegium* on one side, and the City of *Otranto* on the other. *Leutharis* (whom *Lazius* calls *Rabarist*), having taken the way of *Apulia* and *Calabria* to *Otranto*, when he had sufficiently enriched himself with Plunder, had enough of the War, and resold to return home with his Booty, and then send his Army to the assistance of his Brother *Burilinus*, who would not be drawn back till he had discharged himself of the Oath made to the *Goths*. But in his Retreat through *Picenum*, he lost many of his men, who were surprized by the *Roman* Forces, lying then about the City *Pisaurus*, and afterward crossing the *Poe* into *Venetia*, both he and his Army were feized with a great Plague, which dispestred him amongst the rest by strange symptoms, for he fell Distraeted, raved like a mad Dog, and tore the flesh from his own Body ; being thus punished by the just hand of God, for his Injustice and Rapine, as *Agathias* cannot but observe. In the mean time, *Burilinus* (by *Lazius* called *Baldvinus*.) having wafted all as far as *Rhegium*, returned towards *Rome*, where he heard that *Narses* had got his Army together, whom he intended to ingage as soon as possible, because he having prudently removed all Provisions out of the Countrey, the *Franks* were constrained to supply their want with Grapes, it being now the beginning of Autumn, which unwholesome food had brought most of them into a Flux, killed some, and he feared would make an end of more, and lessen the number of his Forces. Being arrived in *Campania*, he pitched his Camp not far from the City *Capua* upon the River *Calenus*, which flowing from the *Appennine* Mounts, empties it self into the *Tyrrhenian* Sea, having it for a Rampart on one side, and with his Carriages and other materials, blocking up all access on the other ; the Bridge also he feized, and fortified it as he saw convenient. *Narses* hearing where he was, hasted from *Rome* to encounter him, and fate down also at a convenient distance.

231. The Armies thus placed in view of each other, the *Franks* began according to their Custome to make incursions, to forage and plunder, which *Narses* observing and thinking it a disgrace to suffer them to doe it under his Nose, he gave order to *Chanaranges* an *Armenian*, whose Regiment was placed next the Enemy, to intercept their booty, and to put a stop to their confidant pilferings. He accordingly feized on several Carriages they were bringing to the Camp, and killing the Convoyes, drove one of them that was loaded with Hay over the Bridge, where setting it on fire, he burnt down the Turret which the *Franks* had newly Erected, and made himself Master of the Paffage. Such as were fit to the defence of the Turret, hardly avoiding the flames, retired in a great fright to the Camp, where the Fire being also seen, all the *Franks* fell into a great rage, and with disdain and the greatest height of confidence, required instantly to be led out to Battell. *Narses* also upon notice given, was not backward to Marshall his men, and being now mounted, and ready to set forward, complaint was made to him, that a certain *Herulian* of good account had killed his Servant, upon some slight occasion. The man denied not the fact, confidently maintained what he had done, and asserted his power over his Slaves, to extend to Life or Death as he pleased. But the General conceived himself obliged to make an atonement for blood, by the bloud of him that shed it, and commanded the Crime to be expiated by the Death of him that committed it. Hefeupon the *Heruli* were sore offended, and resold to give him no assistance in the fight, moreover two of them fled to the Camp of the *Franks*, acquainted them with the Accident, and advised them to fall on whilst the tumult, (for they made full account that would follow,) still continued. *Narses* little folcitous whether the *Heruli* followed or not, led on to an ingagement ; but *Sindual* their Captain seriously considered that for respect to a dead man, he and his Countrymen were not to be branded with Revolt and Faction, and defred the General to stay a little for him. He told him he would not stay, but in case he came, he would leave a place for him and his *Heruli*, though he shoud arrive a little with the latef.

232. The *Franks* encouraged by the Story told by the two *Heruli*, made on with more haft than good speed, being in all thirty thousand fighting men, formed into the likenes of a Wedge, the figure of the letter Delta, or the shape of the head of an Hog, as our Authour observeth. The *Roman* Battalion consisting of scarce eighteen thousand, was Marshalled with two Wings, and a main body of Foot, amongst which was left a void place for *Sindual* and his *Heruli*. Into this void place, when the Armies came to joyn the *Franks* peirced, which the *Roman* General perceiving, gave order to his Wings that they should receive, and then close upon them,

Luca is yielded  
to him.*Cumæ* and the  
Treasures of the  
*Goths* delivered  
up to him.

Sect. I. them, by which means such as stood in the middle being useles, and those on the outides laid at from all quarters, the number of them was still by degrees diminished, and when the *Heralis* came to take Possession of their place, such Slaughters were made, that *Butilinus* and his whole Army, being caught as it were in a Net, were every one cut off; five *Germans* only escaping home; yet of the Romans were Slain but eighty men, and those who were such as sustainted the first fury of the Enemy. All the Romans did singularly well, and of the Barbarians, *Aligern* the *Goths* who was present at the Fight, and *Sindual* Captain of the *Heralis* did eminent Service; but all admired and extolled the General, by whose wisdom and Conduct, they acknowledged they had obtained so great Glory. Taking then the rich Spoils of the Enemies Camp, the victorious Army marched to *Rome*, where having the News of the destruction of *Letharibus* and his Forces, they could not contain themselves for joy, which they expressed in Feasts, Dances, and all other ways they possibly could. And there was great danger the Romans should forfeit of this their good fortune, for now conceiving that they were rid of all their Enemies, and that the coming of more was not to be feared; they gave up themselves to Luxury, and all effeminate practices, being ready to exchange their Swords and Helmets for Barrels of Wine, and Instruments of Mirth. But *Narses* as a wife and skilful Physician, saw there was necessity of applying some thing that should be preventing to this growing Distemper. And by a reasonable and prudent speech, so convinced the Souldiers of their folly, that repenting of their loose kind of Life, they betook themselves to their wonted Exercises, and former Austerities.

233. But a company of *Goths*, to the number of seven thousand men, conscious of their guilt, and despairing of the Clemency of the Romans, secured themselves in a Fort called *Campæ*, being headed by one *Regnare* by Birth an *Hun*, of that fort called *Vittorei*, who to raise his Fortunes, animated them to this desperate course, and perfidiously them never to yield themselves. *Narses* presently was there with his whole Army, and perceiving there was no storming the Castle, resolved to begirt and starve them out, yet having laid in abundance of Provisions with all their Wealth, they bore it out with much chearfulness all the Winter. When Spring came, *Regnare* was resolved to try if he could make a better Market with *Narses*, and at his desire a conference was granted. But the General perceiving his pride and ambitious reaches, refused to grant what he demanded, and sent him back, whereat enraged as soon as he was got upon the Hill, and near the Wall, he let fly an Arrow at *Narses*, which hit neither him nor any other, but those of his Guard, being out of patience, sent a shower of Darts after him, wherewith he was mortally wounded, and being carried into the Castle, died two days after. Then did the besieged send to the General, and begging his pardon, yielded to quarter, which he gave them because of his Oath, but left they should raise any more troubles, he sent them all to *Constantinople*. At this time great Earthquakes happened, in that City and several parts of the East; particularly *Beritus* that beautifull eye of *Phœnicia*, and famous University for the study of the Roman Laws was overthrown, and multitudes of its Inhabitants buried in the Ruines, which caused the Students to remove to *Sidon* near at hand, till it could be reedited. *Alexandria* also in *Egypt* to the wonder of all men, (that Country being counted free from such accidents,) felt the power of these subterrane Vapours, or what other cause there may be of such Concussions, and the poor Island of *Cors* was miserably shaken, as *Agathias* himself an eye witness informeth us, who chanced then to travell that way, toward *Constantinople* from *Alexandria*, where studying the Law at that time, he perceived amongst others, that City to quiver and shake, to his great terror and astonishment.

234. In the mean time, whilst things thus prosperously went on in *Italy*, the Persians in *Lazica* under Conduct of *Mermoro*, advanced their affairs, and the Romans suffered themselves to be fooleed out of a strong place, which hitherto they had held in that Country. For *Mermoro* not being able to take by Assault the Castle of *Telephus*, of which *Martinus* was Goverour, the Souldiers diligence and Circumpection, together with the natural strength of the Place, defeating easily all his Ideavours, he counterfeited himself sick, and caused it at length to be reported that he was Dead, on purpose that it coming to the Ears of the Romans, they might neglect their Guards, omit their Watches, and thereby present him with some notable opportunity. The Plot took as he had laid it, for they believing the Persian General to be Dead, concluded it folly to put themselves to any farther trouble, whereby he so gained upon them, that perceiving they were now in his

The Romans quit *Telephus* in Lazica.  
*Mermoro Dies*.

in his power, and that he would presently become Master of the Place, they fairly forsook it, and betook themselves to their Friends, the Roman Army, which then lay encamped but seven Furlongs off, Commanded by *Bessas*, and *Justinian* the Son of *Germanus*. But all of them came not safe to the Camp, *Mermoro* falling upon their Rere, some of them were intercepted and slain, and the rest in a panic fear, running to the Army, brought news of the approach of the Persians, and struck them all with such amazement, that the Officers could neither give, nor the Souldiers receive any Directions, but in confusion all ran away, to an Island an hundred and fifty Furlongs off, whither *Mermoro* thought it not convenient to follow them. For he neither had Provisions, nor was otherwise furnished for a Siege, and therefore reviling the Romans for their Cowardice, he made a Bridge over the *Phasis*, and passing over all his Army, returned into the Province of *Muchi*-*rissi*, where he Died not long after. He was a man both of great personal Valour, and of excellent Conduct. Being old, and of a long time lame of both his Feet, so that he could not Ride, yet he forbore no sorts of Labours, but carried in his Litter to the Fight, both terrified the Enemy, and encouraged his own men, and otherwise discharged all the parts of a General, so as he obtained many Victories. But Dead, he had the Burial in use at that time with his Countrymen, which was to be exposèd naked in the Air, to greedy Dogs, and other Ravenous sorts of Creatures.

235. *Chophæ* much concerned for the Death of *Mermoro*, that his Forces might not be without an Head, and misfarry for want of Government, made *Nachoragan* General in his Room, a man of great Repute for Military Matters. Whilst he prepared for his Journey, great Heart-burnings and Quarrels arose in *Lazica*, betwixt King *Gubazes* and the Roman Officers, which still increased by degrees to such an Height, that at length it procured his utter Defruction. The first occasion was the Cowardise and flight of the Romans, which the King bore so ill, out of respect to the welfare of his Country, that he complained thereof by Letter to *Justinian*, who being formerly offended with *Bessas* for quitting *Lazica*, when he ought to have stopped up the Avenues from *Iberia*, turned him out of Command, and confined him for the present into the Territories of the *Abagians*. *Martinus* was as much to blame for Negligence, as he for Covercousnes, yet he removed not him, but placed *Justinus* next to him, and *Bzes* was the third in degree; but there was a *Quæstor* called *Ruficus* with the Army, not being employed to gather any of the Emperour's Revenue, but having charge of the Money paid out of his Coffers, for reward and encouragement of such as behaved themselves Valiantly in the War. This *Ruficus* joyned with *Martinus* in his enmity to *Gubazes*, who perceiving how they stood affected to him, ceased not however to imbitter them by continual reflexions upon their careles and imprudent management of Affairs. They resolved not to endure it, and still keeping in mind, what he had written to the Emperour against them, resolved to remove him out of the way, and that quickly, by some means or other.

Quarrelsbetwixt Gubazes and the Roman Officers.

236. But upon a long and serious debate, at length it was resolved, to send and accuse him of Treachery to *Justinian*, and of a Conspiracy with the Persians against his Interest, thereby either to procure Orders to make him away, or at least render the Fact executable, and obtain Connivence. *John* the Brother of *Ruficus*, was the Messenger, who telling such a tale to *Justinian*, he was much struck with the Story, but recollecting himself, and knowing what Malice there was betwixt *Gubazes* and his Officers, did not fully believe it, but holding a middle course, replied that if it was so, he would have him sent up to *Constantinople*. *John* apprehended presently, that if he should come up, the Cheat would be discovered, and therefore asked him, whether, in case he refused to come, he were not to be compelled. The Emperour said, yes, being a Subject, and that he should be sent with a sufficient Guard. Again, *John* demanded what was to be done with him, in case he refused; *Justinian* answered, he was to be ordered as a Tyrant, and ought as such to perish miserably. Then, saith he, the man shall need to fear nothing that kills him; nothing, replied the other, if making resistence, and refusing to obey, he perish as an Enemy. He having got such an awfer, and Letters written to the Officers in *Lazica*, to the same purpose, they thought they had a sufficient bottom for what they designed, and therefore sent for *Justinian* and *Bzes*, who knew nothing of the Conspiracy to accompany them to *Gubazes*, and be present at the Execution. *Gubazes* being sent to, readily met them, to whom *Ruficus* spake, and bade him joyn his Forces with theirs, and set upon *Ongoris*, a certain Fort which he said it was a shame should continue in the Persians hands, lying as it did in the

They Murther  
him.

**Sect. I.** in the midst of the Country. He according to his Custome fell foul upon them, and reviling them for their Cowardise and Negligence, said the fault was theirs, that that Fort was not already reduced, and he plainly told them, he would neither follow, nor accompany them in any Enterprize, till they had made amends for what they had formerly done amis. This would they take as a Demonstration of his Revolt to the *Perians*, and therupon immediately Murthered him in the place.

**237.** All *Lazica* was presently in an Uprore, the Inhabitants of which sensible of the Affront, refused any more to keep company with the *Roman* Souldiers, *Justin* and *Buzes* shook their Heads, astounded at so horrid an A&e, but contained themselves, imagining that certainly they had received some secret Order and Warrant from the Emperour. The Regicides to divert theirs, and the thoughts of others, from what was now done, as also to ingratiate themselves with *Justinian*, resolved to set upon the Fort *Onogoris*, so called of old time from the *Onoguri*, or *Hunnes* there defeated in Battel, but since that it was named the Fort of *St. Stephen*. Having begirt it round, and playing with their Engines, a suspicous Person was taken and brought to the Camp by *Justin* his followers, who upon Examination proved to be a *Perian*, and was sent to signify to his Countrymen in the Castle, that *Nachoragan* would presently be with them, having already reached *Iberia*, and that such *Perians* as lay in *Muchiristi* and *Catissum*, were upon their way in order to their Relief. A Council of War was instantly called, and the Officers spake their opinions. *Buzes* advised that they shoud go with their whole Army, and meet the approaching Succours, which having defeated, as there was no danger but they shoud, *Onogoris* destitute of releif, would fall in easilly of it self; and there wanted not who were of his Opinion, in particular *Uligangus* Captain of the *Heruli*, who used that blunt but significant Proverb, that drive away the Bees, and then with ease they might gather the Honey. But *Ruficus* very malapertly fell foul upon *Buzes*, upbraiding him with a general weaknes in Council, and urged vehemently that they might stay and take the Fort, and send a Party in the mean time, to put a stop to the *Perian* Succours. This his Advice was approved, and the good Council of *Buzes* rejected by the Generality, because the Multitude possibly having contrafacted some guilt in reference to the blood of *Gubazes*, from Justice it self as *Agathias* observes, was to have a mischeif.

**238.** In pursuance of the order, six hundred Horfe were sent against the Forces coming from *Muchiristi*, under Conduct of two Barbarian Commanders, who falling upon them unawares, and out of order, put them to flight, though they were three thousand men, for they imagined that the whole *Roman* Power as it was their Interest, was come upon them. But when they perceived their Errour, and that they had to deal but with a small Party, they stod their ground, faced about, and making head, by an easie resistance, beat back and pursued the Pursuers; who meeting with so unexpected a fresh Charge, were neither able nor willing to endure the shock, but fled again back to their Friends, who were now busily employed in the Siege of *Onogoris*. Here they fell tumultuously, and pell mell upon the Befegers, when they did not think of it, who, a mighty tumult being therupon raised, with great fear and Conternation, quitted the Leaguer and ran away with their flying Friends, as fast as their Legs could carry them, which the *Perians* in the Fort observing, issued out and joying in the Chace, did confiderable Execution, especially at a Bridge laid over the River *Catharus*, over which the Running Army must necessarily pass. It probability they had all been cut off, (fifty thousand, by no more than three,) if *Buzes* had not rallied his men, and making head against the Pursuers, gained some time for them to pass over. The *Perians* in their Entrenchments before the Fort, found good Plunder, and all the places therabout forsaken by the late Inhabitants, who leaving their choicest things behind, thought it enough they could escape so with their Lives. Now the Winter came on, and the Souldiers were disposed into their Winter Quarters.

**239.** In the mean time, the most confiderable *Lazians* had great Disputes amongst themselves, what course to take, and the people was wholly unsent and dissatisfied. The Nobility when they thought the *Romans* least minded them, having their hands and heads full enough since the late Defeat, called the Multitude together into a Valley near a part of Mount *Caucasus*, as most out of the way, to consider whether they should still adhere to the *Romans*, or be revenged upon them by associating themselves with the *Perian* King. A great Noise and tumult happening, when with much adoe silence was obtained, one *Aetes* stood up, a man extremely addicted to the *Perian* Faction, who with vehement words, inflamed the

The Romans de-  
feated.

the multitude against the *Romans*, taking occasion from the death of *Gubazes* to tax them with all that favoured of Ambition and Cruelty. On the other side he commanded the manners and dispositions of the *Perians*, put the People in mind they were the Poverty of the ancient *Colchi*, who could not brook any thing that favoured of Disgrace or Slavery, and by the late defeat vilified the Courage and Conduct of the *Roman* Goverours, that the multitude enraged and impatient of delay, required that his Advice might be speedily put in execution. And this had been done, though the *Romans* were at hand, and they had all possibly perished in the attempt, had not the folly and rashnes of *Aetes* been speedily detected by another of the Company, called *Phartates*, who first mightily inculcated this Doctrine, that nothing rashly was to be resolved. Having let them see the inconvenience of the contrary practice, by little and little he infiquated his opinion, that by no means were they to join themselves with the *Perians*, using Arguments drawn from the difficulty of the thing, the inconstancy of Fortune in War, (though in the late Action he had favoured the *Perians*,) but especially by Motives taken from Religion, and the safety of their Souls, which he shewed must needs be in danger, if the Infidel *Perian* should once come to reign over them. In conclusion, he argued that it was unjust to condemn any before they were heard, affirmed it to be his opinion, that neither the Emperour, nor other of his Officers, besides *Martinus* and *Ruficus*, had an hand in their King's death, and, as a mean, propounded to send to *Justinian* their Complaint, and a Demand of Justice, from whom if they should receive satisfaction, then to continue quiet, if not, to doe as Piety, and the Exigency of their prent Affairs should require.

**240.** His prudent Speech quieted their minds, and made them change their Resolutions, especially moved therunto by his Argument taken from Religion. And presently certain select Persons were sent to the Emperour *Justinian*, who readily gave them satisfaction, sending down *Athanafius*, to inquire into the Murther, and punish it according to the *Roman* Laws; as also in another thing they requested, which was the granting of *Tzabes*, the younger Brother of *Gubazes*, to be their King, to whom, as the custome was, he delivered the usual Ensigns of Royalty. The late forrow of the *Lazians*, upon his Promotion, was turned into excessive joy, and he entring upon the Government, ruled according to the Customs of the Countrey. *Ruficus* and *John* were by *Atbanafius* committed to custody in the City *Apsarantibus*, in order to their Tryal; but an ill accident befell one *Soterichus*, who had accompanied him from *Constantinople*. He was sent by the Emperour with a great summ of money, to be distributed, according to the ancient custome, amongst such Barbarians as bordered upon the Empire, to purchase their friendship and society in War; and in pursuance of his Trutl, was to passe through the Territories of the *Mikmanni*, a People subject to the *Lazians*, and inhabiting toward the North-East of them. They imagined he came to seize on one of their Forts, to deliver it up into the Hands of the *Alans*, and sent some to require him to depart thence, promising, in case he wold so doe, to furnish him with necessaries for his Journey. He disdainning they shoud so use him in the Character he was, caused his Followers to beat the Messengers, who being men of good Account, and enraged at the disgrace, stirred up the People against him, and in the night, while he slept securly and confidently in the place, slew him, with his two Sons, and most of his Company. When the heat was over, and they came to consider in cold bloud what they had done, they too late repented; for they could not but expect the *Romans* to come and revenge the injury. Therefore, to prevent it, they revolted, and sent to the *Perians*, to desire they might be taken into their protection, promising to be obedient to their Commands. The *Roman* Officers in *Lazica* were much troubled at the News, but could not require satisfaction, being taken up with matters of a far higher nature.

**241.** For *Nachoragan* with full sixty thousand men, by this time drew near the Island where the Forces were encamped under *Martinus* and *Justin*, the Son of *Germanus*. *Martinus*, aware of his coming, had placed two thousand *Sabrian* Hunnes near *Archepolis*, to stop his passage, against whom he sent three thousand of the *Dilimnitae*, a most warlike fort of People, inhabiting *Persia*, within the River *Tigris*, who thinking to come upon them unawares, and in the night, when they were all asleep and secure, had certainly destroyed them, but that taking a *Lazian*, whom they met by chance, for their guide; he leading them through the Woods, took the advantage the darknes of the night afforded to slip from them, and coming to the Camp of the *Sabrians*, roused them from their sleep, and gave them warning. They forslaking then the former place of their incamping, disposed of

*Sect. I.* of themselves into Woods and Thickets, where, as they past by, they fell upon them with such advantage, that they slew eight hundred of them there, and then giving the chase, the Garrison of *Archaeopolis* failed out, and did great Execution, so that of three score one thousand returned back to *Nachoragan*, who then went to the Island, and desired a Conference with *Martinus*. The Conference producing nothing but greater Animosities, *Nachoragan* laid a Bridge over the River *Phasis*, and transported his Army to the other side, where he encamped himself betwixt the Island and a City of the same name with the River, standing just upon the mouth of it. This Town being in the hands of the *Romans*, *Martinus* and his men were much concerned, and endeavoured all they could to prevent the *Perians*, but coming too late to effect this, they left *Buzes* in the Island to order matters there as he should see occasion, and if need were, to afford them relief. The rest entered the City *Phasis*, both to preferre the place, and because they were not strong enough to ingage with *Nachoragan* in a pitch Battel.

*242.* Now did the *Perian* General besiege the City; some were busie in shooting at those that appeared upon the Battlements, others employed in filling up the Ditches, and some in moving the Engines for Battery to the Walls. *Martinus* and his *Romans*, were looked upon by *Nachoragan* but as a company of Sheep driven up into a Pound; and he considering what multitude he had to deal with, thought it was requisite to employ his Wits more than his Hands. He counterfeited Letters sent from the Emperour, which intimated, that he, out of his abundant care, had sent another Army to their affiſſe; though he knew ſuch was their valour, that they would not ſtand in need of it. Hereupon he took occaſion to florm, that he and his Fellow-Souldiers having born the heat of the day, and ſustained all the labour and travel, others ſhould be ſent to reap the fruit of it, and now they had even almoſt obtained the Victory, to wreft the Laurel from off their Heads; and he told them that his opinion was, there ſhould be ſome ſent to ſtop them at the River *Neognus*, where they lay incamped, but four *Perian* Parafanges diſtant from the City. They, encouraged with the News, all cried out, the thing was to be done, being unwilling any others ſhould partake of their booy; and the rumour of this fictitious fresh Army coming to the Ears of the *Perians*, had the quite contrary operation upon them, filling them with terror and dejection. *Nachoragan* ſent a Party to lie in the way, and to flop the paſſage of theſe No-bodies, till he ſhould take *Phasis*; and ſetting a conſiderable number of ſubſtantial Souldiers to combatte with theſe men of Air, deprived himſelf of the ſe of a very good part of his Army. Yet being a man of an arrogant humour, he made himſelf cock-fure, and triumphed before the Victory, openly boasting that before it was night, he would rid his hands of *Phasis*, and the *Romans*, by ſetting fire to the Town, and burning both it and the Army together.

*243.* In purſue of this Reſolution he prepared for an Aſſault with all the vi- gour and diligence imaginable. *Justin*, the Son of *Germanus*, in the mean time, betook himſelf to the beſt means of reſiſtence, going to a Church not far diſtant from the City, with a Party of the ſtoueft Foot, and five thouſand Horſe, where he put up his Prayers to Almighty God, the givēr of all Victory. In the mean time the Aſſault of the City began, wherein was nothing omitted becoming either the Courage of the Aſſailants, or the Reſolution of the Beſieged. *Justin* at his return from his Devotions, perceiving what was in hand, cauſed his Men to ſet up a great shout, and fall upon the backs of the *Perians*, who thinking verily it was the ſame Army which *Martinus* had feign'd to be ſent from the Emperour, and to lie incamped by the River *Neognus*, began in a tumultuous manner to retire from the Walls, and at length drew off quite from the Siege. The *Romans* made what advantage they coul'd of their flight, and routed quite one of their Wings; but the other fought stoutly, and made eſſectual oppoſition, being guarded by their Elephants, which hindered the Horſe from doing any conſiderable Execution, till ſuch time as *Ogyarus*, one of *Martinus* his Guard, ſeing himſelf in great danger to be destroyed by one of the Beasts, ſtruck at him with his Javelin, which he left ſticking in the lower part of his Forehead, near his Eyes. The Elephant enraged with the pain, and impatient to have the Javelin ſticking and hanging at his Face, bore down all before him, tearing the Horſe, and trampling on the Men, ſo that their Ranks were broken, and the whole Wing fo diſorderd, that their General, how confident and arrogant ſoever before the Aſſault, now both by words and example moved them to ſlie, and away all ran to their Camp, with the *Romans* at their heels, who fo far gave the chafe as *Martinus* thought it was convenient.

*The Perians*  
left their Siege  
from before  
*Phasis*.

Run away to  
their Camp.

244. Ten

A Party of *Per-*  
*ians* defeated.

Twelve thou-  
ſand of them  
ſlain.

*244.* Ten thouſand *Perians* in this Action loſt their Lives, besides two thouſand more, which *Nachoragan* by his mere folly and arrogance destroyed. He had ſent them to cut down Wood, and fetch other materials for the Siege, with order, that as soon as they ſaw a ſmoke arife, they ſhould preſently return to affiſſe in the Aſſault, and ſhare in the Plunder; for he boasted that he would quickly ſet the Walls and Ramparts on fire. But now when he was thus shamefully beaten, the *Romans* returning, ſet fire to all his Engiues, and other materials, which they ſeing at a diſtance, in all haſte and diſorder returned, leſt they ſhould come after the Feaſt, as *Agathias* expreſſeth it, and fo falling into their hands they leaſt expeſted, were all of them cut in pieces. The *Romans* took the Plunder of the Field, which was ve- ry rich, and honourably buried their dead, the number of whom amounted to ſome two hundred. *Nachoragan* afterward made as though he intended to give Battel; but ſetting the *Dilemmite* in the Trenches, to make an appearance of his ſtay in the Camp, he, with the reſt of the Army, ſtole away to *Cotafium*, and ſo marcht into the Province of *Muchirifis*. When he had paſſed the half of his way, and was out of danger, they being lightly armed, ſtrong, and nimble of body, retired alſo. And after them came that Party which had been ſent to watch for the Chiſeſeal Army at the River *Neognus*, underſtanding what had happened to their Friends before *Phasis*, and by priuy and intricate ways, at length, got alſo into *Muchirifis*; where all the *Perian* Forces now being met, *Nachoragan* leaving the greateſt part of the Horſe, and to command them, *Waſriſes*, a man of great Repute, himſelf with a few in company, went and wintered in *Iberia*.

*245.* All being now in repote in *Lazica*, it was thought fit to call *Ruficus* and *Agathias*, lib. 4; his Brother *John*, the murtherers of *Gubazes*, to their Tryal. For this purpose all forts of Officers had been ſent from *Constantinople*, and a very formal proceſs was made. *Abbanthus*, the Judge, appearing in his Robes, like a Prince ſeated upon an high Throne. There were Scribes, Cryers and Lictors, who brought their Irons, Givess, Fetteres, and other iuſtruments of Torture and Examination, into the Court: On the left hand ſtood the Prifoners and over againſt them the Accusers; the Judgment being ordered, with this ſtate and ſolemnyty, by *Justinian*, both to ſtrike the beholding *Lazians* with more Awe and Reverence towards his Laws and Government, as alſo to give them full ſatisfaction, however the matter ſhould be determined and judged, to much adoe being made, and ſuch pains taken, to give them content in what they deſired. Some of the wiſeſt *Colchians* appeared as Accuſers, who firſt deſired that the Emperour's Letters, written the Conſpiratours, might be read; which being to the fame effect as formerly we mentioned, they thence took occaſion to ſhew how they had acted without any order, and killed him merely out of Revenge and Malice. *Ruficus* coming to anſwer, inſlifted chiefly upon this, that he had killed neither a King nor a Friend, but a Tyrant and an Enemy, alledging that he envied the Proſperity, and insulted in the defects and miſcarriages of the *Romans*, betraying their Affairs to all the Barbarian Nations round about, and to the *Perians* especially, with whom, he ſaid, he held a corespondence. In conclusion, he affirmed nothing had been done without the knowledge, approbation and conjuſion of *Martinus*, and put ſuch false colours upon the Fact, that the Judge at firſt, not able to diſtinguiſh them from true, gave an ear to what he ſaid, till having twice debated the matter, he found that *Gubazes* had been no Traitor, neither what he refued to doe in the buſineſs of *Onogoris*, proceeded from any Intelligence or Conſederacy he had with the *Perian*, but out of Indignation againſt the *Roman* Officers, faulc of whom it had been that that Fort was not already reduced. He then pronounced sentence, that *Ruficus* and *John* ſhould be beheaded, reſerring the matter of *Martinus* to the cognizance of the Emperour. When the *Lazians* ſaw them carried upon Mules to their Execution, and all the ſolemnyty and terror thereof, they were ſufficiently ſatiſfied with the punishment of theſe two, and continued very quiet, and obſervant of the *Romans*.

*246.* The Spring following the *Roman* Commanders reſolved upon an Expedi- tion againſt the *Mimiani*, who had killed *Soterichus*, and revolte to the *Perians* upon that occaſion. *Buzes* and *Justin* were left in the Island, and four thouſand Men drawn out for this ſervice, who, according to order, but ill commanded, marcht away to the Country of the *Apilians*. Here the *Perians* interpoſed, ha- ving had intelligence of the deſign, and ſtopt their paſſage all the ſummer; but Winter coming on, they fairly retired, their Laws and Cuſtoms not binding them to be ouer on ſervice in that unpleaſant ſeaſon of the year. The *Romans* now being rid of them, and having free paſſage, ſent Meſſengers to the *Mimiani* to aduile them to bethink themſelves, and by an early repen- tance prevent that misery and deſo-

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The Misimians besieged.

defolation which must necessarily fall upon them, having to do with so potent an Enemy, and being now destitute of their friends the Persians. But they, presuming upon the unpassableness of their Country, and the steepness and ruggedness of the Mountains, were so far from relenting, that, contrary to the Law of Nations, they killed the Messengers, being Men of Repute amongst the *Affiliates*, their Neighbours, and who spoke nothing harsh or unreasonable, but, in a civil obliging manner, laid before them the danger into which they would infallibly cast themselves. The Roman Army therefore, animated with great Distrain and Anger, marches against them, but does little good for want of a sufficient Commander, some speaking one thing, some another, and every one abounding in his own sense. At length *Martinus*, who had been on the way himself, but, falling sick, was forced to return, sent them one *John a Cappadocian*, commonly called *Daixa*, who, observing that all the Misimians had betaken themselves to one Hold, presently laid Siege to it.

247. This Fort being seated upon Rocks, at the bottom thereof were pleasant Springs, whence the besieged, in the night, and by stealth, fetched their water. This was taken notice of by one *Iulus*, an *Iaurian*, who followed them so far up, till he perceived the path how it lay, and then revealed his discovery to *John* the Commander. He sent with him an hundred choice men, who easily mounted the Rock so far, till they could see the Centinels lie all asleep by a fire side; but then it happened, that one of them falling, and his Target breaking, made a noise, which awakened these Guards, and made them all baffle and take their Weapons. But being by the first side, they could not see those in the dark, and they knowing in what danger they were, stood still, so fearfull of making any noise, that they durst hardly draw their breath; for they were not yet got fully up, and had the Centinels discovered them, they might, by the tumbling down of one huge and mafly stone, whereof there were plenty, have broken their bones in pieces. But they continuing mute, and so firm as if growing to the place, and no more noise being heard, the Guards, who being formerly asleep, could not guess what the matter was, took them to their rest again, which seeing, up they went, soon cut their Throats, then entred the Fort, killed all they met, and set the Housles on Fire. The Misimians had given too just occasion to be severely dealt with, but they neither spared Women, nor the tender Infants, which were not guilty of the fault of their Parents, but dashed them against the rocks, and tossed them on their Spears at their pleasure.

248. All the night they spent in this work, secure, as they thought, of any Enemy. But five hundred stout Misimians, who had issued out of the Fort, set upon them unawares by break of day, and killing some, wounded more, but made all run in great disorder to the Camp, where it was resolved no more to attempt the Town by way of the Rock, but to set to their Engines of Battery, and attack the Fort. Herein they had such success at the beginning, that the besieged, fearfull of what should follow, sent to beg pardon, acknowledging their crimes had been great, but pleading the exceeding greatness of their punishment; for their Housles were wellnigh all burnt, they had lost five-thousand Men of the flower of their Nation, besides Women and Children, so that the Name of the Misimians was not far from being quite obliterated. *John*, for this Reason, was content to receive them to terms, and the rather, because of the coldness and barrennes of the Country, which afforded but little Accommodation for the Army. Paying therefore all the money back they had taken from *Sotericus* with the Emperour's Gold, and other things, they gave Hostages, and were permitted to live under the obedience of the Roman Empire, as formerly. And the victorious Army returned into the Colchian Countrey, having lost no more than thirty Men. After this *Justinian* removed *Martinus* from all his Commands, bearing him, and that defervently, ill will ever since the death of *Gubazes*, and resolving in time to be even with him; but he wifely concealed his Indignation for the present, knowing him to be a Man much beloved by the Souldiers, considering the skilfulness of Affairs in Lazica, and his Skill in matters of War, and especially his good Conduct of late, which was the cause that he was not involved as well in the punishment as he had been in the crime relating to *Gubazes*. In his place was *Justin*, the Son of *Germanus*, made General, with full authority over all the Forces throughout the Colchian Regions and Armenia. Being the Emperour's near Kinsman, he sent for him to Constantinople, and there putting the whole power into his Hands, caused him to return back into Lazica.

249. But

Are brought under again.

*Justin* made General in the room of *John*.

Nachoragan flyed alive.

249. But *Chosroes* King of Persia was enraged at *Nachoragan*, for what had happened at the City of *Phasis*, and commanding him to repair to his Prefence, caused him to be bay'd alive, which done, his skin was hung upon a Rock, distended in it's full Proportion, and there it remained a Spectacle of the Cruelty of the King, as well as of the Cowardise and Indiscretion of the General. Afterward considering how the Romans were Masters at Sea, he thought it would be to little purpose to send another Army into the Colchian Countrey, for his Men found it most difficult to come by any Provisions, whereas the Romans had all things at their Pleasure imported to them. Therefore he judged it most Convenient for his Affairs to make Peace, and for that purpose sent an Ambassadour to *Constantinople* called *Zieb*; who, after much debate on both sides, came to this appointment with the Emperour, that the Romans and Persians should hold and enjoy such places, as they were at present in Possession of, by the right of War, and keep themselves quiet, and forbear all Acts of Hostility, till a more strict and perfecter League could be agreed on, betwixt the two Princes. The Commanders on both sides having notice, and receiving Orders conformed themselves unto them, and what before was done voluntarily, now became necessary by agreement.

250. Weared with the Cares and the several Accidents of War, these powerful Princes thus sheathed their Swords, and continued quiet a long time after. Although the first overture came from *Chosroes*, who was utterly disengaged by the defeat at *Phasis*; yet *Justinian* secretly, and in his private Thoughts highly approved of it, especially having the Honour of the Refusal. For he was grown old, and consequently impatient of Noise and Action, which made him enter into a new Course, for preventing the many Inroads of the barbarous Nations; and that Charge and Trouble which in his Youth he had still been put to. He set them together by the Ears at home, hired one Party to fight against another, procured Emulations, Jealousies, and Dissentions amongst them; and if any Invasion happened to be made, he had some or other of that Nation by him, whom by large Gifts and Preferments, he so far made his own, that he could trust them to lead an Army against their Countrymen, knowing well that they best understood the Nature of the place, and Condition of those they had to deal with; where their weaknesses most lay, on which part they were Naked, and most liable to be hit and wounded. He thought this new Craft to be so effectual, that it made him slight his Military men, as standing now in no need of them, and the Fortifications were neglected, and suffered to fall to nothing; together with the Legions generally throughout the Empire. The Armies were in all Countries lessened, and nothing comparable to the standing Forces of the Ancient Emperours, which being wont to consist of six Hundred and forty five Thousand fighting Men; at present, there were hardly found an Hundred and fifty Thousand, and of these some lay in Italy, others were dispersed through Africk, Spain and Lazica, and some lay at Alexandria, and the Egyptian Thebes, and a very few upon the Borders of Persia.

251. About the Conclusion of the Peace, a number of *Zani* inhabiting to the South of the *Euxine* Sea, about the City of *Trapezond*, having been formerly Subjects of the Empire, fell upon the Territories of *Pontus*, and piercing as far as *Armenia*, harassed and pillaged all in their way: Against them was sent *Theodosius* their Countrymen, one very eminent for his Services, who easily Mastered them, having no good Commander to Govern them, and imposed a certain yearly Tribute upon them, by order of the Emperour; who so highly valued this subduing, and bringing them under the Yoke, that in one of his novel Constitutions, reckoning up his several Victories, he makes mention of this, as one of the Chief. About this time happened another Earthquake at *Constantinople*, so great and Terrible, that it seemed about to swallow up the whole City. *Agathias* spends many words, in describing the Fear and Conternation, which seized upon the Inhabitants of all forts and Conditions, and makes the same Observation, as *Procopius* did in the Plague, of the great shew of Reformation, and many remarkable Acts of Piety and Mercy, which were Practised for the time; but when the Judgment was once removed, most of these Men then licked up their Vomits, and returned though leasurely to their former ways. Yet still one Punishment followed at the Heels of another, for the very next Spring the Plague which had never ceased all this while, but wandred about from place to place, again returned to the City, and swept away an infinite multitude: Some dyed suddenly, as seized with a violent Apoplexy, and such as were strongest sustainted the violence of the Disease not past

*Justinian* grown old and loving quiet, sets the Barbarians one Nation against another, and at difference among them selves.

This made him neglect Military men.

The *Zani* reduced under the Roman yoke.  
An Earthquake at *Constantinople*.

The Plague re-

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the fifth day. But the Symptoms were for the most part the same, as had been in the former Visitation.

An Invasion of  
the Hunnes.

252. No sooner was *Constantinople* freed from this Distemper, but another mischievous fell out, which filled the Inhabitants with as great Terror and Tumult as the other. For a multitude of *Cottigrian Hunnes* taking advantage of the Frost, passed over the River *Iber* and invaded *Thrace*, where dividing themselves into two Parties; one went for *Greece*, and the other for *Chersonesus* of *Thrace*, under Conduct of *Zamergan*, who grudged that *Sandil*, or *Sandichus* the Captain of the *Urgurians* should be Courted and enriched by the Emperour, while he and his Companions sat still at home, and continually struggled with Penury and Hardship. Refolving therefore to doe something whereby they should be taken notice of; they passed directly toward *Constantinople*, wafting all in their way, making abundance of Captives, punishing the very Women they haled out of Cloisters, and committing all other sorts of Infolence and Violence. They passed over the long Walls, and came near to the Forts, made for the defence of the Royal City, where all matters relating to War being, as we said, utterly neglected, there was not as much as a Man to oppose, nor a Dog to bark against them, as *Agathias* phrasteth it, the Money which had been formerly employed in paying the Souldiers, being now converted to the maintenance of dishonest Women, Chariot-drivers and other sorts of loose or Effeminate Persons. The *Hunnes* now were come within an Hundred and fifty Furlongs of the City: Within it appeared nothing but Confusion and Tumult, nothing was heard but Lamentations, flutting of Shop-windows, and Clapping together of Doors. The Emperour himself was not a little dismayed, by whose Order all such Churches as stood without the City, toward the Europe-side and the Sea-shore, had all their choice Ornaments, and Utensils removed into places of security at a distance.

253. So dreadfull was the approach of these Barbarians, that scarcely could any Military men be got, to make good the Walls and Gates of the City; in Case their boldness should bring them so far: Only those they called *Scholarii*, made a shew with their Gay clothes, and Courtly dresses, being indeed inrolled amongst the Souldiers, that continued under pay, and watching by their turns in the Palace, but meanly skilled, and as little practised in matters relating to War, or the Discipline of a Camp, serving rather for Pomp and shew, than any thing else. For whereas, in former times, none were admitted to this Employment, but Persons of Merit, and in reward of their former Services in the Field, who paid no Money for their places; *Zeno* the *Iaurian* first of all Princes, after his Restitution, broke this laudable Order, admitting Towns-men of his Familiars, and Acquaintance into the Number; which Course being followed in after-times, when raw and unexperienced Men crowded in, then became the Employment a sort of Merchandise, and he that would pay down his Gold, was received without any farther scruple or Inquisition. For want of experienced and old Souldiers, such as these were fit to the defence of the City; but the Barbarians still coming on, and the Tumults and disorders thereupon increasing, Old *Belisarius* whose hands could scarcely now hold a Shield, or his Armes weld a Sword, was by Order from the Emperour, sent out against them. His Army consisted of about three Hundred stout Fellows, which had served under him in his latter Wars, the rest were a rude Company, having neither Skill nor Courage, and to these many Countrymen joyned themselves, who were driven from their Habitations by the *Hunnes*. Being constrained to make the best advantage he could of this slender Army, he fortified his Camp, and sent out his Scouts to discover the Motions of the Enemy.

Old *Belisarius*  
sent out against  
them.

254. He cauſed many Fires to be kindled, and Lights to be set by Night in several places, to amuse the Barbarians with thoughts of a great Force coming against them. And the device took for some time, so as to stop their Carriere; but when they heard how small the *Roman* Army was, and not able to grapple with them, they held on their way, and renewed their former Practices. *Belisarius* his Men, in the mean time, were very confident, and mightily elevated with the Thoughts, of what they had formerly done; with the Consideration that they were *Romans*, and who those were with whom they shoud contend; which he perceiving, by a prudent Speech, shewed them the difference betwixt Courage and Carelessness, rash Confidence and Hope, and put them in mind with what disadvantage in respect of number they were to fight. Using such Arguments, as made them more Cautious, but not less Valiant, when he understood that two Thousand of his Men in a Wood,

to

to lie in Ambush and fall on upon the Signal given. The Countrymen he ordered to follow with great shoutts, and as much noise as they could make; and in this manner with the rest, he fell upon the Enemy, for which the dust and noise, not discerning the number of the *Romans*, thought them more than indeed they were; and then the Signal given, these in the Wood arose and fell upon their Backs, so that laid at on all sides, they Contracted themselves into a narrower Compas as he designed, and thereby were les able, either to defend themselves, or hurt their Enemies, these behind not being able to protect those before, and their great number being useles, and in no Capacity to compas, or incircle their Enemies.

255. By degrees therefore their number was so lessened, that judging themselves to be incompaſsed with a great Army, they bore back and began to run, which advantage the *Romans* improving, killed about four Hundred of them, and beat the rest to their Camp, where they were received with opprobrious Language, and exceeding great Terror of their Companions; who quite out of heart with this defeat, cut their Cheeks with Knives, and using other Expressions of grief proper to their Nation, bewailed their Condition; for they gave themselves, for little better than lost. And such indeed, or worse, might have been their Lot, had *Belisarius* by a quick and effectual purſuit made uſe of this Conſideration of their minds. But he was ſpedily called to the City, the Inhabitants whereof were a little too kind, and graſtfull to him. For this preſent Victory calling to their minds the Glory of his former Attievements; they began to admire his Conduct, extoll his Valour, and Cry him up for ſuch a Souldier, as no former times could parallel, whom Old Age it ſelf could not enervate, nor that which puts an end to all humane Abilities, abate the Vivacity of his Spirit. This the great Men of the times could not endure to hear, and indeed the whole Court, as well the Prince himſelf as others, being of late years fallen to Idlenes, and Effeminate Courses; and having reſolved upon a new Expedient, to divert the Invasions of the barbarous Nations, were quite out of Love with War, and slighted him, who had been the great Inſtrument in martial Actions. They calumniated him as a Vain-glorious Peron, gaping merely after Popularity, and hunting perpetually after the Applaueſe of the People, urging that he nourished ſome hopes, and had private deſigns more than the World was aware of. This reward had *Belisarius* for his good Services, and ſo ingratefull were the Courtiers, as *Agathias* obſerves. That he was in diſgrace after his great Employments, affirmed by all Writers, and ſome would have him fo far out of Favour, that the taking away of his Life had been a Mercy to him, being reduced to ſuch neceſſities, that he begged his Bread upon the Highway. This, as a thing much talked of, we muſt examine, and here being to take our Farewell of this great Commander, we ſhall be fo far from Impartiality, as to take notice of what the pretended *Procopius* has written concerning him in his ſecret History. For although in his former Books he had told the Truth, and nothing but the Truth; yet you muſt know that the whole Truth in thoſe times he dared not to tell, neither concerning the Emperour, nor other Great ones: In brief therefore, what is ſaid there concerning the Faults, and Digraces of *Belisarius*.

256. The ſource and Original of moſt of his Failings and Mifcarriages, he makes to be an Extravagant, Uxorius humour, or a fond doting upon his Wife, which was the moſt cuiming, and moſt Incontinent of all Women. His Domesticks revealed to him the ſecret Dalliances ſhe uſed with that *Theodosius* we have formerly mentioned, and he was ſo poſteſed with the affront for a time, that nothing would content him, but the death of the Adulterer; but he again ſo foſtothed him up with good words, that he was content to think her wronged, and gave up her Accusers to her Mercy, which he turned into extreme Cruelty, as we ſaid before; and *Constantianus*, becaue he ſhewed himſelf much concerned for his General's Honour, loſt his Life in that manner, as it is deſcribed in it's due time and place. After this, her diſhonourable Actions being taken notice of by *Photius*, a Son he had by a former Husband, he grew impatient, and extremely inragued againſt *Theodosius*, which fo far ſet her againſt him, that ſhe fought his death, and left nothing unpracticed which was conſident with fecrecy to make him away, the rather because *Theodosius* had ſignified to her, that he could not come near her fo long as he continued with her. But *Photius* more netled ſtill with his Mothers harsh uſage, and her known Plots to be rid of him, procures one to tell her Husband all he knows, concerning the Grand Infelicity of them both in ſuch a Relation. *Belisarius* hears it with great Indignation and Grief, and falling at the Feet of *Photius*, desires his Affiſſence for removing *Theodosius* out of the way: Whereupon they ſwear fecrecy, and fidelity

He was very  
Uxorius.  
Her Lewdneſs.

*Antonia ſuit  
Imperatrix  
Theodosii  
Theodosius Zor,  
a Uxor, dignitate  
Patria, mulier  
ſertificaria &  
a Procopius  
ſcripsit, ſecundum  
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Sect. I. fidelity each to other, but the Execution of the Plot is put off, till *Theodosius* should return to *Ephesus*. For thither he had once retired, pretending he would take upon him the habit of a Monk, which put her into an Agony, and made her so troublesome, that neither her Husband, nor the Emperor and Empress could be at rest till he was remanded, which he was willing enough to be, acting only this part, till *Belisarius* should be upon his way into *Persia*. And he once gone, and *Photius* with him, he returned to *Constantinople*; but *Antonia* being to follow her Husband (for she would never be absent from him, left once from under the Influence of her Tongue, he should come seriously to deliberate, and resolve upon something that might not make for her Interest) he was to repair again to *Ephesus*, where *Phobius* resolved to fall upon him, and seize upon his Wealth, which was very great. For out of the Administration of the publick Treasurie at *Carthage* and *Ravenna*, he had scraped up no less than ten Thousand pounds of Gold.

257. *Belisarius* in the mean time invaded *Perseia*, and took *Sisibarum*, or the Fort of the *Saurians*; where, when he yet lay, *News* was brought that his Wife was coming to him, which did so perplex him, that out of a great desire to be upon the *Roman* ground, to have the better occasion of being revenged, he retreated to the Borders, and to his great Disgrace omitted the Expedition he once designed into the upper Countries, whereby he might have wasted all *Alyssia* as far as *Cesiphon*, have delivered the *Antiochians* from their Captivity, and intercepted the return of *Chosroes* out of *Lazica*, where his Army upon notice of the *Romans* being in the Heart of their Country mutinied against him. But *Belisarius* returning into the *Roman* Territories there found his Wife, and kept her for some time as a Prisoner, without any respect at all, purposing often to put an end to his Vexation and Disgrace together with her Life; but as our Author verily believeth, was again overcome with Love, or as others gave out, was some way or other enchanted by her. Then goes *Photorius* to *Ephesus*, as fast as his Horse could carry him; where he finds *Theodosius*, upon the Report of his coming, having taken Sanctuary in the Church of *St. John*, but *Andrew* the Bishop for Money betrayed him into his hands; and then upon notice that his Mother by her Interest with the Empress, had procured both her, and her Husband to be called to Court, sent him into *Cilicia* with strict Order to his Keepers not to discover where he was, and went away with his Treasure to *Constantinople*. Here *Theodora* the Empress, to require *Antonina* for the Treachery she had used in the Persecution of *John the Capadocian*, prosecuted severally those, that had had any hand in the taking of *Theodosius*; and *Photorius* was extremely lashed, to declare where he had put him. He was a man very sickly, and had been ever very tender and carefull of his Health, yet he endured all, rather than he would break his Oath, and discover the secrets of *Belisarius*.

## The Empress a Friend to her.

## *Phstius escapeth the Empress.*

*Belisarius having broken his Oath, ever after finds Providence Cross.*

of *Theodora*. But *Belsarius* having broken his Oath, whereby he ingaged to stand by him to the utmost, ever after found Providence crois him in his undertakings. For although in his third Expedition againte the *Perfians*, he set *Chosroes* packing to his great Honour; yet he was accused of something which stuck hard to him afterward. He was by some, either thought Guilty of Treachery or Cowardise, for letting *Chosroes* passe the *Euphrates*, without any molestation, though he led away an infinite number of *Roman* Captives taken at *Callinicum*. Not long after, when the Plague raged at *Constantinople*, the Emperour also happened to fall very dangerously sick, the News whereof flying to the Army, some of the Officers used this Expression; That if the *Roman* People should be permitted to Name his Successour at *Constantinople*, it would come to passe that they should spend all their days in the Camp. The Emperour presently after recovering, one

### **Commander**

Commander accused another; but Peter and *Johannes Helluo*, affirmed they were the words of *Belisarius* and *Buzes*. The Empress thought that by that speech they meant her, and in great wrath commanded them all to appear at *Constantinople*. Sect. I.

259. *Buzes* she elapt fast up in a Dungeon under the Palace, where he lay well nigh two years, given over by all men for lost, and then being suddenly let out into the light, seemed *Minervas* Bird both to himself and others, for he remained Purbling ever after, and never had his health to his Dying day. *Belisarius* though Convictid of no Crime, was presently put out of Command, and *Martius* ordered to head the Army in the East. His Guard was bestowed upon great Courtiers and Eunuchs, who cast Lots for them, and his Friends were forbidden to keep him company. An incredible sight now it was to behold this lately Great man walk through the City alone, ever sad and thoughtfull, as expecting daily to be sent to another World. A great Sum of money, which the Empress heard he had in the East, she sent an Eunuch to seize; and when he came to Court, caused him to be slighted by her Husband, and derided by all their Attendants, herein gratifying *Antonina* for her affilse in the busins of *John the Cappadocian*, that she might triumph over him as her Slave and Vassal, as indeed it came to pafs. He retires from Court with a dejected both mind and Countenance, looking full behind if there were none sent to dispatch him, and coming into his Chamber, there sits down all alone, not meditating on any thing becoming a Valiant man, which he forgets himself ever to have been. He sweats, he trembles, he is anxious and fearfull, and much disquieted at the Cowardly thought of Death. *Antonina* walks by, pretending not to be very well to shun suspicion, and it being now almost dark, one *Quadratus* appears at the door, sent, as he said, from the Empress. At that word *Belisarius* falls backward upon the Bed, neither able to stir hand nor foot, so destitute of Courage, that he expected the stroke of Death, when *Quadratus* produced *Theodora's* Letter, wherein she told him, he could not be ignorant what he had deserved at her hands, yet she pardoned him, and granted him his Life at his Wives request, to whom she was exceedingly obliged; and whereas he ought to acknowledge his safety and fortunes obtained for her sake, she shoud obserue very strictly what returns he would make unto her.

269. He having red the Letter, could not contain himself for Joy, but before *Quadratus*, that he might be an Eye witnes, how ready he was to obey *Theodora*, fell down at his Wives Feet, which taking in his hands, he first kisst the one, and then the other, calling her the Authour of his Security, and professing for the time to come, he would carry himself not as her Husband, but her obedient Slave. Then did the Emperes of that Money, she had cauſed to be feized in the East, beflow thirty Centenaries upon the Emperour her Husband, and left the rest to *Belisarius*, whom they both long before this had much envied and stomached for his great Wealth, yet the confideration of his vaf Services again checked them, and when they had a mind to accuse him of converting the publick Spoils and Treasure to his own use, they still wanted whereon to fix, as having no evident proof in any particular. But now that she saw him fearfull and dejected, the caſt aboue by one device to get poſſeſſion of all he had, and that was by Marrying to her Grandson *Anastasius*, his onely Daughter and Child *Joanna*. He in the mean time, defred to be reftored to his former Power and Dignity, and that he might be ſent General into the East againſt *Chyzroes*, which *Antonina* oppofed, affirming he ſhould never Command the *Roman Army*, where he had put ſuch an *Affront* upon her. But at length he is made Master of the Emperour's Horſe, and ſent the ſecond time into *Italy*, upon condition, as the Report went, that he ſhould not ask of *Caſar* one Penny toward the Expeſe of the War, but defray all at his own charge. And ſome imagined he was content to ſay or doe any thing, that he might but get out of Town, and have an opportunity to be revenged upon his Wife, and the reſt by whom he had been ſo much abuſed.

261. But forgetting all that had passed, as also the Oath whereby he stood bound to *Photius*, and the rest of his Friends, he still gave her as good Quarter as ever, being as passionately in love with her as at the first day, though she was now above three score years old. In Italy his Affairs succeeded as formerly we have related at large; Providence still crossing all his Indeavours. For whereas in his former War with *Virgili*, his Councils and Strategems generally had good success, how improbably forever designed; now his Plots and Devices, though founded upon good and substantial Reasons, ever miscarried; that being God's dispensation, which men without reason call Fortune and Chance, as *Procopius* well observeth. But a-

Sect. I. mongt other mischeifs which happened in *Italy*, all the time he spent there, nothing more hindred the advance of the Emperour's Interfet, than the jealouſie betwixt him and *John* the Nephew of *Vitalianus*. Whilſt he continued ſtill in that Country, the Emprefs refolving to conſummate the Marriage betwixt his Daughter and her Grandſon, earnestly ſolicited them both by Letters for their Conſent; but they ſtill put it off, till their return to *Constantinople*; but ſhe eaſily perceiving the ground of their Excuse, and ſuſpecting that if once ſhe were Dead, *Antonina* would bear but ſmal respect to her Relations, Marries the Boy and Girl together contrary to all Law, and as was reported, she cauſed her to be forced, that the Nuptials being conſirmed by defouling of her, the Prince himſelf might not be able to hinder the Match. However the thing being done, they lived as Husband and Wife together eight months, and loved each other exceedingly. Yet the Emprefs Dying, when *Antonina* came to *Constantinople*, the quite forgot all her promiſes to *Theodora*, and without any ſenſe of her Daughters Honour, took her away by force from *Anatolius*, with whom ſhe had lain fo long, every one crying out againſt her for ſo unjuſt a deed. And when her Husband was arrived out of *Italy*, he eaſily obtained his Conſent therein, by which he discovered the temper of his mind; For as to his breach of Faith with *Photius*, and others of his Friends, the World eaſily excused him, as ſuſpoſing it done for fear of the Emprefs, and not as awed and governed by his Wife. But when it was perceived that ſhe and *Caligonus* her Pander, ruled him as they listed, then began he to be depifed by all men, and derided as little better than a Mad-man. In theſe things, to ſpeak freely, *Belisarius* was to blame. So the pretended *Procopius* in his ſecret History.

262. Three things are here principally charged upon *Belisarius*, one of them as the cauſe of all, viz. the doating on his Wife, the next is his breach of Faith, and the third, his Cowardice or dejection of Spirit, which appeared in his fo unmanly Carriage, at the apprehenſion he had of Death; for as to the ill ſucces he had in his laſt Expedition into *Italy*; *Procopius* confeſſes his Councils were well enough laid; tells us in ſeveral places, that he carried the War on at his own Expence; that the Emperour never ſeriously applied himſelf to that War, till he ſent *Narles* as General; and eſpecially he attributes this great change of Succes to the various effects of divine Providence. As for his uxorious humour, he had too great an example in the Emperour, whose Lady having ſuch a ſcope given her, deſired, and indeavoured to have the fame Rule erected in all great Families; and having allowed his Wife that liberty in the days of the Emprefs, after her Death ſhe had been too long in Poſſeſſion of it to be turned out. His Faith he ought not to have broken to *Photius* nor his Friends, if he could lawfully keep it, but he ſaw there was no contending with that imperious Woman, who had reſolved that the Luſt of his Wife, ſhould become a Law to him, and though at firſt, he might be highly ſenſible of the diſhonours offered to his Bed; yet, as other prudent men, who are afflikted in that Nature generally praſtice, he might think it better to make as little Noife as poſſible, and conceal that misfortune for which he had no Cure, but ſuch a Remedy as would make him full as Unfortunate, as the preſent Calamity could do. For the pretended poorneſſ, and abjectneſſ of his Spirit; his Actions in the World were too glorious, and carried more demonstration of Valour and Courage with them, than to ſuffer ſuch a foul Aſperition to ſtick to his Memory. How many hundreds of times had he met Death in the face, how often did he rather ſeek for it, than ſhuſt it, venturing his Perſon far beyond the obligations of a General? Gallant minds have an antipathy to Baſe, Cowardly, and clandestine Attempts. No man was ever fo valiant, but had ſome Reluctancy at the thought of an Aſſassinat. We could inſtance in ſome mighty Commanders, that readily ventured their Lives in a Barrel at the Head of an Army, and yet by all Provocatiōns imaginable, could never be brought to indanger them only in a Duel. Naſture it ſelf has an aversion for Death, but gallant Naſture eſpecially for a baſe and infamous Death, by the hand of an Executioner, or ſome Effeminate or paſtry Eunuch. But although the whole ſeries of the late Hiſtory ſeems a glorious and laſting Monumēnt of *Belisarius* his worth to intelligent Readers, yet having wittyngly omitted, and referred to this place, a particular Character of him, we ſhall doe him the Right, having preſented the worſt of him, to give his Picture alſo as it is drawn though in little, yet to the beſt advantage, and that by none other than the Pencil of *Procopius* too his conſtant Aſſeſſor.

263. *Belisarius* was the Diſcourſe of all the World, having gained the Honour of two unmatched Victories, brought two Kings Priſoners to *Constantinople*, and beyond all expeſtation, made the Race and Wealth of *Genſeric* and *Theodoſick*, and the

Precip. Bell. Got.  
lib. 3. ad initium.

(the moſt renowned of all Barbarians,) the Spoils and Trophies of War. To the *Roman Empire* he recovered its own Wealth, from out of the hands of its Enemies, and in a ſhort time, the Dominion of almoſt one half of the Lands and Seas thereof. It was a great pleaſure to the *Constantinopolitans*, and muſch as they could not be ſatisfied with it, to behold him daily paſſing from his Houſe, and returning thither through the *Forum*; for his going in the Streets was a kind of Triumph, Multitudes of *Vandals*, *Goths* and *Moors* ever following him; beſides, he was a beauteouſ Person, Tall, and of the goodlieſt Countenance that could be ſeen. To Suitours he was ever eaſie of Acces, and as mild as the meanest man whatſoever. Both the Souldiers and Countreyman were ever in love with his Government, being to Martial men exceeding bountiſh, relieveth the Sick and Wounded with large Sums, and rewarding ſuch as did valiantly with prizes of Honour. If any in Battel loſt his Horſe, Bow, or any other thing, preſently he was ſupplied with another by the General. Where he Commanded in the Field, never Countreyman ſuffered Violence, but all, where his Armies came, had the fortune to grow Richer, ſelling their Commodities at their own Rates to the Souldiers; who by Guards kept of Horſe from ſpoiling the Corn, while it was yet growing; and the other ripe Fruits were in great ſecurity. He had a wonderfull care of his Fame and Chaffity, never touching any Woman but his Wife, and of fo many beauteouſ Priſoners of the *Vandals* and *Goths*, (such as none ever ſaw the like,) never ſuffering one fo much as to come in his Preſence. He had a very sharp wit, and was exceedingly dextrous in a doubtfull Caſe; he was valiant in War with cautiousneſſ and advice, bold when there was Reaſon, and ever ſwift or ſlow in his Undertakings, as the occaſion required. In great difficulties reſolute, full of hope, and free from perturbation. In Proſperity, he was neither Elevated nor Voluptuous. And no man ever ſaw *Belisarius* Drunk.

264. Thus during his Commands in *Africk* and *Italy*, he was ſtill Victorious; And when he came to *Constantinople*, his worth was yet more taken notice of. For being himſelf eminent in Virtue, and exceeding all the Generals that ever were, in Wealth, and in the strength of his Lanciers and Targetiers, both Commanders and common Souldiers stood in awe of him. He had in conſtant readineſſ of the Retinue of his Houſhold, ſeven thouſand choice Horſemen, whereof every one thought himſelf fit to ſtand in the Front at a Battel, and to challenge the moſt daring of the Enemies, which being obſerved by the ancient men at *Rome*, who took notice what thoſe men did in the fights, with great wonder they affirmed, that one man's Family ruined the Power of *Theodoſick*. Thus was *Belisarius* powerful, both in Dignity and Council, ever adviſing to the Emperour's beſt advantage, and chearfully executing what was reſolved; whereas the other Commanders equal in power, and attending only their private gain, made ſpoil of the *Roman Subject*, and expoſed him to the Injuries of the Souldier. They neither apprehended any thing worthy themſelves, nor had the common Souldiers in Obedience, and fo committing many Errores, the *Roman Affairs* were in a ſhort time Ruined. Thus *Procopius* in that part of his Hiſtory, which precedes the Account he gives us of *Belisarius* his laſt and fruitiſh Expedition into *Italy*. Afterward he farther tell us, that the Emperour having ſent for him home, held him in Honour, upon the Death of *Germanus*, yet would not ſend him into *Italy*, and though he were General of the Eaſt, he made him Captain of his Guards, and kept him at *Constantinople*. And *Belisarius* was the cheif of all the *Romans* in Dignity; ſome indeed had the priorty of being made Patriots, and Consuls before him, yet yielded him precedence, being aghamed to make uſe of the Law, and to aſſume that Right it gave them agaіnt fo eminent Merit: And the Emperour took it well they did so. Thus the Reader hath an account of what is ſaid both for and againſt him, by one who pretends to be as free from flattery, as void of Prejudice.

265. But however theſe Noblemen carried themſelves in the point of Precedence, certain it is that his great felicities contracted abundance of Envy, and althoſe he was not ſo remarkable for any thing as his conſtant Fidelity and Allegiance, notwithstanding all his temptations and opportunities, yet no leſs than thrice was he accused of ambitious and treacherous purpoſes, viz. Once when he was in *Perſia*, and *Justinian* was ſick; a ſecond time when he had newly Conquered *Gelimer*, and the laſt when he was grown old in *Constantinople*, perhaps not long after his Victory over the *Hunnes*; for *Agatia* ſeems to take notice of it. We are told that on the fifth day of *December*, the Emperour being very angry with him assembled the Senate, wherein was preſent *Eucybius* the Patriarch, and cauſed the Confesſions of his Accuſers to be read, which *Belisarius* took very hainouſly, for by *Caſer*'s Command,

Vide Alemannus  
in Notis ad Pro-  
copij Histor. Ar-  
can. p. 85.

**Sect. I.** mand, he was deprived of his Guards and Attendance, and kept Prisoner in his own House. But in the following year, on the nineteenth day of *July*, he was again restored to favour, and to his ancient Dignity and Honours. And at last in the thirty eighth year of *Justinian's Reign*, on the thirteenth day of *March*, *Belisarius* Died at *Constantinople*, and his Estate was assigned to the *August House of Marina*. For the Reader must know, that before the time of *Justinian*, there were five several Imperial Houses or Courts at *Constantinople*, by the Author of the Description called Palaces, besides six known by the names of *Domus Divinae Augustarum*, or Divine Houses of the Empresses, and three other that were styled *Nobilissime*. Eminent amongst these last were the Houses of *Placidia* and *Marina*, *Vide Alemam* in the first Region of the City. In some of them the Emperors would sometimes Lodge, others served for Treasuries, their Keepers being called *Curatores*, and chosen out of the prime Nobility, particularly in those days, *George* the Cousin of *Theodora* the Empress was *Curator* of that of *Marina*. To those Houses and Palaces *Justinian* added others, built very magnificently in that Suburb called *Heraeum*, as also in the other called *Jucundianum* and *Justinianum*, at this day known by the names of *Galata* and *Pera*.

266. But such was the fortune and end of *Belisarius*, contrary to the Fables which some later Historians have devised, as that his eyes should be put out, and that he was reduced to such Poverty, that he should beg an half-penny on the Highway, which seems a mistake, for *John the Cappadocian*, a man of Patriotic Dignity, Exconful and *Præfatus Praetorio*, concerning whom *Procopius* relates, that being banished into *Egypt*, he was compelled by the Soldiers that carried him to beg Bread, or an half-penny of those they met. But of those who first related the story concerning his Blindness, and Begging, some confess that other Chronologers delivered that his eyes were not put out, but being despoiled of his Dignity, and almost all his Honours, he was again restored to his ancient Glory and Reputation. And in this condition we are willing to leave him, being glad to vindicate his Honour, but supposing him a man subject to Faults, and Infirmities, especially considering the greatness of his Place, the vastness of his Command and Power, with the largeness of his Fortune, all which are so pregnant of temptations, that he stood in need of the Assurances afforded by Christian Religion, of which it appears, that he was a Professour, from what *Procopius* relates concerning the Baptism of *Theodosius*, (upon the Expedition into *Africk*,) whatever any one hath said of his being a Pagan.

267. Now to return to our story of the Wars, which we shall presently dismiss after *Belisarius* the General; the *Hunnes* understanding he was recalled, and none other sent against them, began to make a stop of their flight, and that Party which invaded the *Cheroneus* fell with all their force upon the Wall. The Leader of those that defended it, was one *Germanus* the Son of *Dorotheus*, a Stripping whose Beard began but to sprout; yet being born in the same Town with the Emperor, from eight years old he had bred him up, and now set him at the Head of an Army. The *Hunnes* not being able to force the Wall, made a company of Boats with Reeds, Ropes and Wool, whereon having put six hundred men, they thought to pass by the Fortifications and seize upon the passage; but this their Design being known, the *Romans* manned out their Boats, and easily destroyed this new sort of Invention with all the men in them. The Barbarians being much dejected with this loss, they made a fall upon them, wherein they slew many, and might have done more Execution possibly, but that *Germanus* their Leader, in heat of his young blood, ventured farther than a prudent General would have done, and received a wound in his Thigh. However, the *Hunnes* discouraged with this loss at Land, and more by that received upon the Water, retreated from the Wall, and joyned themselves with those under the Conduct of *Zabergan*; those also that went for *Greece*, receiving a stop at the Straits of *Thermopylae* returned, and all resolved to march homeward. But *Zabergan* and his men threatened that they, as well as the *Cotrigurians*, would carry back a good quantity of the *Roman* Gold, and except the Prisoners were speedily ranformed, as they thought would suffice to redeem them, and to purchase the Retreat of the Barbarians, who having received it, set at liberty the Captives, and amongst the rest *Sergius* the Son of *Bacchus*. Which done, they left off pillaging, and returned to their own Seats.

268. The Citizens of *Constantinople* murmured exceedingly, that those *Hunnes*, having put such an affront upon the Empire, should return home rewarded, as if the *Romans* themselves had committed the offence: But the Emperour had another Design

design which they were not aware of, and afterward produced so good effects, as our Author observeth, that they who now blamed him, did then exceedingly admire and commend him for it. For, as we said, he had resolv'd upon this Project, to set the Barbarians at variance amongst themselves, and cause them to destroy one another. Therefore *Zabergan* marching but slowly homeward, he wrote to *Sandilichus*, Captain of the other *Hunnes*, his Mercenary and Confederate, letting him know how the *Cutrigurians* had invaded his Dominions, not so much for greediness of gain, as to approve themselves as good, or better, than the *Cutrigurians*, in respect of valour. He tells him they had received the stipend which was to be conferred upon him, and if by a speedy Revenge he did not demonstrate himself to be the same for which he had formerly taken him, he was resolv'd to make a League with the late Invaders, as those who by their courage did most deserve. *Sandilich*, enrag'd upon receipt of the Letter, presently invades the Territories of the *Cutrigurians*, and having thence taken a great number of Captives, falls upon those that returned out of *Thrace*, and having killed many of them, takes away their Gold, and all their booty. Such as escaped home recruiting themselves as well as they could, waged War with *Sandilich*, and for a long time after these Nations raged against each other to all extremity, till at length both were ruined, and they lost their very Country name, (if *Agathias* observes right) so that if any of them remained, they served other sorts of People, and being dispers'd, received a name from them. So far were they then from invading the *Roman* Territories, that it was not as much as known in what part of the World they inhabited. But the utter destruction of these Nations, faith *Agathias*, tell us afterwards, and every thing relating therunto shall be declared in its order, and according to the true account of time, as near as possible. And so he concludes the fifth Book of his History, which being the last of those that are now extant, we have hence too great occasion to complain of the injury of Time, which has deprived us of the rest of his labours upon this Subject: For he was not only an Historian, but an excellent Poet, and possibly had been not so good a Poet, he had been a better Historian. For his Fancy transports him out of the way, and makes his digressions about several matters sometimes impertinent, delighting to hear himself talk, and thinking to edify his Reader by needless disquisitions. He was, as he tells us himself, the Son of *Memnonius*, born at *Merina*, (not *Murina* in *Thrace*, but that in *Aisa*, situate upon the River *Pythicus*, a Colony of the ancient *Eolians*,) and by Profession a Lawyer, and common Pleader, of no considerable Fortune, which he bewails, because his private necessities forced him from his beloved Studies. It no whit his Advantage that he immediately succeeds *Procopius*; but his Digressions, when historical, are some of them so profitable, that we make use of them upon other occasions.

269. All things at this time were not well in *Italy*, which when every one expected it should never more be troubled or embroil'd with the *Goths*, again began to be disturbed by another Sedition. *Vidimus*, a certain *Comes* of that Nation, revolted from *Narses*, and implored the assistance of *Amingus*, (or *Omnigus*) who had been formerly the Associate of *Bucellinus*. *Narses* resolv'd to crush the milchief in the Egg, and marching prently against them, defeated them in battle, took them both, and sending *Vidimus* to *Constantinople*, put *Amingus* to death; and to this time and occasion seems to relate what *Cedrenus* mentions of *Narses* his taking *Viria* and *Brince* from the *Goths*. So was *Italy* cleared of the *Goths*, and the greatest part of it the *Franks*, though they had seized and held the Parts of *Zeneta*. There yet remained the *Hericli*, whom, after the defeat of *Odoacer* their King, *Theodorick* had placed near the *Alpes*. These also, at this time, an occasion was presented of turning out of *Italy* by *Sindualdus*, who being set over them by *Narses*, prently again rebelled, and being taken, paid dear for his ambitious purposes; for he caused him to be hang'd on a very high Gibbet, and afterward, by the Arms and Conduct of *Dagistheus* the *Magister Militum*, cleared all the Coasts of the Country. And so at length a period was put to all these direfull Calamities wherewith the Barbarians, and especially the *Goths*, had afflict'd *Italy* for so long a time, which by Fire and Sword had its Cities defaced, was depoileld of its Men, Wealth and Dignity, and from the highest pitch of felicity, brought to the lowest and most deolate condition. The greatness and variety of its calamities were such, that no Mind can conceive, much less any Tongue exprest, or Pen describe. But now by the singular goodness of God; after wellnigh an hundred and sixty years, it began to have repose, and *Narses*, left he should seem inferiour to *Belisarius*, set himself all

Sect. 2. all manner of ways to study its quiet, and the restitution of it to its former lustre and felicity.

270. The repairing of its Cities, and beautifying it with new and magnificent Buildings, was, within a year or two, much hundred by the breaking forth of a Pestilence, which added to the former miseries, almost exhausted the Country of its Inhabitants. This Plague, which from the Eastern Parts invaded Italy, was called *Inguinaria & Bubonis Pestis*, because Bubo's, or Swellings, arose in the privy and other glandulous parts, and were followed by a violent Fever, which dispatched the Party within three days, or else he recovered. This being over, *Nurses* went on with his publick works, and especially with the Reparation of Bridges, particularly that over the River *Aniene*, which had been broken down by *Totila*, as an Inscription, yet remaining, testifies, which shews it was perfected in the thirteenth ninth, and last Year of *Justinian*. While he was in hand with these works, a notable Conspiracy was hatched at *Constantinople*, against the Life of the Emperor, on the Nones of November, by *Ablavius*, *Marcellus* and *Sergius*, Men of no mean Quality, who purposed to kill him by night in his Chamber; but *Ablavius* making acquainted therewith *Eusebius the Exconsul*, and *John the Logotheta*, they revealed the Plot, and the Conspirators were seized with Swords about them, of whom *Marcellus* instantly killed himself. *Sergius*, upon Examination, impeached *Iaacus* and *Betifarius*, who were also accused by *Vitus* and *Paulus*, so that *Betifarius* was imprisoned, as we said before, but afterwards again set at Liberty, as an innocent Person. Though this Conspiracy took not, yet have we brought the Reader almost to the period of this Prince's Life, and given him a prospect of all the turbulent Actions of his Reign. Another considerable Part is yet behind, which hath made him rather more remarkable to the World in later times; for who hath not heard of the Laws and Law-Books of *Justinian*? The Marks and Prints of his Sword are very long since obliterated, but multitudes of Men to this day wear Gowns which are looked upon no otherwise than as his Livery. Laws in his days, contrary to the old and received Saying, made a noise amongst Weapons, and his Government, a thing not ordinary, became famous in after times for both. First therefore what he did in reference to the Laws. And then we shall consider of the Temper and Disposition of this Man, so much spoken of, as to his own Person.

A Plot against  
Justinian detected.

## S E C T. II.

### Of the Laws altered, made and modelled by Justinian.

Matters previous to Justinian's Laws and Model.

Principum Placita.

Responsa Prudentum.

The Office of the Prudentes what.

i. THE Original of the *Civil Law*, from the *Law of the Twelve Tables*, we have discovered in its due place, together with the Progress of it in its Infancy, and how many parts there were of it, or what those were which obtained the Force and Power of Law. After that the supreme Authority came to be invested in one single Person, the *Principum placita* gave force and efficacy to all the rest, or could rescind them, the Power of both Senate and People being, by the *Lex Regia*, transferred upon him. Yet the *Responsa Prudentum*, and the *Magistratum Edicta*, continued to be in use, and were given out, upon occasion, for the clearing of Doubts and Difficulties, and letting the People know what was their Duty. Forasmuch as all Difficulties could not possibly be removed by Laws formerly, or Constitutions and Edicts afterwards, the Interpretations and Answers of wise and learned Men were found necessary, nay, as *Pomponius* witnesseth, when the Laws of the Twelve Tables were made, the Authority of some prudent men was requisite to interpret them, the Credit and Reputation of whom so much increased, that, in practice, a great part of the Suits and Controversies were referred to their Council and Determination. Now their Office, Duty and Employment consisted chiefly in four thing. First, in prescribing forms for Stipulations and Judgments. Secondly, in giving Council and Advice to such as asked it, in matters of Law especially, but indeed in all matters whatsoever, as *Cicero* writes, that in old time they had recourse to *Pub. Crassus*, *T. Coruncanius* and *Scipio*, in all things, whether Divine or Humane. Thirdly, they interpreted such Laws as were hard to be understood, or seemed contrary, as also Instruments of Contracts and Testaments. And lastly such matters as were neither by Law, nor Agreement and Consent of Parties, ordered and concluded, they took up and determined, *ex bono & equo*,

*Scriptum autem  
Jus Lex. Pla-  
tificum. Seu  
refutatum.  
Principum Pla-  
cita. Magistratum  
Edicta. Re-  
sponsa Prude-  
ntum.  
De hac re vide  
Librarium Com-  
munitatum & aliis.*

where they professed their Art. Sect. 2.  
equo, as seemed most right and equitable in their apprehensions, who, from their studying the known Laws, had most reason to understand what was agreeable to, or might be deduced from, them. They made Profession of this Art either walking crofs the Forum, or sitting on Benches at home, in a grave and stately manner, where they admitted all Clients, as appears by the Books of *Ciceron*, which he wrote concerning Oratory and Laws. But their Responses were concerning matters of Law, not of Fact, whereupon *Celsus* hath defined their Art very well to be *Arte Bo- ni & Aequi*.

2. *Pomponius* tells us, that before the time of *Augustus*, it was free to every one to practise, who had confidence of his own Ability, neither did they sign their Answers, but wrote most commonly to the Judges themselves, or told their opinions to such as consulted them. But *Augustus* vindicated the honour of the *Civil Law*, and provided for the security of the Estates of the Subject, by taking away the power of giving Answers from all, except such as should be authorized by the *de Origine Prince*. Of those who excelled in this Art or Mystery, *Pomponius* reckons up about *Juris* sixty, from *Sextus Papyrius* who lived in the Days of *Tarquinii Superbus* (when the Laws made by Kings were in force) to *Salvius Julianus*, who flourished under *Hadrian* the Emperour. These, and others, omitted by him, are too-many here to be reckoned up. Of them *Tib. Coruncanius*, who flourished not long after the time of *Pyrrhus*, first made publick Profession of the Law, whereas those before him gave only Answers in private. *Scipio Nasica*, a young Man, was of such esteem, that an House was given him by the State in the *Via Sacra*, that he might more opportunely be consulted. A little before the 3d Punick War *Q. Mucius Scævola*, *M. Junius Brutus* and *M. Manilius*, who laid the foundations of it, by the many Books they published, gave, as it were, life to the Civil Law. For *Mucius*, who was *Pontifex maximus*, the year wherein *Tib. Gracchus* was slain, left ten Books concerning Law, *M. Brutus* seven, and *Manilius* three, though *Cesar* said, he heard *Scævola* say, that *Brutus* left but three in all, and his Method was not well liked of, because he expounded not *Thebes*, but *Hypothes*. *P. Mucius Scævola*, the Augur, his Houſe, for his Skill in the Law, was called the Oracle of the City. *Q. Mucius Scævola* was *Pontifex maximus*, and first gave form to the Civil Law, by reducing it into eighteen Books.

3. *Serenus Sulpicius*, who was Consul together with *M. Marcellus*, and one of the most eloquent in *Tully's* Age, came, on a time, to consult *Q. Mucius* in a point of Law. *Mucius* gave him an Anwer, but he understood it not, and asked him a second time; but neither upon a second Anwer did he understand the matter. Hereat *Mucius* fell on chiding him, saying, it was a shame for one who was both a Patriotic, and pleated Cautes, to be an ignorant in the Laws of his Country. *Serenus Sulpicius*, nettled with the disgrace, applied himself pretently to the study of the Law, and came to such Eminency therein, that dying in an Embassy, his Statue was erected in the Pleading place at the Publick charge. He left wellnigh an hundred and fifty Books, as they counted them, and had many eminent Auditours, who lived to see the great Change of the *Roman* Government, from a Free State, as they termed it, to a Monarchy. And the Government was changed at such time, as many eminent and learned Men had often consulted concerning a Model of the Civil Law, and reducing it into a Form of Art. For the multitude of Books began then to be cumbersome, and *Pompey*, *Cesar* and *Ciceron* laid their Heads together, how to regulate this great variety, and prescribe to it certain bounds and limits. *Ciceron* wrote a Book concerning the modelling of it, but some think he never finished it, though elsewhere they own he hath given his thoughts, and complains of the great confusion, and want of some able Person to undertake the Task. Yet notwithstanding after the time of *Julius Cesar* much more was added by heaps of Writings, and more Laws made, the Constitutions of Princes now coming to bear a great part in this mystery. But this Service *Augustus* did to this noble Science, that besides the *Leges Julie*, formed and named from him, adopted into the *Julian* Family, he vindicated the honour of it, by taking away the liberty used formerly by every Pretender, and allowing only such to give Answers as should be authorized by the Prince.

4. *Trebatus* was a Man of great authority with him in this kind, whom he used as his familiar friend, commended by *Ciceron* for his singular memory and knowledge in the *Civil Law*, who much cherished him when he was young, writing to him his *Topics*, and many Epistles, full of very good humour. Much about this time *Ateius Capito*, and *Labeo Antifius*, by their contrary opinions, sowed such discord, that their Scholars being addicted to several Sects, and per- tinaciously

**Sect. 2.** tinaciously adhering to their Principles, those Dissentions could not be composed in many years, and the Heads of many of their Controversies yet appear in the Pandects. For to the Party of *Capito* adhered *Mafurius Sabinus*, and then *Caius Longinus*, to whom succeeded *Caius Sabinus*, as to him *Tabolenus*, and to *Tabolenus Salvius Julianus*. To the side of *Labeo* stuck pertinaciously *Cocceius Nerva*, then *Prisculus*, to whom succeeded *Pegasinus*, as to him *Celsus*, and to *Celsus Neratius*.

Hence those of the former Party were called *Sabiniani*, and *Caiiani*; and those of the later *Prisculiani*, and *Pegasiani*. The Emperour *Tiberius* favoured much the study of the Law, and from him *Masrius Sabinus* received Authority to answer publicly all questions. *Caligula* and *Nero* were rather Enemies than Friends to the Mystery of the Law. *Caligula* intending to abolish quite the Art and Profession it self, often boasted he would so order the matter, that they should be able to answer nothing but *Eccum*, quibbling, as though he would have them answer nothing but what was *equum*, but meaning *Ecce illum*, and intending himself, from whom all Answers in matters of Law shoud thenceforth proceed. *Nero* banished *Caius Longinus*, whom afterward *Vespasian* recalled, in whose time *Pegasinus* was Prefect of the City, and bore the Office of *Consul*. He was the Son of a certain Master of a Ship, which had *Pegasinus* for its Ensign and Name, and thence was this great Lawyer so called. And from him received its name the *Senatusconsultum Pegasianum*, mentioned by *Justinian*. During the Government of *Nerva* and *Trajan* the Profession of the Law flourished, as appears from their many excellent Constitutions mentioned in the Pandects. And the peaceable Reigns of *Hadrian* and *Antoninus*, as also of *Severus*, *Caracalla* and *Alexander*, produced many excellent men, rendered famous by their Writings, of whom several we have mentioned in due places.

*Salvius Julianus* composed the *Edictum Perpetuum*.

**Whercupon the Jus Praetorium ceased.**

**What it was.**

*Salvius Julianus*, who flourished under the Emperour *Hadrian*, must be remembered, that Eminent Lawyer of *Milan*, who composed the *Edictum Perpetuum*, which being allowed, and receiving authentick Stamp from the Prince, so as to be standing Law, another sort of Law now fell off, which was the Edicts of Magistrates, made, upon occasion, or at their entring upon their Offices. This was called *Jus Praetorium*, because chiefly made by *Praetors*, as also *Honorarium*, from their bearing these Offices of Magistracy or Honour. But how the *Praetors* should come to make Laws, which is a Prerogative of Majesty, they being but Magistrates, appointed for pronouncing, and not enacting, is questioned; especially seeing that we no where meet with any Law that gave them this Authority. Some think that at first they only proposed Edicts by right of their Office, denoting, of what matters, and in what manner, they would administer Law. In progres of time, the People not opposing it, they took upon them also to make Law in declaring it, *Infit.*

*Vide Vinnius in Infit.*

**A great Alteration made in the Law by Constantine the Great.**

**A Discrimination of Lawyers made in the time of Valentinian the younger.**

**The design of Theodosius in compiling his Code.**

6. But an end was put to all their pretences, by the forming and authorizing of the *Edictum Perpetuum*, though the whole Power of *Senate* and *People*, being given up into the Emperour's Hands, all Powers before were but indeed precarious or derivative, as was that of giving Answers, in the Lawyers. Who the Lawyers of Eminency were, in the days of *Hadrian*, and his Successours, we have already shewn, who were famous for their Learning and Writings, which, for the most part, respected the *Edictum Perpetuum*. Now, however Persons began more than ever to consult the Prince himself, who had always at his hand the best Lawyers to advise with. From the time of *Hadrian*, to that of *Alexander Severus*, (both inclusive) flourished those great and eminent Men, out of the Books of whom the Pandects, for the most part, were taken. This Knowledge and Profession being then

then arrived at the highest pitch of Excellency, as all sublunary things are subject to change, began thenceforth to fall away and diminish. For after this time no Lawyer of any note or Eminency appears, and, by degrees, the Profession so much decayed, that in the time of *Ammianus Marcellinus* (or *Valentinian* and *Valens*, Emperours,) such as professed it, if we believe him, were esteemed rather Apparitions and Shadows, than Men, not being able to reconcile the hundredth part of these Differences and Contradictions, which, to men unskillfull, seemed to be in the Civil Law it self, and yet they valued themselves at no les a rate than as the Interpreters of the *Sibylline* Oracles. Those that practised at the Bar were so rude, covetous and sorid, that they neither understood what Justice was, nor remembered that they ever had read any thing concerning it.

**When the Eminent Lawyers failed.**

**Yet learned Men there were after that time.**

**Codex Gregorianus & Hermogenianus.**

**Theodosius.**

**The difference betwixt the Constitutions of Princes.**

**A great Alteration made in the Law by Constantine the Great.**

**A Discrimination of Lawyers made in the time of Valentinian the younger.**

**The design of Theodosius in compiling his Code.**

7. The Emperors therefore must have taken upon them the whole care of the Law, and many of them, if not most, deserved well of it, as appears by their Recripts. And yet in penning these Recripts, several Lawyers, of great worth and Learning, must have been employed, though they have not otherwife rendered themselves famous by any work now remaining, what ever *Ammianus*, or any other, may write. For both before and after *Constantine*, Princes gave out Constitutions of very great Equity and Judgment, which certainly they themselves had not Skill to compose. These grew to such a number, that several Books of them came abroad, but of principal note and esteem were those of *Gregorius* and *Hermogenianus*, about the Reign of *Diocletian*. The Authors themselves are unknown, and some Fragments of their Books are onlye come to hand; but St. *Augustine*, as many take notice, makes mention thence of a certain noble Recript of *Antoninus*, which learned men justly admire, that it should be left out of *Justinian's* Code. About an hundred years after, *Theodosius* the Second caused to be compiled another Code, wherein were contained the Constitutions of Christian Princes, from the beginning of *Constantine* to his own time. Betwixt them and those of the precedent Ages there is this difference: The Constitutions which precede *Constantine*, are most of them short and acute, weighty and elegant, as are the Writings of Lawyers of those times. Those that follow are generally tedious and lofty, more fitting the stile of an Oratour, than the Majestie of an Emperour. They favour of the flanting *Aësthetic* stile, which was that of the Court, after it came to be removed to *Byzantium*. Especially the Constitutions of *Martianus*, *Zeno*, *Anastasius*, *Justinian* and *Justinian*, which are neither comparable with the other in point of Eloquence, nor yet in respect either of Gravity or dexterity of Drawing.

8. A great Alteration was made in the Law by *Constantine*, who corrected it so, as to make it more suitable to the purity of Christian Religion, and the tenderness and compassion thereof. Which he did by adding many Edicts, full of Mercy, and taking off the rigour of former Rules and Customs, both as to the materials of Law, and the forms and quirks of it. This also was imitated by his Christian Successours, as we have largely shewn in the course of our History, down from his time, till that of *Theodosius* the younger. But as every day, almoft, produced some new occasion, by reasoun of the variety of circumstances, for some new Decree, these Imperial Constitutions grew to that infinite bulk, together with the other ancient sorts of Laws, that, before *Theodosius* began his new model of a Code, the Government in the West, or that under young *Valentinian*, thought it self obliged to make a discrimination, both of the Constitutions of Princes, declaring which should be of force, and which not, and of the Writings of Lawyers, as to the value and estimate of their Opinions, to be alledged and followed in Courts of Judicature. What these Discriminations were we have shewn particularly in their places. The Lawyers were nine in Number, of which *Papinius* was to have the Preeminence, so as if in difference of opinions, he made one of an equal number, that of his party was to be followed. This Constitution, as *Gothofred* notes, may serve to discover how few learned Lawyers there were in those days, how few that knew the Writings of the Ancients; to be sure, it shews that the numbers and heaps of the Writings of Authors were very great.

9. But as it is very rationally thought, that the Codes of *Gregorius* and *Hermogenianus* were composed of such Constitutions of Emperours, as preceded *Constantine*, (ten years before whose beginning they end, at the Tetrarchy of *Diocletian*), on purpose to exhibite the Pagan Law, which Christian Princes in their new Decrees had altered; so *Theodosius* might resolve for the contrary reasoun, as well as to select a competent number, to make a Body of such as were composed by those of our Religion. He says indeed he was moved by this consideracion, how few in his Age were rich in the knowledge of the Civil Law, and were solidly learned, although

Secc. 2. though twelve years before he had founded two Profeſſors of the Law in the University of *Constantinople*. He deſigned to eafe Students of ſo great Labour as they underwent, in turning over ſo many Heaps, by cutting off ſuperfluities, and introducing brevity, as also to provide againſt obſcurity. For he furnished them with ſuch Constitutions, as related both the *Jus Publicum*, and *Privatum*, and with all forts, not only *Editis* ſtrictly fo called; but various *Reſcripts* ſent to Magiſtrates, who had conſulted their Princes *Letters* given out to Magiſtrates, *Orations* to the Senate, *Pragmatics, Acta* had in the Conſistory, *Mandates* and *Inſtructions* given to Gouerneurs of Provinces, to *Cenſtors*, and *Perequatores* ſent abroad, and to such as ſhould hear Debates concerning Religion. But though no part of, either, the *Jus Privatum*, or *Publicum*, be left untouched in that Code; yet the Collectours are taxed for omitting ſo many material Constitutions, as they have done, and for ſtudying ſo much Brevity, that by depriving the Laws of their neceſſary Ornament of words, they made them moſt obſcure. For, cutting off the Prefaces, and ſuch Discourses as were connexed, or coherent to them; they deprived the Readers of all knowledge of the ſeveral occasions of the making of them, and other Circumstances which would have contributed mucho to the understanding of them.

It's Defects.  
buted much to the disadvantage  
10. Besides, notice is taken, how several Laws are repeated in the same words, and sometimes with a few things added and altered, and those not only made by several, but one and the same Emperour. Many contrary one to another, and repealing one another, are to be found in this Code : The Rubricks are sometimes larger than the Text. But it is chiefly objected, that to *Julian* therein is given the Title of *Divus*, and that some of his impious Constitutions are inserted often, though not obscurely they contradict, and that out of Design, those of Christian Princes. Some of *Constantine* and *Valentinian* also, which though they might be forced out in their days, to grant leave to use and continue unchristian Practices, yet when Christianity was advanced into the Throne, they were by no means to be registered as Laws, by those who pretended to collect a Body standing and Authentick to be referred to, and whereby Cases were to be pleaded and decided. Some Edicts are also placed in this Book, though against the Orthodox Prelouours of Religion. Many Laws are Fugitives or mis-placed, some are so lacerated and dismembered, that no Sense can be made of them. And Errours and Mistakes, are too frequent in the Inscriptions and Subscriptions of Laws. Now it must be said, that though this Body, or Collection, even in some things here objected be of great use ; for knowledge of the History of the times, yet these were some of them Faults very unufferable in a Standard and Rule of Law, as it was intended to be. It may be said for the Collectours, that some Faults were formerly committed, and transcribed by them, and some might be justly laid to the Charge of the Transcribers; having passed through so many hands. However in matters wherein such Excuses cannot be admitted, the insufficiency of the Code, sufficiently appeared, as to its being a Standard of Law, and still those that were concerned in the Practices of it were at a loss.

11. Yet was it for want of a more perfect, of great use, and readily imitated both in the Eastern and Western parts of the Empire, both at this time, and by succeeding Princes. And not only within the Empire, but by Barbarians was it received, even as a Standard of Law, as we shall see in the Histories of those Kingdoms: Yet its defects to the skilfull could not but be sufficiently known. Though all parts of the *Ius Privatum* were touched at in it; yet were there many Cales omitted in it, and to be found in the Constitutions of the ancient Emperours. And especially in the Writings of ancient Lawyers, were they to be found, which those that practised found necessary to have Recourse to as formerly, and the memory of this *Code*, as well as the Constitution of *Valentinian*, growing by degrees more out of mind; they had Recourse to their former Helps, and then again grew sensible of their Heaps. Now again they were affrighted at the Piles of *Imperial Constitutions*, at the Mountains of *Interpretations* and *Ansvers* of *Laws*; the Duff did not conceal the Old *Plebisita*, *Senatus consultq*, and *Editi*s of Magistrates. They could not but look at the Old Laws made by Kings in the Infancy of *Rome*, and take notice of the *Rhodian* Laws, concerning Sea matters, and owned by Imperial Authority. These Heaps are said to have contained two thousand Volumes, and thirty times an hundred thousand Veres or Paragraphs. All sorts of them afford ed help to Students, and yet the far greater part, must of necessity be unknown, and a great share be obsolete and useles in Judgments, and Decision of Controversies. It was therefore Discoursed, that there wanted a Prince, who by his Sovereign

Urge another  
Body, or Bodies,  
to be Compo-  
sed.

CHAP. II. *The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire.* Justinian.

vereign Authority should abridge the number and substance of these Volumes, reduce them into Order, and give stamp to a Body or Bodies, more exquisitely framed than yet had been; which should remain as the Authentick Monuments, and the Standard of Law and Justice to Posterity.

12. *Justinian* was a man whose Humour the design did very well suit, being naturally a lover of new things, and greedy of Fame ; especially, to be thought very vigilant and solicitous for the good of his Subjects ; as his Prefaces to his Novel Constitutions do sufficiently shew. But he embraced a much larger design, than that of abridging the Law. He was brought to be of Opinion, that the Law not only wanted abridging, but altering, and changing from that Tenour and Genius which it had in the days of the ancient Lawyers and Legislatours ; not only according, it as *Constantine* had done, to need Reformation as to Charity and Mercy, and that it was to be pruned of its needless, and troublesome quirks and scruples, as *Valeentinian* the Third and other Princes thought, but even as to the reason and Complexion on grouch of it. But however, in many things he might be in the right, it had been much better, if he had staid some time to make his Observations, if he had indeed Apprenticed ship first in the Government, and been silent for the time enjoyed by *Pythagoras*. But he introduced that, which hath been since in reference to the old Tenour and Frame, called *Jus Novum*, and began this course in the beginning of his Reign. And indeed scarcely is there any part of the *Roman Jurisprudentia*, where he did not make some Alteration. How he both altered and modelled it, it's now time to make a short discovery, according to the Nature of our design, which will permit us only to hint at the most remarkable things in such a vast number, as his Laws and Books afford.

13. *Justinian*, then as we said, was made Colleague by and with his Uncle on the Calends, or first of *April*, in the sole Confulship of *Mavortius*, with whom he Reigned till the Calends or first of *August*, on which *Justin* his Uncle dyed. Now for all the five Months of this year, or Confulship, he made no Law, nor confideable Alteration in any thing. But having all this while it seems resolvled, and meditated on it, he opened the second year, or his own seconde Confulship with great Attempts this Way, as if then he had begun to Reign indeed. This he did on the very first day of the year, or the Calends of *January*, on which several of his Laws bear date. Four we have still extant in the Code, which mention the Calends of *January* as the day of their Originals, and possibly more there were, which have lost their date, still extant in the same Book without any Confulship annexed, or any Month or Day, though directed to the same *Mennas*, who was *Præfector Prætorio* for this year, and also that which followed till the month of *August*; to whom a vast number of Constitutions are inscribed. He thought fit to give to his Subjects, a more free Scope of making their Testaments than formerly had been allowed, though by the twelve Tables themselves it seemed to have been indulged. He declared that no Errour or mistake of the Drawer or Writer of a Testament, either, in omitting, or inferring any thing therein contained, should make it Null; neither if he wrote down a *Legacy* before the naming of the Heir. And though this Preposterous course might have been taken according to the mind, or direction of the Testator himself, yet he would have the Testament good, which the former Law did not permit. He tolerated it also afterward in Stipulations, as well as Legacies. And still that he might add greater Freedom in this Nature, a few days after he declared that the formal obseruation or usage of the Ancients, as he termed it, should not be necessary in Nuncupative Wills. For of old, those that made such Testaments without Writing, were to protest in solemn Words, that the Witnesses were met together for that purpose, because before them he would name his Heir without Writing.

14. This form of Testeſtation he declared not to be neceſſary. And he remitted as many other things to Teſtflatſes; ſee the forms of Words which they were bound to obferve when they made their Wills. Amongſt others, there was this called *Nuncupatio*. The Teſtator holding the Teſtament in his hands ſaid: *As is contained in theſe Tables, and under this Wax, so I give, bequeath and ordain. Therefore ye Quirites bear Teſtimony.* And the Wiſneſſes thus required were wont to bear Teſtimony to the Teſtator, who ought to hear what they ſaid, fo that of old a deaf man could not make a Teſtament. Whereas also in old time no Legacy could be left, fo as to burthen the Heir by way of punishment, as if it was written: In caſe thou marriest thy Daughter to *Seius*, then shalt give *Caius* an hundred pounds, he left it free to leave ſuch Legacies, provided as in other Conditional Legacies and Stipulations, if the Heir was Commanded to doe no unworthy or impoſſible thing.

*Ride On, King  
of Presidents*  
*This Day, etc.*

But not only  
modelleth, b  
altereth the  
Law.

He begins on  
the first day  
his second  
fulship.

Indulges his  
Subjects as  
making Wi

L. 8. de *Natura  
Uli liebri*. Cod.  
*Fuf.* lib. 5. tit.  
27. l. 24. de  
*Tehameti*. Cod.  
*Fuf.* lib. 6. tit.  
L. On. de bis  
qui penitentia,  
C. Cod. *Fuf.*  
lib. 5. tit. 41.  
L. 3. Quando  
et quibus  
ratio pars. C.  
Cod. *Fuf.* lib. 10.  
tit. 34. Quatuor  
sunt quatuor  
item tantum  
meminerit. Fr.  
Baldus in  
*Julfimata* sub  
de *Jure novo*  
*Commentario*,  
rum libris 2.  
C. *Sym. de his  
rebus omnime  
confuse*.  
l. 26. Cod. *Fuf.*  
de *Teham*.

Sect. 2. thing. To natural Children he allowed that more should be left in Legacy than formerly had been Lawfull; but afterwards published a Novel Constitution more in their Favour, which afterward we may take notice of. And he also made provision for Children obnoxious to the Services of Corporations, which he also thought fit afterwards to increase. All these things he enacted this first day of his second Consulship, or the first day of the first January after his coming to the Government 15. The making of these new Laws did not divert him but that still he

15. The making of these new Laws, did not so divert him, but that it he was thinking and consulting about a new Model of the Old, and he came to such Resolution therein, that on the Ideas of *February* following, he expressed it in an Edict, directed to the Senate of *Constantinople*. "In this Edict he tells them, that those things which to many former Princes seemed necessary to be amended, but which none of them were so bold as to bring to Effect, he now by the help of

He actuals with the Senate with his Desigment of a new Code. resolution therein, that on the ides of February following, he exprest it in an Edict, directed to the Senate of *Constantinopolis*. "In this Edict he tells them, that those things which to many former Princes seemed necessary to be amended, but which none of them were so bold as to bring to Effect, he now by the help of Almighty God thought fit to Communicate to the publick, and to take off the prolixity of Suits, by cutting short that multitude of Constitutions, contained in the three Codes of *Gregorius*, *Hermenianus* and *Theodosius*, of those also that were made afterwards by *Theodosius*, other succeeding Princes and himself; and by Composing one new Code, which should bear his own happy Name, in which were to be Collected as well the Constitutions of the three Codes lately mentioned, as other newer Constitutions made after them. Therefore so vast a work, which relates to the Subtentation of the Commonwealth it self, he tells them, he hath made choice of Persons fit for so great care and trouble, viz. of the excellent *John*, *Exquaestor* of his Sacred Palace, of *Consular* Dignity, and a Patrician; and the most sublime *Leontius*, a *Magister Militum*, *Exprefectus pretorio*, of *Consular* Dignity, and a Patrician; the most eminent *Pocas*, a *Magister Militum* of like *Consular* Dignity, and a Patrician; the most excellent *Basilides*, *Exprefect* also of the East, and a Patrician; the most glorious *Thomas*, *Quæstor* of his Sacred Palace, and *Exconsul*; the Magnificl *Tribonian* adorned with the Magisterial Dignity among the *Agentes*; the Illustrious *Constantine*, *Comes Sacrum Largitionum*, among the *Agentes*, *Magister* of the *Scrinium Libellorum* and of the *Sacré Cognitio*; the most famous *Theophilus* a *Comes* of his Sacred Confitory and *Diocteur* (or *Professor*) of Law in that City; *Diocteur* and *Præsentius* most eloquent Ground men of the most ample *Prætorian Forum*.

“eloquent Gowned men, of the most ample *Praetorian Forum*.  
16. “To these, he faith, he had given especial Power, having first cut off Pre-  
“faces ( being superfluous as to the Solidity of Laws ) as also left out such-  
“as were of the same Tenour, or contrary ( except another division of Law re-  
“quired it ) as also such as were grown out of use, to compose out of them three  
“Codes and later Constitutions, Laws which were to be certain and written in  
“short, to place them under several Heads or Titles, adding and subtracting, and  
“even changing their Words, where the Convenience of the thing should require ;  
“gathering into one Sanction, such things as had formerly been dispersed in vari-  
“ous Constitutions, and making their meaning more evident. Yet so that the Order  
“of times of the said Constitutions should be manifest, not only from the addition  
“of Days and Consuls, but also from their very Composition, the first being placed  
“in the first place, and those that followed in the next ; and if any were found  
“without Day and Consul, either in the three above mentioned Codes, or in those  
“wherein later Constitutions were contained, they should yet be placed with the  
“rest, without any doubt to arise concerning their general Force and Efficacy ; as  
“also such Constitutions as were given out by way of Re script to certain Persons,  
“or by a Pragmatick Sanction at the first, if inserted in this new Code, should be  
“of the same Efficacy with the general Edicts. These things he tells the Senate,  
“he hasted to bring to their knowledge, that they might understand how great  
“his daily care was for the common Utility, designing for the time to come to have  
“certain settled Constitutions and not to be doubted, and those Collected into one  
“Code ; that out of it being called by his Name, in all judicial Proceedings, Con-  
“stitutions might be produced for the more speedy ending of Suits. Dated on the  
“Ides of February at *Constantinople*, the Lord *Justinian*, Father of our Country, Augu-  
“stu, being the secound time Consul, which was in the Year of our Lord, DXXVIII.

17. To work now go these Lawyers, about the compiling of a new Code; but while they were so employed *Justinian* fate not idle, but busied himself with suitable Industry; either for adorning, and filling up that Code, or for the Illustration of the Civil Law. For of this year, besides these already mentioned, we find twenty four Confittities bearing Date, whereof ten of the Calends, or first day of June. Of all these the Nature of our Design will not permit us to give an Account, because we write not a Book of Law, but History, and so vastly numerous.

## CHAP. II. *The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire.* Justinian.

18. In like-manner, if a Son was born after his Mothers Testament, being passed by, he was made Coheir with his Brothers, if such were instituted as Heirs, but if Strangers were instituted, he might bring his *Querela* or Complaint for dissolving the Will. In case a Son was not named Heir, but a Legacy was left him only which yet reached not to his Legitimate share of the Inheritance, he could not bring his Complaint but only his Action, for what was wanting, if the Testator expressly ordained, that it should be made up by an indifferent Umpire. If so be, the Testator left no such order, he was of old allowed to Complain. But *Justinian* would not even in this case permit him to Complain; his pleasure being that only the remainder should be sued for, where something was left; and this he did he said for the bashfull reverence that's due to Nature: And when the Legitimate share should be computed, he would have an Employment purchased with the Father's money, to be reckoned into it. By another Law made this very day, he ordained that Employments shoud in certain cases be understood to be tacit cautions obliged to the payment of Debts. On the same day he also published another Noble Constitution, concerning Legitimate Successions, in what manner either a Mother or a Father might be joyned, with the Sisters or Brothers of the Dead, the Law having formerly been in no other part more various than in determining how Parents shoud succeed their Children dying Intestate. When *Justinian* came to the Government the custome was, that the Mother shoud to be joyned with Sisters, that she shoud succeed to one half of the Inheritance, and they to the other half. This Right of the Mother he now confirmed, adding that if there were Brothers, the Inheritance shoud be divided by Poll, nor distinguishing as the old Law did betwixt Brothers. And whereas by a Constitution of *Constantine*, the Mother was bound to give a third part of the Inheritance to the Uncle, by the Father's side of the Deceased, his Son or Grandson. *Justinian* now ordained that she shoud not be obliged to doe it. Neither shoud it be material, whether she had the Right of three Children or not, which distinction was formerly made by the *Senatusconsultum Tertullianum*.

19. For by that *Senatusconsultum*, Mothers had the privilege given them to succeed their Sons, but of old it was limited, in case a Woman of ingenuous Coindition had three Children, and a *Libertina* four. But by another Law bearing date also on this very day, or Calends of June, *Justinian* removed this limitation, giving them full Right of succession, whether they had brought forth so many Children or not. What now he established as to the Mothers Right, heasterward confirmed in his Institutions; but in the tenth year of his Reign, when he published his two and twentieth Novel Constitution, he forbod that the Mother should have a greater share of the Inheritance, when she was joyned with Sisters, than when she succeeded with the Brothers of the Deceased; but would have it divided to them by Poll. After this he granted that Right simply to the Father, which he now gave to the Mother. But in case there were a Father, to joyn in the Succession with the Mother, Sisters and Brothers of the Deceased, the Father should have the full profit or *Vitus fructus* of the Estate, but the propriety should remain to the other

Sec. 2. and be divided amongst them, in such manner as is aforesaid in case no Father was surviving.

20. From the Calends of June, we can observe no Constitutions made for the space of a month. But on the Calends of July, we find him and his *Quæstor* at work again, as if he had appointed the first day of the month to this Service, there being five Laws now extant in his Code, which bear Date of these Calends. On them we cannot insist, as belonging to the *Jus Privatum*, and not so proper for our Cognitance, who write not a Book of Law but History. Neither can we take much notice of most that follow of this year, though some of them be to be mentioned. On the sixteenth of November, by publishing a new Constitution against Rapes, he thought fit to abolish all those Paragraphs of the Julian Law, concerning this crime committed either against Virgins, Widows, or such as were veiled in Cloisters, whether found in the ancient Books of Laws, or in the Sacred Constitutions, so as this new Law of his, <sup>L. 1. de Rebus virginum, fr. vii. quatuor, 2. Cod. Just. lib. 3. tit. 1.</sup> should answer all the Provisions made by them. Herein he ordains, that such as take away by force any Woman of free Condition, be punished with Death; as also such as give them assistance, especially if they be veiled. Such also as thus offend against Widows, though but *Liberinae*, and the Slaves of other men. And especially those that committed this offence against Married Women. All liberty of Appeal he takes away from the Offenders, according as had been anciently determined by a Law of Constantine: If the Women on which the Rape was committed, were only Slaves or *Liberinae*, no Estates should be forfeited; but if of ingenuous Condition, their Goods moveable and immovable, both of Principals and Assists, should be recovered to the use and property of the Women so injured. He forbids such Women to be Married to those that committed the Rapes, but to be otherwise bestowed as their Parents shall think fit. The aforesaid Pains of Death and confinestation he declares shall be undergone by the Offenders, and those that assist them in Person at the commission of the Crime; all other Abettors and Receivers shall only be punished with Death. All such Persons shall undergo such pains though the Women be consenting. Parents not Prosecuting, shall be punished with Deportation. And if any of the Assists be found to be of servile condition, the party whether Man or Woman, shall be Burned, as had also been provided by the Law of Constantine.

21. For the two first months of the third year of Justinian, wherein Decius ( in the West) was sole Conful, no Laws are found dated, though possibly some of those that are without date, (and inscribed to *Mennas* especially,) might thence derive their Original. The Code went now briskly on till the seventh before the Ides of April, on which day being finished, it was directed to *Mennas* the *Praefectus Praetorio*, and before it was finished, Justinian hastened to make several Constitutions upon divers Subjects to be inserted in it. For besides what probably might be done in these two lately mentioned months, we find by certain Dates, that in March and afterwards, the *Quæstor* was at work, and from the eleventh before the Calends of April inclusive, to the said seventh before the Ides, eleven Constitutions to have received stamp from Imperial Authority. By one on the eleventh before the Calends, he took away more difficulties in making Testaments, so as they should operate in favour of concerned Persons. On the Calends themselves, or the fifth of April, <sup>L. 32. de Test. Tert. Cod. Just. lib. 3. tit. 28.</sup> three Constitutions bear certain Date. I call it certain, because the Conful with month and day is also expressed; but there is another, which though it want the Name of the Conful, yet because the Calends of April are expressed, and it is inscribed to *Mennas* the *Praefectus Praetorio*, Baldwin with reason sets it to this day also of this very year. The three former do so nearly concern the *Jus Privatum*, that they are not so fit for our Cognitance; this is of a more general Nature, and may be taken notice of by us. It determines that Criminal Causes shall be terminated within the space of two years, reckoned from the Contestation of the Suit, after which the Party shall by all means be abolished without any allegation or pretence to be admitted; or the Judges and their Officers shall fine in twenty pounds of Gold.

22. Of old time, a Criminal Action was to be finished within the space of one year, so favourable seemed the cause of accused Persons to be, who, while in Bonds they defended themselves, could neither manumit, nor make Donations, <sup>L. 36. lib. 9. Tit. 1. de fiscis curorum temporum. Cod. Theodos. Vide Gaius. in Com. Baldwin. ubi prius p. 51. Inscript. lib. 1.</sup> neither be witnesses for nor against, nor look after Honours. The year was to take its beginning from the Inscription (of the Accuser's Name, who if he proved not the Crime, was to undergo the *Lex Talionis*,) in such cases where an Inscription was required, and where it was not from the contestation of the Suit. If the Accuser did not finish what he had to doe in a years time, he was branded with *ob. 8.* Infamy,

Infamy, or if of more base Condition Banished; and besides this forfeited the fourth part of his Estate. But now instead of one, Justinian thought fit to grant two years for prosecution, and therefore when *Tribonian* composed his Code, and was to insert in it the Laws of that *Theodosius*, the Title which runs *that within a year a Criminal Action is to be terminated*, he thus interpolated and changed, *within a certain or determinate time*, and he did the same thing in the Laws themselves. Yet notwithstanding, such was his carelessness or forgetfulness, that in several places of the Digests, he left some remainders of the old Law, which circumscribed the time of prosecuting a criminal Action within a year. Hereupon the mistake of some Interpreters hath risen, who after a years time imagined that an accused Person might sue for Honours, which opinion was founded upon his inserting still the remainders of the old Law. But Justinian afterward allowed the term of three years for deciding Civil Causes, and pecuniary Matters, but allowed two for Criminal only, and out of respect to the accused Persons, is thought to have enlarged it so far and no farther. Of old time possibly he was put in mind, that in pecuniary Causes time of delay could be given but once, in Criminal to the accused thrice, and to the accuser but twice. But hereby nothing was altered as to what *Zeno* had Ordained, that a Magistrate should speedily be tried after the coming out of his Office, as Justinian made it a singular Cause, that what was objected against a Clerk, should be decided within two months.

23. Of the ninth before the Ides of this same April, is a Constitution bearing Date, whereby he declared that if one Stipulated, to give or do something at a certain time, under a certain Penalty, in case he failed, the Penalty should take place, though he pretended he was not put in mind; for he himself ought to have remembered it. Now this, he faith, he doeth, to take off the obscurity of the old Law, which gave occasion to the protracting of Suits, but *Baldwin* shews in several particulars out of the Pandects, that the opinions of the ancient Lawyers in this particular were very expies, and this was not any new Law. On the day following, or the eighth before the Ides, seven Constitutions bear Date. Whereas Persons were not at Age, till they had completed twenty five years; yet when young men were found to be frugal and discreet, after that of twenty, they were sometimes allowed to govern their own Estates by the indulgence of the Prince. Now Justinian thought fit to prohibit them, as also other Minors, to alienate or ingage their immovable Estates, without the authority of a Decree interposing. By another made this day, he declared the Emperour and his Empress free to make gifts to each other during Matrimony, which others could not do, so as they should forthwith be Valid, without expectation of the Death of the Prince; forasmuch as Imperial Contracts (he calls them,) are as so many Laws, and need no assent from without. By another Constitution of this day, he provided for Modesty, otherwise than what before had been practised, at least as he imagined. There had been some controversie how Puberty should be made out and proved; some said by the Habit of the Body, and ability to generate; but most agreed upon the Age of fourteen years in a Man, as twelve in a Woman, as is proved from *Tertullian* and others. But though this opinion of the *Proculeians* was the most received, yet to take off all doubts and controversies, Justinian thought fit to Establish it by Law, and to prohibit all unseemly inspections of the Body: This was convenient to be settled, because one not arrived at Puberty, could not contract Matrimony, make a Testament, give Testimony, nor be bound to any thing without the authority of his Tutor intervening. Full Puberty ended, of a man in his eighteenth year, and of a Woman in her fourteenth. And a Boy was wont to nourish the Hair of his Head till his fourteenth.

24. There is another Law bearing Date also of this same day, which with others of the same nature, relate to a remarkable Subject. The Subject is that of Usury, or interest for Money and other things borrowed: And this Constitution relates to the Treasury, prohibiting that it receive any Interest, but according to a former Law made by him, which hereby he confirms. Now that Law must be one which is of the same tenour with this which confirms it, and indeed no other than a Noble Constitution directed also to the same Person, viz. *Mennas*, now *Praefectus Praetorio*, in the Consulship of Justinian; though how many times Consul and the day be not added. Indeed Justinian made many Laws concerning Usury, though he ordained nothing but what had formerly been such concerning the Obligation, the cause whence Usury descended, or how it was contradicted, whether by Stipulation, Pact, or Delay; but concerning the manner, end and quantity of just and lawfull Interest, he first enacted many things, like none which had formerly been

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<sup>L. 12. de contrahenda & committenda stipulacione. Cod. Just. lib. 8. tit. 38.</sup>

<sup>L. 3. de his qui veniam statim impetraverunt. Cod. Just. lib. 2. tit. 45.</sup>

<sup>L. 26. de donatibus inter virum & uxorem. Cod. Just. lib. 5. tit. 6.</sup>

<sup>L. 1. Quando Tutor vel Curator eff. definit. Cod. Just. lib. 5. tit. 60. ad Notar. in L. 1. Baldwin. ubi prius p. 74.</sup>

<sup>L. 26. de fiscis curiorum temporum. Cod. Just. lib. 10. tit. 8.</sup>

<sup>L. 26. de Usuris. Cod. Just. lib. 4. tit. 32.</sup>

How the matter  
of Usury stood  
in old time.

The *Usura Cen-*  
*temaria*, and  
*Uncaria*.

The *As* was di-  
vided into  
twelve *Unciae*,  
and their names.

Sect. 2. been made by the Romans upon the same points. And in the old Common Wealth, they varied much as to their Laws and practice in this kind. By the Law of the *Tacitus, Ansel.* twelve Tables, that Usury was only permitted, which they called *Usura Uncaria* <sup>lib. 6.</sup> *Vide Calvini Lectio, in v. Us- caria fusu.* being one in the Hundred, wheras before that time it was as pleased the monied Men. After that, (ten years its said,) it was brought by a Tribunitian Law to half an one in the hundred; and when even this proportion also seemed grievous, *L. Genitius* proposed a Law to the People, that no Usury at all should be taken. But the practice being suppressed, Covetous or Concerned Persons betook themselves to Frauds. They had a way to transmit the Obligation to others, who were not obnoxious to the Laws, as those they called *Socii Latini Nomis*. To obviate this *M. Sempronius* the Tribune, by order of the Senate, proposed a Law, and the People enacted, that the same Law should hold in the case of Borrowing and Lending money, with the *Associates of the Latina Name*, as with *Roman Citizens*. However *Tacitus* writes, that though many Laws were made by the people for to cut off all Fraud; yet though represt, it renued again by strange flights and devices. However, for the sake of Commerce and other Conveniences, it still was found convenient if not necessary, that Usury should be permitted, and the highest rofe to the *Usura Centesimaria*, which contained twelve times the *Usura Uncaria* but now mentioned.

25. For the better understanding of this, and many other matters relating to the *Roman Laws* and *Customs*, it is necessary that the Reader know something concerning their Usage, and Division of their *As*. Here, in short, it may suffice to say, that this word being the same import with a *Nummus*, with *Libra* and *Pondo*, was also received to signify any thing that was whole and Integral. For the Ancients when they divided any thing into equal parts, as an Inheritance, or any such other thing, were wont to call *As*, and the parts of it so divided, *Unciae*. And into twelve *Unciae* they divided it, as the Pound is still into so many Ounces. And the several parts had their proper Names, as two *Unciae* were called *Sextans*, three *Quadrans*, four (or a third part of the *As*) *Triens*, five *Quincunx*, six *Semis* or an half, seven *Septunx*, eight *Bes*, nine they called *Dodrunc*, ten *Dextans*, eleven *Denax*, and the twelve, or the whole, *As*. Now to apply this to our present matter of Usury or Interest, it must be known that the principal money was wont to be reckoned by the Hundred, as now-a-days. And this the Romans are said to have taken from the Greeks, who for a more commodious way of Accounts, reduced their Principal to a *Mina*, which contained an hundred Drachms. Now then when one in the Hundred was paid for Interest by the year, this they called *Usura Uncaria*, but not *Centesima*; for the *Usura Centesima* was when one *Uncia* or the hundredth part of the Principal was paid every month, and so twelve *Unciae* or the whole *As* in a year, which indeed was twelve in the Hundred. But their Custome was to pay their Interest every month, and when one *Uncia* was monthly paid, this was called the *Centesima* indeed, or full Interest, being the *As* of Usury. Hence followed other lesser as Parts of this *As*. *Semis* when but half of it was paid in the year, or fix in the Hundred, *viz.* Half an *Uncia* every month, or half an one in the Hundred; *Quadrans* when a fourth part, and so proportionably.

26. Notwithstanding all Indeavours to the contrary, yet the *Centesimaria* *Usura* seems to have been the most common, and even that called *Legitima* in the Law Books. Some have held that it was lessened by the *Lex Gabinia*, because *Cicero* <sup>vide Baldwinum ubi supra.</sup> signifies to *Atricus*, some few such thing was comprehended in that Law, which he himself followed in his *Editium Tralaticium*, or that which according to the Custome of the Ancients, he took and transcribed from the City into his Province. *Plutarch* also writes, that *Lucullus* in *Afia* prescribed those bounds. Both *Tacitus* and *Suetonius* mention a Law made by *Cesar* the Dictator, concerning the manner of Lending and holding Possessions within *Italy*. What it precisely determined we know not, though it seems that in the time of *Tiberius*, the Lenders took more for their Money, than by that Law they might do, which Law lay neglected. This caused a multitude to rise up as Informers, against such as trespassed the Law, and *Gracchus* being *Praetor*, unto him the examination of the question fell. He being constrained by the multitude of such as were indangered thereby, propounded the matter to the Senate. The Senatours being afraid, for there was none of them free from that fault, craved respite of the Prince. He granted them a year and six months, within which time every man, according to the prescript of Law, should settle his Estate, and make up his Domesticall Accounts. Upon this, every man calling in his

his Debts, on a sudden there followed a great scarcity of Money; and by reason that so many were condemned, and their Goods sold, all the Coin ran either to the publick Treasury, or that of the Prince. The Senate ordained, that two parts of the Use-money shoud be laid out on Lands in *Italy*: but the Creditours disliked it, and urged the payment of the whole, as a matter impairing the Reputation of the Parties convened, to go from their word.

27. At first there was great running hither and thither, and Entreaties used. Then they flockt about the *Praetor's* Tribunal: and those things that were proposed for a Remedy, as selling and buying such Mens Goods, turned to a contrary effect, because the Usurers had hoarded up all their Money to buy Land. And because the multitude of Sellers made Land very cheap, the more a man was indebted, the more unwilling he was to sell. Many were thrust out of all they had, and with their Wealth their Credit also sank, till *Tiberius* relieved them, by putting an hundred Million of Sesterces into Bank, and lent it for three years without Consideration or Interest, provided the Debtor could give security to the People of *Rome* in Lands double the value of the Debt. By that means their Credit was restored, and other private Creditours by little and little appeared. Neither was the buying of Lands practised, according to the Decree of the Senate. Though it was hotly at the beginning purposed, in the end it was carelessly neglected, as almost all such things are. Such was the stir about Usury, as *Tacitus* relates it, in the time of *Tiberius*, and it seems that the Practice returned to be much as formerly, and the *Usura Centesima* continued even to the time of *Justinian*. He was a gainst it, as too hard and exacting; but to settle the full matter of Interest there was need of good consideration. It could not be done in a word or two, but was to be fitted to various circumstances.

28. For a distinction was to be made between Creditour and Creditour, Debtor and Debtor, the thing that was lent was to be considered, with the Condition of the Obligation, what delay there was in the case, or how long the Creditour wanted his money. *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, as we have formerly seen, ordained that Senators should not stipulate or receive more than half the *As*, or six in the Hundred. But now *Justinian* thought fit to restrain Illustrious Persons, under whom they were comprehended, to a *Triens*, or four in the Hundred. But as *Baldwin* words it, he did not think his own Treasury so illustrious, but that he permitted it to receive six. For a little after that Constitution he published another, whereby he enacted, that his Treasury should be bound by that Law, yet so as it might require the *Usura semis*, which was vulgar and common. *Paul*, the great Lawyer, had formerly answered, that one who had received Interest les than six, yet if he became a Debtor to the Treasury, shoud to it pay the full six. Now *Justinian*, in general, defines that always six shall be allowed to the Treasury, but no more, whether it be a Debt principally and originally belonging to it, or that Actions be transferred to it from other Creditours. But Illustrious Persons he will allow to receive but four, which for of Interest is, by Lawyers, called the lighter, as fix, by *Pliny*, is termed civil, and moderate. *Lampridius* writes of that excellent Prince, *Alexander Severus*, that he to took but four in the Hundred; and in old time it was answere, that when any thing were yearly left to the Commonwealth, the Interest was to be of four only, in the *Falcidian* Law. When any thing was delayed to be paid to the Commonwealth, as the setting up of a Statue, left as a Legacy to the People of *Rome*, *Paulus* also said, that but four in the Hundred were to be exacted for that delay. In like manner *Justinian* ordained, that if the Dower was not paid for whole two years after Matrimony contracted, or if after the dissolution of the Marriage the Husband did not restore back the Dower, confining in moveables, for such *Mora*, or Delay, Interest of four in the Hundred should be paid. To which something like had formerly been appointed.

29. But Traders *Justinian* permitted to take eight in the Hundred, others in general only six, whereas twelve had been formerly permitted to all. Herein he considered the Persons of the Creditours, or of those who put out their money. <sup>Novel. 32, 33.</sup> And he also had respect to those who received upon Interest. He had at length 34<sup>th</sup> pity upon miserable Husbandmen, to whom the State is so much beholding, ordaining, that to no Creditour whomsoever they should pay more than four in the Hundred, or not much more than four, *viz.* one *Siliqua* yearly for every *Solidus*, of which it was the four and twentieth part. But those whom he eased in the Interest of Money, he seems to have burthened in that of Fruits. For he allows the eighth part of a *Modius* to be stipulated for every *Modius*, which a little exceeds the *Usura Centesima*, or twelve in the Hundred. And indeed when he

Farmers Traf-  
ficks to take  
eight, and o-  
thers only six.

Rates Husband-  
men in Interest  
of Money.

But rather bur-  
then them in  
that of Fruits.

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And why.

Other Interest  
of Money he forbids to exceed the Cen-  
tiefima.Forbids the An-  
ticipatio in the  
Lands or Goods of  
Husbandmen.The Fennus Na-  
tanicum uncertain.Interest of  
things obtained  
in Judicature  
allowed to be of  
the Centiefima.

he published his first Constitution formerly mentioned, he permitted all Persons to take the *Centiefima* upon Commodities, though not on Money. And now he remits nothing, except it be for Bread-corn lent to Husbandmen. The reason was, because Husbandmen are wont from sowing such seeds to receive the Interest of two hundred, or more, and otherwise the prices of such things are so uncertain, that he seemed to find reason therein to confute the advantage of the Creditour, to whom the thing borrowed might be paid, in, or at, a time wherein the value of it was fain, which rarely happened unto Money, the quantity of money consisting in the value, but that of other things in weight and measure. *Constantine*, as we formerly observed, put a restraint upon the Usury of Fruits, forbidding more to be taken than a third part, or, allowing that, if two *Modii* of Corn were lent, a third should be returned back for the use of the two, so as these two, and it, should make up three parts, and, in reality, an half of the whole should be returned for Interest. This was a Reformation of the old Extravagance and Extortion, made by *Constantine*; but notwithstanding this, and that, the *Usura Centiefima* was left by him as it formerly was, though he forbade it to be exceeded, the Interest of Fruits was three times greater than that of Money.

30. Both the one and the other fort *Justinian* found to be too great, and what he did as to that of money we have already said. Other Usury than that of Money he forbade to exceed the *Centiefima*. That he allowed, and he allowed it to be taken of Husbandmen, from whom otherwise he forbade so much to be exacted for the use of Money, as from other men. For Fruits he grants they might take double of that money, permitting, though but a *Siliqua* yearly for every *Soldius*, yet for a *Modius* of Corn an eighth part to be stipulated. To evade this Law, Creditours afterward were wont, when they lent Money, to say, they lent it to buy Corn, and *L. 15. de Usur.* stipulate the Interest to be that of Corn, to obviate which fraud *Justinian* took care in the law formerly mentioned. Thus he had respect to what was lent, and considered who it was that borrowed, and who lent, in these his Constitutions. But he also distinguished according to the Danger and Risque the Lender was like to run. So that if he was to bear the los, if the fruits that were to be sown miscarried, he restrained him not by Law. Neither was that the Lawyers call *Antichrebs* formerly so restrained by Constitutions, but that it might be used, provided there was no fraud therein. They called it *Antichrebs*, when the Creditour received the Fruits of a piece of ground, or other thing, which was given in pledge for Money lent. And *Luculus* seems to have attempted to restrain the practice of it, and to reduce it to moderation. To be sure both the obligation of it, and of other sorts of Pledges, was dissolved, if the Principal was tendered. However *Justinian* forbids the *Anticipatio* in the Lands or Goods of Husbandmen, that the Fields or Goods of Husbandmen should be held by the way of *Antichrebs*. The Ancients indeed prohibited the Instruments of Husbandry to be taken or obliged this way, but he extends the Prohibition to other of their things, though the Creditour lent them the Corn, and underwent the danger of the miscarriage of the seed. For miserable must be the estate of the Husbandman, and Husbandry itself must be disturbed, if their grounds be held and tilled by other men.

31. There was another fort of Usury, as remarkable as any of the rest, if not more, and that arose from Money lent for Traffick by Sea, called *Fennus Naticum*, and *Trajectum*. In case the Creditour took upon himself the danger of Sea and Navigation, nay and in such case subjected the very Principal to danger, the Ancients judged Usury to be free, and by no means to be circumscribed, it being indeed the price of the danger rather than any thing else. But such Contracts *Justinian* thought fit to restrain to the *Usura Centiefima*. Yet afterwards he found, that these *Contractus Trajectum* were so various, that they could not conveniently be regulated by one Law, and his Resolution was various about them. In order to a right determination, concerning lawfull Interest in such Cafes, a distinction must be made in reference to the condition of the Money lent, and the peril undergone by the Creditour. Moreover it's to be known, that the Law so often mentioned concerning the moderation of Usury, properly belongeth to Stipulations and Contracts, and that sometimes, even by the Imperial Constitutions, greater Interest was due without contract. As *Justinian* himself afterwards declared, that the Interest of such things as had been decreed in Judicature, concerning which the Law had passed, should be that of the *Centiefima*, if so be the Party cast did not make payment after four months, *L. ult. Cod. Iust.* *de Usura et juri-  
dicione, lib. 1.  
tit. 54.*

the Law, in the time when it was lawfull to stipulate greater. And what is more observable, he permitted not the course of Interest to exceed the double, or more to be paid for Ufe, than the whole Principal amounted to; nor though there was a *L. penali. Cod. de Usur.* Pledge in the case.

32. This was received of old for Law, that when the Interest did equal the Principal, the payment of it should cease, although it was the *Usura Nautica* and *Trajectum*. But *Justinian* insinuates, as *Baldwin* observes, that there were some old Laws, by which, if the Creditour had a Pledge, he might retain it, and so by it, exact even greater Usury; which Laws, whatsoever they were, he took away, that so the Moderation of Interest, which he brought up, might be preserved. He also observes another effect of this Moderation of our Legislatour. In reference to the doubling of the Principal, and stopping of Interest when it should have equalled it, *Antoninus* the Emperour, by his *Rescript*, declared, that to the making up of that sum which equalled the Principal, such Interest as had formerly been paid should not be reckoned, but only such as were in arrear from the Debtor. But *Justinian* considering, that by this means a knavish Debtor might have the advantage above the honest and well meaning, who constantly kept his day of payment, and that covetous and exacting Creditour should fare better than one who was generous, and not exacting or precipice in getting Money, though he had at first taken that *Rescript* or *Law* of *Antoninus* into his Code, yet at length he thought fit to repeal it, and ordained that Interest already paid, and the several payments of *Novel. 121.* it should be reckoned to make that sum, which equalling the Principal should discharge the Debtor from farther Usury. This his favour was abused by certain Creditours, who extended it to extinguish some pecuniary Incomes, which otherwise were perpetual, which constrained him to publish another *Novel Constitution* *Novel. 160.* whereby he repreffed that interpretation. For when the Creditour can call in or recover his Principal, it is a fault in him to chuse rather to oppress the Debtor with Interest; and therefore where he doth not call it in, the Law stops the Use-money; and he may thank himself for suffering his Principal to lye dead in the Debtor's hands: But if it be so alienated, that it cannot be recovered, and by the payment of it, a Pension or Annuity be purchased, though with that Condition, that the Debtor, by repayment of the Principal, might discharge himself, it seemed hard, that having for some years only paid as much to the Creditour as it came to, he should refuse to pay Interest full for that Money which he kept in his hands, and which the Creditour could not recover out.

33. Another particular is still behind, which shewed how moderate this Legislator was in point of Usury. The old Laws forbade that Ufe should be taken for Use-money, or Ufe upon Ufe, infomuch that they marked him with Infamy that should require it. Yet, as *Justinian* observes, they did not make sufficient provision against the practice, but by permitting the Interest to be turned into Principal, and then the Interest of the whole sum, to put together, to be stipulated, made it all one thing to the Debtors, and thereby regulated not Things but Words. But he resolved to obviate this fraud by defining, that, to take off this colour and vizard of Justice, no Use-money or Interest should be turned into, or receive the name of Principal, and Interest stipulated to be paid for it. Yet this Law seems to be imperfect, no Sanction or penalty being added for the fault it prohibits, and therefore it is demanded what punishment such Offender is to suffer. In the Law at first mentioned, as well as in this, he added, that stipulations made contrary to these Laws should be of no force; and in favour of Husbandmen he was more severe, ordaining, that such as did not observe his Novel Constitutions in that point, should lose their Principal. This *Baldwin* observes, and since him *Molinanus* embraces the opinion of such Lawyers, as think an infamous Usurer may be punished criminally, and may be tortured, though in the Laws no such provision be made, and this he had seen done in the Parliament of *Paris*. *Plato's* Law was very severe also, which would permit the Debtor to exacted upon to pay neither Interest nor Principal. But *Baldwin* pronounces such Theorems of Philosophers to be too confused, and to disturb the Commerce of humane Societies. As also that the Laws of other Nations were extraneous in this point of Interest.

*Vide Notes in  
L. 20. ex gallo  
caufis infantia in-  
ragatur. Cod. Inf.  
lib. 2. tit. 12.*

The Laws of other Nations were extraneous in this point of Interest.

Interest of things obtained in Judicature allowed to be of the Centiefima.

Donations betwixt Man and Wife prohibited.

Not when first contracted.

The Donation  
answering out  
Jointure, not  
anciently known  
to the *Romans*.

34. We have done with the busines of Usury, but shall farther take notice, that the same Day he made the Law which gave occasion to the Discourse upon this Subject, he published another on a different, wherein he altered the Law as it had formerly stood. The Ancients prohibited mere Donations betwixt Man and Wife, for according such Inconveniences as extreme affection or importunity might procure betwixt them. They prohibited not when they were first contracted; but this sort of Donation is said to have had a tacite condition, if Marriage followed, especially by a Law of *Constantine*; for indeed before, when no cause was extenuated, nor any condition, the ancient Lawyers seemed to interpret it to be a pure and liberal Donation, so as the thing became presently theirs, to whom it was made. There was third sort of Donation before Marriage; which was not a mere Donation, but for consideration, being, as it were, a certain compensation of the *Dos*, or Portion, which the Wife brought; or our Jointure in *England*, which the Husband contributed as she did her *Dos*. *Baldwin* saith, this sort of Donation was unknown to the ancient Lawyers, even by confession of *Fulstian*; but in the time of the later Emperours, when Barbarism diminished the Dignity of Husbands, and when men became thereupon uxorious, it began to be in use, there being no mention of it in the Pandects. Hereupon though the *Dos*, or Portion, be said to be by the Law of Nations, yet he scarcely allows this to belong to the Civil Law. And at first it was not prescribed how much the Man should give or contribute upon this Account. But *Leo* and *Anthemius* decreed, that some equality of Portion should be observed in the Pacts of the *Dos*, and this Donation, that on such terms as the Husband gained a third part of the *Dos*, the Wife should gain in like manner a fourth of the Donation.

Sponsalita De  
natio.  
  
El proprie  
tatis sive  
posse vacan  
tia quae sit  
deman  
Prima poss  
et Donatio am  
plior, sed p  
luram etiam  
cari mea  
Donatione pr  
ter Nigritas, si  
eum sicut p  
Nuptias fieri p  
mitteret, ut ip  
sae Datum, l  
tit. 3. lib. 5. c.

35. This equality therefore might otherwise be unequal, and Interpreters commonly, though barbarously, said it was *quotitativē*, not *quantitatīvē*; yet *Justinian*, when he made his Code, was content to admit it. He only added, that if the *Pacts* were unequal, they should be so reduced to equality, that the greater gain should be brought down to the less, as if the Wife compacted to gain a third part of the Dona- Qualitative non  
quantitative.

*Justinian takes  
pains in this Af-  
fair.*

tion, and the Husband but a fourth, that Part of hers should only be understood to be of the fourth part. He afterward in a Novel Constitution approved this Law; Nov. 22  
Noy. 97 but some time after, by another, he enacted, that both in quantity and frame of this Donation for Marriage, such equality should be observed betwixt it and the *Dos*; that so much should be contained in it as in the other. He had formerly ordained, that the Donation should not be greater than the *Dos*. He was afraid that the Law which prohibits a simple Donation to be made from the Husband to the Wife, should be infringed; and herein, contrary to his wont, he seemed little to favour Women, by repressing the liberality of their Husbands. But this Donation tended to their advantage, the *Dos* being better secured to them, and thereby the Husband being hindred from breaking the Matrimony by divorce, rashly, and without a cause. Indeed the Wife, in respect of her *Dos* she brought with her, had a great Obligation upon all her Husband's Estate; but besides, this condition was profitable; for the Husband could not alienate such things, especially if immovable, though the Wife consented, as the Legislatour determined. And then, as the Woman divorcing her self without cause, lost part of her *Dos*, so the Husband, in such case, lost part of his Donation also. Nov. 61

**Prohibits Ap-  
peals in point of  
taxing Costs**

36. The day following the date of all these Constitutions lately mentioned, or the seventh of the Ides of April, presents us with one directed also to *Mennas*, where in *Julfimianus* will have all due honour and respect paid to Judges, and ordains, that in a cafe a Judge have omitted to tax the Expences of a Suit, and to award them to him that overcomes his Adverfary, there shall be no need of any Appeal, but the Judge, *ad quem*, to whom the Adverfary cast, of course appeals, shall have power to decree him a compensation for the fad Costs and Damages he hath fufained. Though all or most of the other Constitutions were made before the Code was published, yet we can scarcely think that this was, because on this very fame day we find the Code it felf fet forth, though *Baldwin* would have it the day following. It appears fo to have been by the date of the Edit, prefixt to it for its confirmation, which, in our later Edition, bears date of the seventh of the Ides of April, and is directed also to *Mennas*, as *Prefectus Praetorio*, Exprefect of the City, and Patriarch, which *Mennas* continued to be Prefect to the Month of August of this year. He begins his Edit by telling his Subjects, "That the main defence of the State proceeded from two fountains, of Arms and the Laws, which exerting thence its Power, had procured the happy Stocke of the Romans to be preferred before all Nations, had caufed them to have Dominion over all People for the time past, and De Julfimianus  
Codice confirmatione

**He publisheth  
his Code.**

*De Justinianis  
Codice confirmat  
do.*

*De Justinianis  
Codice confirmat  
do.*

CHAP. II. *The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire.* Justinian

Justinian

" and with the Favour of God, would doe the like for that to come. One of these; " he adds, always stood in need of the Affistence of the other, the Affairs of War " being kept in safety by the Laws, as well as the Laws preferred by the safe-guard " of Arms. That therefore applying his Mind, and Indeavours to the chief " means of the Preservation of the Commonwealth, he had by manifold means, " and provident Methods amended the State of the *Militia*, as well by reducing " the ancient Laws into a better Frame, and that in a short space of time, as by " ordaining new, yet without any new publick Expences.

36. "But it being necessary by reducing into Brevity, the multitude of Constitutions as well found in the three ancient Codes, as those added afterward, to take away the obscurity of them, which cast a mist before the Judges in their Decisions; for the performance of this common Good, with the Assistance of God, he applied himself earnestly to it, and having made choice of Men, who were most Glorious, for their learning in the Laws, their experience in the World, their indefatigable Industry for the good of the State, and their laudable Design, with certain Restrictions, he committed to them this great Labour, by which the Constitutions of the three Codes of *Gregorius*, *Hermonogenianus*, *Theodosius*, together with the Constitutions of the said *Theodosius*, of succeeding Princes, and such as had been made by himself, he commanded to be collected into one Code; which should be named after himself. The Prefaces he tells us, were to be taken away, as affording no suffrage to the Sanctions; as also such contrary Constitutions as were made void by others, more lately promulgated, such also as being to the same purpose, and made no distinction in Law; besides many other things, he gave in Charge to those most prudent Persons; and the Omnipotent God gave Assistance to his Endeavour, which was undertaken for the Commonwealth. After this, he declares that those Persons formerly named, according to their several Titles and Qualifications, which here it will be needless to repeat, viz. *John*, *Leontius*, *Phocas*, *Basilides*, *Thomas*, *Tribonianus*, *Constantinus*, *Theophilus*, *Dioscorus* and *Præsentinus*, being chosen for completing to great a Work, had by the help of God, brought what he had committed to them, through their sedulous and most vigilant Industry, and their moderate digesting of Matters to a prosperous Issue, and had presented to him a new *Justinianus* Code so composed, as should be profitable to the Commonwealth, and agreeable to the Constitution and Interest of his Empire.

37. "Then applying his Speech to *Mennas* the Prefect he tells him, that he thought fit to direct this Code, which for ever should be of force to the Judgment of his Highness, that as well all that have Suits, as the most eloquent Advocates may know, that in all Causes and Tryals, they infist not for the time to come on any Constitutions found in the three ancient Codes now mentioned, or on any amongst those at this time called Novel Constitutions; but only make use of those inserted in his Code, under pain of Forgery. For he saith, the reading of the Constitutions of his said Code, if the Labours of the ancient Interpreters of Law be added, are sufficient to decide all Controversies; there being no doubt to arise, either for that, some of them are without Day or Confus, or for that they are Answers to certain Persons; it being most evident, that they all obtain the force of general Constitutions; although some of the said Constitutions be so framed, that certain words be taken away, added or altered, which Liberty he had given to the said most Excellent Persons. He forbids that, any recit them out of the Books of the ancient Lawyers, otherwise than they are in his Code, permitting them only to command the opinions of the Interpreters, which shall only so far be of value, as they do not contradict the Constitutions of his Code. If there were any Pragmatical Sanctions which had not been received in to his Code, perhaps granted to Cities, Bodies, Schools, *Scrinia* or Offices, or to some certain Person; if so be they granted any special Privilege and Indulgence, they should remain in force; or if they were designed for certain Heads or Chapters, then they should be of force if they were contrary to no Constitution in his Code. In like manner, if any thing had been done in the Court of *Mennas*, or other Civil or Military places of Judicature, or at the *Principia Numerorum*, in reference to publick Expences, or any Titles relating to the publick, he adjudges them to be valid as the common Utility doth require. And now he concludes with an Epilogue, which he, or his ten Compilers of the Code, have cut off from all the Constitutions therein comprised. Let therefore thy Magnificick and Illustrious Authority, according to the Vigilancy thou usest in behalf of the Commonwealth, and in fulfilling our Orders, cause the said Code,

Sect. 2. The half of the Compilers censured.

"to be known to all sorts of People, by Edicts published according to the Customs. The Text it self also of the Code, is to be sent into all Provinces subject to our command, with our Divine (so still they used to word it) Subnotation, "that so the Constitutions of our Code may come to the knowledge of all; " and that there being Festival days to come, that is from the sixteenth day before the Calends of May, of this present seventh Indiction, in the Consulship of the most famous Decius; Quotations and Authorities of Constitutions, may be made from our said Code. Given on the seventh before the Ides at Constantinople, Decius, the most Famous, being Consul, A.D. DXXIX.

38. In this Edict he commands much his ten Compilers, for their Industry and Skill; whatever their Industry was, their haste seems to have been too great and precipitate, having taken but the time of fifteen Months, for the Collecting and Interpolating of this Code. This indeed they might the more easily doe, because he gave them leave to take away the Prefaces to the several Constitutions; which afforded no light to the Sanctions. But they took away both Prefaces and Epilogues, and thereby deprived us of a great Light, which they would have afforded the occasions, and consequently the reasons of the Laws. It were to be wished they had taken away all contrary Constitutions, and those of the same Tendency and Effect. And that the Liberty he gave them of taking away, adding and altering Words had been more cautiously used, as with great Grief to all understanding Men, it is found that it was not; their Interpolations being most notorious. And Justinian by the persuasion of them or others, seems to have made too much haste, having scarcely put into this Code, the tenth part of the Constitutions he found requisite afterward to add of his own device. At the same time, that he published this Code (which he ordained should be of Force, from the sixteenth before the Calends of May, or the fourteenth of April) he was still hammering new Constitutions, it is therefore admired that he should not defer the Publication of it, till they were finished. And he found so much occasion for the increasing their number, that for the collecting and inserting of them, a new Edition of the Code was afterwards found necessary.

39. The very day following the Confirmation of the Code, we find a Constitution directed to this same Menas, whereby the Emperour declares such various Military Privileges as were ordinarily granted to Soldiers, in declining Exceptions, and in the Refutation *in integrum*, should only hold in the time of Expedition, and not *Reip. causa ab aliis*. when they lay in other places, or at home. And whereas Military men had also Date, 6. id. Ap. allowed them great Liberty, in making their Testaments, which let them free from the Solemnities, which in those of others were required, by another Edict C. Conf. 42. L. ult. de legi. Militis, Cod. lib. 6. i. 21. directed also to Menas, he declared that they should only hold in such Expeditions, and not at all times. This bears Date on the fourth day before the Ides, and on the Ides themselves, another Constitution is still directed to Menas, whereby he declares that such Alienations as had been made of the Goods or Estate of a *Milites* *Alienatio non redditum faciebat*, he durst not to do, if he had held Minor after his coming to Age, or twenty five, did not contradict it, but held his Peace for five years. But whereas a Minor could make no Donations, though with a Decree, in the time of his Minority, except only for the cause of Marriage, he will not have them valid, except such Person after he came to Age, shall if present be silent ten years, and if absent twenty. And if he dyed before those Terms completed, his Heirs within the remainder of the Term may recall, if he please, the Donation; not after. These Constitutions might easily have been taken into the Code before its Publication, according to what we now can judge; but the Truth is, there might be pressing Reasons not to stay so long, of which at this distance we are ignorant. So also we are not certain, but that many more might be made betwixt this and August; but yet we find a space of near four Months of Intermission, wherein the Emperour and his *Quæstor*, seem to have taken their ease as to this Affair. For the next we find in the Code, bears Date of the eighth before the Ides of August; yet being directed still to the same Menas, we suspect other inscribed to him without Date might have been Composed in so much distance of time; but then as to the time we have no certainty.

40. That Edict so much concerns the *Jus Preruum*, that we shall not meddle with it, for Reasons formerly given. We find on one day of the next Month, viz. the sixteenth of September, or the fifteenth before the Calends of October, eight several Constitutions bearing Date, as now they are in the Code, not directed to Menas, but to Demosthenes. For Menas being now out, Demosthenes came in for the remainder of the Year and that following, together with one *Atalanius*, as Alaman-

Privileges granted to Soldiers not to extend to them, when at home.

How far the Alienations made by Minors shall be good.

L. ult. de Collatione. lib. Cod. Jull. lib. 6. m. 21.

nus observes from a Constitution published by *Ant. Contius*, though whence he tells not. This Demosthenes also, as he observes, had been *Profectus Praetorio*, *In Secret. His. terius*, to whom that Emperour directs a Law concerning a blind man; whether, *I. e. qui Testamento facere potuit vel non. Cod. Justiniani*, lib. 1. Commune potheca, or Obligation upon the rest of the Testators Estate, and he took away of Legacies, and *Fideicomissa*, both against Thing and Person, and besides an *H. I. tit. 22. lib. 5. tit. 22. lib. 6. tit. 52.*

*Yustinian favours Legacies, and Fideicomissa.*

Prohibits the late Children of Illustrious women, to succeed them in their Estates.

*Et hanc legem quan somper condamnare fuisse dicamus.*

41. He farther ordained, that such Infants as were exposed, shoudl be taken and held for free and of ingenuous Condition, and as at this time he defined, what Children should be accounted ingratefull, upon that account, as that they might be disinherited, or loose part of the Inheritance; so a few days after, or on the twelfth before the Calends of October, he approved what the great Lawyer Paulus had written, that an Infant could not be styled ingratefull by the Mother, nor be repelled from the Mothers Inheritance. But whereas it was held, that out of hatred to the Husband, a Woman might disinhere her Son, he rejected it, and ordained that none should be burthened by the hatred of another Person; that an Infant could not be ingratefull, and therefore could not be disinherited, and if he were, might always have the benefit of the *Quæstra Iusfructi Testamenti*. As for Posthumous Children, or those that were unborn at the death of their Parents, though he was of several minds herein; yet at last, he resolved that they could not be disinherited. For he forbade it to be done at all, without just Cause, and no just Cause could there be as to Posthumous Children. On the fifth before the Calends of October; he decreed that the same Person should not be both *Affessor* and Advocate, or be *Affessor* to two Magistrates. On the sixth before the Calends of November, he ordained that a Judicial Sentence of the Prince, should have the Force of a general Law. And on the third before the Calends, or the twenty ninth of October, he made several Constitutions which are said to have been recited seven times in the new Conscriptory of his Palace. Of one we shall take notice, which declares what things these are, which a Son as yet in the Paternal power, and not Emancipated, acquires to his Father.

42. By the most ancient Law, whatsoever such a Son gained, he acquired it all for his Father, who had the full Propriety and Dominion of it. But by the Constitutions of the Emperours, Sons, if they were Soldiers, had the Privilege to acquire to their own Propriety and Dominion; what they got by the Service, or those things called *Bona Caffrenia*, which by this example was also granted, to such as served the Commonwealth in a *Militia non Armata*, in such Goods as thence were called, *Bona quasi Caffrenia*. But for Adventitious Goods of a Son in Power, they were still acquired to the Father. Constantine first excepted Goods coming by the Mother; and then other Emperours, such as came by Matrimony, or betrothing. All these Constitutions in favour of a Son Justinian approved; but whereas other Adventitious Goods were acquired for the Father, he judged it a more just thing in the General, that the *Ujusfructus* of Adventitious Goods should be granted to the Father, and the Propriety kept for the Son. As for those they called *Profectus*, which proceeded from any thing, or cause of the Father to the Son, those he suffered to be acquired for the Father. But whereas he seemed to be so Indulgent to Sons in Paternal Power, as contrary to the old Laws, he gave them the Propriety of Adventitious Goods, though the *Ujusfructus* belonged to their Fathers, yet would not he suffer them, either, to make a Testament of them, or make any Alienation of them amongst the Living, or ingage them, without the Consent of their Fathers. Yet it seems very rational and consequent, that the one should follow the other;

*1. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*2. de Infant. lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 52.*

*3. de Test. lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 51.*

*4. de Affessor. lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 51.*

*5. de Affessor. lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 51.*

*6. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*7. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*8. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*9. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*10. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*11. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*12. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*13. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*14. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*15. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*16. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*17. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*18. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*19. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*20. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*21. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*22. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*23. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*24. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*25. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*26. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*27. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*28. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*29. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*30. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*31. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*32. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*33. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*34. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*35. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*36. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*37. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*38. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*39. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*40. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*41. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*42. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*43. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*44. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*45. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*46. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*47. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*48. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

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*58. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*59. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*60. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*61. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*62. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*63. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*64. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*65. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*66. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*67. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*68. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*69. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*70. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*71. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*72. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*73. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*74. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*75. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*76. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*77. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*78. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*79. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*80. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*81. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*82. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*83. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*84. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*85. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*86. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*87. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*88. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

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*151. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*152. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*153. de Bonis que, lib. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 61.*

*154.*

Sect. 2. other; but he fearing he had done too much already, would do no more, but left the old Law still in force. Or rather Baldwin is of Opinion, that if he had been moved about it, he would also have given this Liberty of making Wills; being otherwise so indulgent to Sons, that by his Novel Constitutions he would have certain Goods, besides the *Castrensa*, and *quae Castrensa* in their full Propriety, without any *Ususfructus* left to their Fathers, such were Goods left to them with this Condition, that the Fathers should not have the *Ususfructus* of them, Goods that came from a Division of a legitimate Inheritance, when the Son and Father were Co-heirs, and as such the Son obtained by an unjust Divorce. As for Adventitious Goods, the Father was the Administratour, or Curatour of them at his own Charge, but not without the Son's Consent, as neither could the Son act as to them without him. Although a Tutor and Curatour, had in General power to all without such Consent required.

Donations when not to be registered. 43. Whereas it was formerly unlawfull to make any Deed of Gift, or Donation, above two hundred *Aurei*, except it was publickly Registered, he being a Friend to liberality, permitted first three hundred, and afterwards five hundred to be given without such publick Solemnity. But as to the Donations of the Prince, he *vide Baldwinum quo figura.*

was so Crafty that as he would have the Emperors Donation free from the Law of Infumation, so also such Gifts of private Men, as were made to the Emperour. The following Year, was the fourth of *Justinian*, and marked with the Consulship of *Lampadius* and *Orestes*, who were both Consuls in the West; *Justinian* little regarding this Honour it seems, and not caring whether at all, or on whom he bestowed it. Amongst severall he made this Year; we shall first take notice that on the sixteenth of *March* he abrogated a Law of *Honorius*, and *Theodosius*, <sup>1. 27. de Testam.</sup> whereby it was ordained, that a Testament made ten Years before the Death of <sup>Cod. lib. 6. tit.</sup> the Testatours should be void. For he took it as an Argument, that the man <sup>23.</sup> would have it to continue in Force, because he did not all this while revoke it. Indeed if he did revoke it by another Testament legally made it was void in Law, or if he revoked it by Word of Mouth, before three Witnesses it should stand revoked, if ten Years passed before the death of the Testatour, but not else; or he might in such a Case revoke it at a publick Registry, and the Revocation should stand good, provided ten Years passed as is said. Of the Laws of this Year, made and altered by him, we shall take no farther notice, being all of such Concernment as relates to the *Jus Privatum*, which the Reader, if he pleafe, may find in Baldwin his *Justinianus*, a learned Book as to the Matter; though much as to the Alteration of Laws, to them that do not practise them, not easie to be understood. But at the latter end of this Year, or the eighteenth before the Calends of the next, he gave out, that memorable Mandate for collecting of that Body of Law from the ancient Writers, which now we call the Pandects and Digests. For these Books were to receive, and into them were to be disposed the substance of the Civil Law, from the Writings of the greatest Professours thereof, digested under several Heads.

Justinian gives out a Mandate for composing the Digests. 44. His Mandate he directs to *Tribonian*, with the Title of his *Quaestor*, in whom he wonderfully confided for this Affair, though not so happy as *Julius Cæsar* would have been in his *Sulpitius*, or *Hadrian* in his *Julianus* for such an Attempt, in the Opinion of Baldwin. "After some Preface he tells him, that moved with the Confusion that was in the Law, he had already framed his Code, from the Constitutions of former Princes rightly amended, and digested, and that chiefly by his Ministry and oversight. That having had experience of his Dexterity in that Affair, he had committed to him also this present Design, of collecting and amending an entire Body of *Roman Law*, and given him Power to take to his Assistance, such of the most eloquent Antecessours, and Advocates of the Prefecture as he should think fit, to bring them into his Palace for this purpose, and to give them Testimony, as to their fitness, to whom he had committed the Work; yet so as all should be managed by his most vigilant oversight. He commands them then to reade and refine the Books of the ancient Lawyers, to whom the Emperours had given Authority to write and interpret Laws, that from them, all the Matter thereof might be collected, without any thing mentioned, that was either to the same purpose, or of disagreeing Sense, as much as was possible, but so as that one saying should suffice for all. When this was done, with high-flown Words he declares, that it ought to be digested into fifty Books, and under certain Titles, in imitation as well of the Constitution of his own Code, as the *Editium Perpetuum*, as they should most conveniently do it. That

Sect. 2. "That so nothing might be left out of the Collection, but in these fifty Books should be comprehended the whole ancient Law, which had lain confuted for almost a Thousand five Hundred years, but now was purged by him, and fenced as it were in its own Wall. Herein they should observe an equal Authority in all Authors of Laws without any Prerogative of Dignity. Because all were not certain in all, but either better or worse, in certain and peculiar Points.

45. "But neither will he have them conclude, that to be most equal and just, which most Authors say, because perhaps the Opinion of but one, and he inferior, may be better. Therefore he will not have them prently reject what is alledged out of the Notes of *Amilius Papinian*, by *Vlpius, Paulus* and *Marcian*, for the honour of that most splendid Person. But if any thing they meet with in them, which shoud confundate the Labour of so great a Wit, or necessary for Interpretation, they should not delay to put it down for Law; as all other Opinions, which he confirms by his imperial Authority. He gives, them in Charge as a thing to be studiously observed, that if they find in ancient Authors any thing not well placed, superfluous or imperfect, without any Tediounfnes they amend it, and produce the work, as consummate to all purposes. Yet shoud they observe, that if they found any thing not rightly written in the ancient Laws or Constitutions, put by the Ancients into their Books, they shoud reform, and so regulate it that it might seem to be true, the best, and that as it were written from the beginning, which they made choice of and placed there. And he declares that none dare by comparing the ancient Book, to reprehend their writing as vitios. For, whereas by the ancient Law called *Regia*, all Right, and all Power of the People of *Rome*, was transferred into that of the Emperour, and whereas he did not divide all Law, into such and such Parts of the Lawmakers, but would have the whole to be his own, what could Antiquity abrogate as to what he ordained? Nay he will have all such Laws to be of that Force, that though they were written otherwise by the Ancients, yet placed now contrarywise in this Collection, no Fault shall be imputed to the writing, but this shall be ascribed to his choice. In Conclusion, he will have no *Antinomia* in any Members of this Collection; but one Concord, and one Consequence, without any thing said to the contrary.

46. "But he again prohibits, that any thing like or to the same purpose, be inserted in this Work; as also that such things as are ordained in the Constitutions placed in his Code, shall again there be put from ancient Law, the Imperial Authority of the Makers suffering for their Authority, except for the sake of Diffision, Repletion, or for fuller inquiry this happen; but this shall be very seldom done, left any knotty Controversie thence arise. If any Laws had grown obsolete, he will have them by no means to suit them in; his meaning being, that only such things should obtain, as were most frequently practised in Judicatures, or the long Custome of that City had approved, according to what *Satvius Julianus* wrote, that all Cities ought to follow the Custome of *Rome*, which is the Head of the World, and not observe the Custome of other Cities. Now, faith he, not only the ancient *Rome* is to be understood, but our Royal *Rome*, which by the Favour of God was founded with better *Auguria* or beginnings. He commands therefore, that by these two Books or Collections, all matters be managed, the one of the Constitutions, and the other of the *Jus Encleatum*, except he shoud publish someting afterward, in way of Institutions, that the mind of the Student void of knowledge, being first inured to simple matters, might more easily be brought to a knowledge of greater prudence. Now he declares and ordains, that this Elaborate work, which they by the help of God shall compose, shall have the Name of Digests or Pandects. That no Lawyers for the future, shall dare to add any Commentaries to it, and by their verbofity confound the Compendiousnes of the said Books, as had been of old practiced, when almost the whole Law was disturbed by the contrary Opinions of Interpreters; it being enough by Indexes, and the subtily of Titles (called *Pavatibus*) to make some Admonitories of it, so as no inconvenience arise by their Interpretations. And that no doubt may afterward arise by writing, he commands that this Book be not composed by the Captions of *Sigla*, and compendious *Enigmata*, which had introduced many *Antinomies*; although the number of the Books be signified, or any other thing; for he will not grant that the numbers shall be made by special *Sigla*, but explained by the consequence of Letters. Then he concludes with a serious Epilogue, and dates this Mandate in the eighteenth before the Calends of *January*, *Lampadius* and *Orestes* being Consuls, A. D. **D XXX.**

**Sect. 2.** 47. In obedience to this Mandate, *Tribonian*, *Baldwin* observes, took to him as *Afiliens Theophilus* and *Cratinus of Constantinople*; *Dorotheus* and *Anatolius of Be-*  
Defended & served by Baldwin. *rytus Antecestours of Law*, and eleven Pleaders of Causes out of the *Forum* of the *Praefectus Praetorio* of the East. And he wifhes he had joyned to them *Julianus* a Consul of those times, and a Patrician of *Constantinople*, whom *Priscian* testifies to have exceeded almost all the Ancients both Greek and Latine in every fort of Learning. And he adds, it had been well, had he also employed *Priscian* who lived at this time at *Constantinople*, a Grammarian indeed, but such a Grammarian as excelled in the skill of *Roman Literature* and *Antiquities*, one who diligently perused the Monuments of the ancient Lawyers, and understood the learned way both of speaking and writing. Many Books *Justinian* confesseth to have been brought by *Tribonian* to the management of this Affair, which otherwife were then unknown, and that two thousand Books containing three hundred myriads of Verses were to be perused. He talks of fifteen hundred years wherein the *Roman Law* till histime had lain confused, whereas his own Reign began but in the MCCLXXX of the City, as some obserue, and *Baldwin* cryes out, that three hundred years were scarcely to be reckoned, for that Law which was reduced into the Pandects, and tarty makes an obseruation, how little and dark the memory of *Roman matters* was in those times. But however, saith he, the review of all *Roman Law* from the beginning of the City, Vide Notas ad Prefat. prim. and of all *Antiquities* is committed to a few *Greeculi*; and others will have it, that the Envy of these *Greeculi* brought more damage to the *Roman Glory* and *Law*, than the Burnings and Defolations procured by the *Goths*. To be sure it was a work of such Labour and Judgment as is not expreſſible, to cut down materials out of so vast a wood, and to ſelect out of so many vast Volumes, ſtuff for erecting of ſuch a ſtructure: Not onely the words and matter, but even the writing it ſelf muſt bring with it much difficulty. But he requires that no *Sigla* be uſed in the Text, which had brought in great Inconveniencie. By *Sigla* he means *Sigilla*, or ſmall Notes or Marks wherewith Names and words were noted by the firſt Letters. These Notes had been formerly diſowned in ordinary Testaments, though in thofe of Souldiers they were permitted. Indeed if a thing was to be kept obſcure, it was convenient to have it written in them, and in ſuch manner *Augustus* commanded the *Sibylline Books* to be written by the hand of the Priests, with obſcure Notes, that ſo they alone might reade them. But *Justinian* had a deſign of another nature.

48. Which Deſign did not yet fully take, though it was very good and proftable, becauſe the Interpretation of thofe Notes was very difficult. Therefore *Tribonian* and his Companions, especially in ſuch hafte, might well be miſtaken. Sometimes they were prone not to expound them, their meaning being for the moft part ambiguous, otherwhiles to take Notes for Letters and Letters for Notes, which the old Tranſcribers of Books much conſounded to the great vexation of Readers. But the end proſped by *Justinian* in waving thofe Notes, is to ſhuſ an *Antoniam*, by which the Ancients meant the Repugnancy of two Laws rather by accident than Nature, as when two *Theſes* differed in one *Hypothesis*, which often happeneth; but he means by it a contrariety and conſlict of Laws in their very Nature. This *Antoniam* of his meaning was very difficult to avoid in a work of ſo vast a Bulk, ſo great diſſents of the Ancients, and ſuch variety of Opinions and Controversies, with which thofe Books abounded, out of which the Pandects were to be Compoſed, there being not only diſerty of Opinion in private men, but two Sects and Families of diſſenting Lawyers as the *Sabiniani* and *Proculi*. There wanted a man of more ſolid Judgment than poſſibly *Tribonian* was, to weigh duly and determine thofe great diſſents and various opinions met with by thofe Undertakers, who being many in number brought each as they had Collected, their ſeveral parts or ſhares which were all ſewed up together, ſo as one knew not what part the other had taken, in the choice of his Collections.

49. Another thing he charges them with, is not to infert any obſolete Laws, which *Baldwin* thinks they did better not to obey him. For moft of the ancient Law was in his time grown obſoleto. Thoſe Customs of the ancient *Roman Forum* vastly diſſered from his. Not onely the Seat, but the form and face of the Empire was changed; the Religion, Jurisdiction, Manners, and in conclusion, the Commonwealth it ſelf was diſſerent. Not many *Roman Antiquities* had been inferted into thofe Pandects, if nothing had been therein comprised, but what obtained in the time of *Justinian*. It's farther to be noted as ill, that ſome things of the *Roman Superſition* are left therein which the Chirſtian Religion abſolutely abhors. Which is to be attributed to the careleſneſs of the Compilers, and could not be confirmed by

by *Justinian*. Memorable is that other branch of this Mandate, whereby he orders them to accommodate what they tranſcribe to the Manners and Customs of their own Times, and upon that account, to change and transform the Writings of the Ancients, to add and take away what they ſhould think convenient. Now in Composing the *Edictum Perpetuum*, three or four alterations are inſtituted to have been made by *Justinian* the Compiler. But they that made the Pandects more audaciously interpolated as they thought fit, and as they were constrained to doe it, to accommodate the Laws to their own times. But they leave no mark of diſtinction what was old and what was theirs, and he commanded the Inſcription to be put as if nothing had been altered. But in this as the preceding part of the Mandate, ſometimes *Tribonian* obeyed his order, and ſometimes not, which makes the matter more in the dark, and if it be not diſtinguiſhed what is *Ulpian*'s, and what is *Tribonian*'s, great Inconveniencie muſt come of it.

50. In the laſt place, he commands that the Pandects ſhould be Compoſed in the ſame method as the *Edictum Perpetuum Hermogenianum*, when he Compoſed his Books of Epitomies, he pretended alſo to follow the order of the Edict; yet added thereto many other Titles. For whereas the Law respects either Perfons, Things, or Actions, and *Edictum Perpetuum* onely handled Actions, there ſeemed need to add ſome Chapters concerning the other two. This Example *Justinian* followed. The firſt part of the Edict was inſcribed *ad uxores*, or the Firſt, the ſecond was *De Judicis*, and the third *De Rebus*, which Inſcriptions he gives to the parts of his Pandects. What in the *Edictum Perpetuum* was briefly expreſſed, he would have more largely explained, but yet not ſo largely as the Interpreters of the Edict, *Paulus* and *Ulpian* had done before. These things he expreſſeth in his firſt Preface before his Digests, and in thofe that follow, which being two other in number, are by us to be conſidered at their proper time, and not altogether. But to ſpeak in relation to thofe as they bear it one to another, the Mandate for making the Digests was dated on the eighteenth before the Calends of *January*, in the Confulſhip of *Lampradius* and *Oreſtes*. And how much time did thofe Collectours now take to themſelves? *Baldwin* thinks that if the *Decemviri* took a whole year for Compoſing the ten Tables, and another for adding the other two, thofe fifteen men might well have required twenty for Collecting and digefting of the Pandects. And it might have been wiſhed they had done it, the nature of the work requiring it.

51. But they ſpent not thercin the ſpace of three years. For *Justinian* confeſſes, that in three years three Volumes of the *Roman Law* were compiled, viz. The Code, Digests and Institutions, whereas it was thought they could not be finished in ten years time. Now the Code was published long before the Pandects were begun, on the Ides of *April*, in the Confulſhip of *Decius*. In the following year *Lampradius* and *Oreſtes* were Consuls, and not long before the end of the year he firſt commanded the Pandects to be compoſed, and after their composition, ſome time was required to his reading and conſidering of them, which he affirms. Now they were published and confirmed on the seventeenth of the Calends of *January*, in the third Confulſhip of *Justinian*, which was but three years after the Mandate for their compoſing. And in the month of *November* before them, were published the Institutions, the third Volume he meaneth. The thing it ſelf indeed ſufficiently declarereth that there was too little time taken for collecting and revising ſuch Volumes. It was a matter of greater conſequence than to be ſo huddled over, especially a perpetual Standard of Law, being to be delivered to posterity, which now complains, as *Baldwin* makes it ſpeak extravagantly, that not ſo much Laws as Crosses or Difficulties are left unto it. But ſo it was: On the seventeenth before the Calends of *January*, he directed an Edict inſcribed with glorious Titles, under the name of *Cæsar*, *Flavius*, *Justinianus*, and with Additions from People as it were Conquered by him, though he had never fought with them, or had no cauſe to boast of Conquest, as ſome of them by way of capitulation afterward affirmed. But he ſtiles himſelf as having subdued the *Alamanus*, *Alamanicus*, and ſo for like reaſons *Gothicus*, *Francicus*, *Germanicus*, *Anticus*, *Alanicus*, *Vandalicus*, *Africanus*. How far these Additions might be truly assumed by him appears by his History. To them he adds the uſual Epithets of *Pius*, *Felix*, *Inclitus*, *Vittor* and *Triumphator*, *semper Augustus*, and directs his writing to *Theophilus*, *Dorotheus*, *Theodosius*, *Iſidorus*, *Anatolius*, *Thaleſtēs* and *Gratinus*, Illuſtrious Antecestours. As alſo to *Gulamius* the moft Eloquent Anteceſtour.

52. "In the Edict he first declares all the Law of the Commonwealth, now to be purged and compiled, viz. in the four Books of Institutions or Elements; in

The Digests to follow the order of the Edictum Perpetuum, how they do it.

**Sect. 2.** "the fifty of Digests or Pandects, as in the twelve of Imperial Constitutions. That he had also by his Edicts both in the Greek and Latin Tongue declared what was convenient thereupon. But now he had thought fit to direct another Discourse to them, for the information of them, as well as other Antecefours, what Rules he would have observed, for the most commodious Institution of Students in this Science or Mystery. He makes it utterly out of doubt, that it is necessary first to read the Institutions, and those that deliver the first rudiments of the Science. Of the fifty Books of Digests, he judges thirty and six only suffice for their Exposition, and the Infringement of Youth. He puts them in mind, that formerly from out of such a multitude of Laws, as made up two thousand Books, and thirty thousand Verbes, Students only were instructed in fix Books, and those confused and containing but few profitable Laws, the other being now out of use, and not to be come by. In these six Books were the Institutions of Gaius, and four singular Books. The first treated of the ancient way of Marriages, the second of Tutorships, and the third and fourth of Testaments and Legacies, and these not in order, but passing by many parts. This was the Task of Students of the first year, not according to the method of the *Edidum Perpetuum*, but out of order and without choice. In the second year after a propitious manner, the first part of the Law was delivered to them, some certain Titles being taken from it. After a course of Study made up by parcels, and unprofitable in great measure, other Titles were delivered to them as well out of that part intituled *De Judicis* by piecemeal, as out of the other *De Rebus*, seven Books being laid aside as not proper to be taught. In the third year, that which had not been delivered in the second out of both Volumes, viz. *De Rebus* and *De Judicis*, they received according to the vicissitude of them; and a way was opened to them to the most sublime *Papinian* and his Answers. Of the nineteen Books of these Answers they received only eight; neither was the whole Body of them delivered to them, but a few out of many things, and most brief out of most large, so as they might go away from them with a thirst. These things above being delivered by Professours, the Answers of *Paulus* they read by themselves, and them not all, but in an imperfect and inconsequent course after a kind of ill Custom. Hence they passed into the fourth year, and therewith made an end of their Study; so that upon Count, one might find that out of so imminete a multitude of Laws, they read scarcely sixty thousand Verbes, all the rest being impassable to them and unknown, and then not to be made use of but in the least part, as often either as the practice in the Judicatories required it, or they the Masters of the faculty hasted to read something out of them, to have more advantage in the skill of their Scholars. Such he had been the monuments of the ancient Learning, for which he appeals to their Testimony.

53. "And finding such a penury of Laws, as also judging it a most miserable Cafe, he is resolved to open the Treasures of that Science, to such as are willing to receive them, being prepared in some measure by the skill of those to whom he directs this Letter, that they may become most able Oratours in the Faculty. In the first year he will have them fully skilled in his Institutions, which had been consummated out of the Bodies of almost all others that had been before them, and from all impure Fountains drained into one clear Receptione by *Tribonian* the *Vir Magnificus*, Exquaefor of his sacred Palace, and Exconfut, and two of their number to whom he writes, viz. *Theophilus* and *Dorotheus* most Eloquent Antecefours. For the remainder of the year, he ordains that Students have the former part of the Laws delivered to them, which by the Greeks was called *τύπων*, which should finis, as the other begin, their Studies for the first year. Such as had been Auditours for this year, should not be called by the wonted name, as well frivolous as ridiculous, of *Dupondii*; but *New Justinians*, which he thinks fit to ordain for all time to come, as befitting the Reformation of Laws he had made, the first Volume of which was to be put into their Hands. In the second year, during which they should bear the Name formerly imposed by Edict, he will have them study either seven Books *De Judicis*, (from the fifth to the eleventh,) or eight *De Rebus* (from the twelfth to the nineteenth,) as the vicissitude of time shall indulge them, which he will have preserved inviolable, and without skipping or omitting any thing in the said Books, which now were all graced with new beauty, nothing unprofitable, or what was out of use, being to be found in them. To either of the foresaid Volumes he will have added, to be taught in this second year the four *Libri singulares*, which he saith he had collected out of the whole composition of fourteen Books, viz. one out of three Volumes which he had

What he will now have taught the first year.

What the sec  
cond.

*Dupondium due  
drachma Duper-  
dit ergo duram  
quasi drachma-  
rum radij, i.e.  
duplicem & in-  
tibus pretius.*

"had composed *De Dibutis*; one out of two which treated *De Tuteſu & Curatio-  
nibus*; one from two others concerning *Testaments*; and from seven Books han-  
dling the matters of *Legata* and *Fideicommissa*; also one of those four Books placed  
at the beginning of the aforesaid compositions, he tells thee Masters that he would have only taught by them, the other ten being reserved to a convenient time, it being impossible that in the space of the second year, these fourteen Books should be read by them, and digested by their Scholars.

**what the third.** 54. "In the third year, whether it happens that they read the Books *De Judicis* or *De Rebus*, with them he will have to concur the *Tripartite Disposition* of the *Leges singulares*, and in the first place that concerning *Hypotheca*, because being so near a-kin to Actions concerning Pledges, they may be joyned near together. After this he would have another added concerning the Edict of the *Aediles*, and the Action called *Adio Redribitoria*, concerning Evictions and the stipulation of Double, composed by him, because they are near a-kin to the Doctrine of Sales, treated of in the former Edict. Those three Books he will have joyned with the reading of the most acute *Papinian* Students, being wont to read them in their third year, but not intirely, but a few scraps taken out of them. And he again recommends *Papinian* to be read by himself, of whom he faith excellent use was made in the Composition of his Digests, not only from his Answers which were divided into nineteen Books, but also from his seven and thirty Books of Questions, his double work of Definitions, as also concerning Adulteries, and from all his writings almost. And left the Students or Auditours of the third year whom they called *Papinianisti*, should seem to lose his Name and Festivity, he is again introduced into the third year by a most brave device, for *Justinian* had composed his Book of Hypothecary Actions, out of the writings of the said *Papinian*, that both they may have a Name from him, and be called *Papinianisti*, may rejoice at the memory of him, and may observe that Festival day, which they were wont to keep when first they took his Laws into their Hands, and that by this means the memory of that most sublime *Prefectus Praetorio* may continue for ever. With this the Audience of the third year should be concluded.

55. "And because the Students of the fourth year were wont by a Greek word i. e. *Satendis* *juris questionibus idem*.

**what the fourth.** "to be called *Lytz*, he will have them if they think fit still to enjoy it. But instead of the Answers of the most prudent *Paulus*, which they read confusely, having reduced them from twenty three scarcely to eighteen, they should study the ten *Libri singulares*, which remained of the fourteen lately mentioned by him, out of which they shold draw he affirms greater Treasures of skill, than out of *Paulus* his Answers. If so be they well improved their time in these things, and in the fifth year wherein they were named *Prolytae*, both read and subtilty endeavoured to understand the Code of Constitutions, nothing would be wanting to them of just and fit knowledge, and this Service of theirs would obtain a wonderful Accomplishment, which scarcely happened in any other though the meanest Art. He ordains then that these Scholars of theirs (*Discipuli*) shall have all secerie opened to them, and nothing hid, but all being throughly read and made known to them, which had been compiled for him through the Service of *Tribonian* and others, they might be found to be the greatest Oratours, and the *Satellites* of Justice, the best Champions of Equity, and most happy Governours in every Place and Age. Now these three Volumes of his Compositing, he will have delivered to Students in the two Royal Cities of *Rome* and *Constantinople*, and in the most beautiful City of *Berytus*, (which justly might be termed the Nurse of the Laws,) and in them only, as had been formerly ordained by Princes, not in other places which had not obtained such privilege of old. For he had heard that in the most splendid City of *Alexandria*, in *Cæsarea* and other places, some unskillfull men wandered about, and delivered adulterate Doctrine to their Disciples, whom now by threatening he repells from such their Endeavours; and if they shall dare for the future to do any such thing in any such places, he punishest them with a fine of ten pounds of Gold, and orders that they be cast out of that City in which they do not Teach, but offend against the Laws. After this he prohibits the *Sigla*, formerly mentioned under pain of paying to the owner double of the price if he know nothing of the thing; and if he will have such a Book it shall signify nothing, and no Judge shall allow any Pleadings, or Quotations to be made out of it. Then he severally forbids all Students of the Laws, both at *Constantinople* and *Berytus*, to act any Plays wherein the Antecefours or Novices are reflected on, it behoving, he saith, first their Souls and then their Tongues to be learned. The Power and Care of observing these matters, and punishing both

To whom he commits the care.

On the same day  
he directs two  
other Edicts to  
the Grand Se-  
nate.

His Preface to  
his Institutions.

Sect. 2. Bookellers and Students, he commits in *Constantinople* to the High Prefect there; of; in *Berytus* both the *clarissimus Praeses* of Maritime *Phoenicia*, the most blessed (*beatissimus*) Bishop of the said City, and the Professours of the Laws. He concludes with this Exhortation: Begin then to deliver to them, with God's Government, the Doctrine of the Laws, and to open to them the way which we have found out. That so they may become most excellent Ministers of Justice, and the Commonwealth, and the Teachers may be most highly honoured in all Ages. For that in their time such a change of Laws was found out, as in *Homer*, the Father of all virtue, *Glaucus* and *Diomedes*, make betwixt themselves, changing things very unlike, for which he quotes a verse out of that ancient Poet. These things he will have of force in all Ages, both of Professours, Students, Bookellers and Judges, to be observed. Dated on the seventeenth before the Calends of *January*, Our Lord *Justinian*, perpetual *Augustus*, the third time being Consul. A.D. DXXXIII.

56. On the same day we find two other Prefaces or Speeches dated, one whereof is directed to the Senate, and all People, in Latin, and the other in Greek is inscribed also by *Justinian* to the Great Senate. Herein he signifies, that he had composed the *Persian War*, as also that of the *Vandals*, which Nation he had subdued, and rejoined *Carthage*, and all *Lilya*, to the *Roman Empire*; and then magnifying what he had also done about the Laws, gives an whole account of the several Works he had ordered to be compiled, declaring what their particular Parts and Books were, and of what Subjects, as also whence they were taken, suitably to what hath been already related. And he calleth upon the Fathers of the Senate, and all the Men of the World, to give Thanks to God for referring so great a Benefit for their times. He declares he will have his Volumes of Institutions, or Elements, of Digests or Pandects, to be of force, from his third Consulship of the present twelfth Indiction, the third before the Calends of *January*, together with his Constitutions in all Ages. Which third Consulship, he faith, by the help of Christ, had been most happy, in respect that the *Parthian Wars* were ended, a perpetual peace was made, and a third part of the World added to his Dominion. For, after *Europe*, both *Asia*, and all *Lilya*, was joined to his Empire, and a conclusion was put to so great a work of the Laws; all which heavenly Gifts were indulged to his third Consulship. In conclusion, he commands all Judges to receive these his Laws within their Jurisdictions: And especially he ordains, that the Prefect of *Constantinople* observe them. The three *Praefecti Praetorio* of the *East*, *Illyricum* and *Lilya*, he requires to take care to make them known to all that were within their several Districts.

57. We mentioned the Institutions (that we may now speak of them altogether) their being published in the month of *November*: Before the Book we find a Preface, directed by *Justinian*, with the usual swelling Titles, to the Youth that had a desire to understand the Laws. He begins with telling them, 'That the Imperial Majesty ought not only to be adorned with Arms, but also armed with Laws, that for the Government may be fit both in times of War and Peace, and the Roman Prince may not only be Victor in Battles fought with Enemies, but also by legal Proceedings, expell the Iniquities of Delinquents, and may as well be most religious in Laws, as magnificently triumphant in the Conquest of Enemies. Both these Courses, he faith, he had run, and that to perfection, through his great Watches and Forecast, by the help of God. His sweat and toil in Wars the Barbarous Nations, brought under his Yoke, sufficiently knew; and as well *Africk*, as other innumerable Provinces, after such spaces of time, being again added to the *Roman Dominions*, and his Empire, did protest. All People now are governed by Laws promulgated and composed by him. After he had put into due order, and made to agree, the most sacred Constitutions, which before were confused, he extended his care to the immens volumes of ancient Prudence, and had by heavenly favour, travelling, as it were, through the midle of the Deep, brought a desperate work to conclusion. This being, by God's favour, perfected, he called to him the Magnifick *Tribonian*, *Magister*, and *Ex quaefactor* of his sacred Palace, together with the illustrious *Theophilus* and *Dorotheus*, Antecessours, (the notable wit of whom, together with their knowledge of the Laws, and fidelity in observing his Commands, he had had experience of in many respects) and had specially commanded them, by his Authority, and at his Instance, to compose Institutions.

58. 'Hereby they, (the Youth) he faith, may learn the first Rudiments of the Laws, not from ancient Fables, but, as he words it, fetch them from Imperial splendour; and their Ears and Minds may receive no unprofitable nor idle thing,

'but

*Xivisse regalibus  
ex auro Bala ir-  
reverberat.  
Aurea aere cen-  
tra novariorum  
Held. 6.*

but what lies in the very Arguments of things themselves. And what happened to them that were before them scarcely after four years, viz. to reade the Imperial Constitutions, they may now enter upon at the very beginning, being worthy of such Honour, and found in such Felicity, that both the beginning and end of the Laws to them should proceed from Imperial voice. Therefore after fifty Books of Digests, or Pandects, (which were compiled indeed, but as yet not published,) wherein all ancient Law was collected, and which he had dispatched by the imdeavours of the said High *Tribonian*, and the Illustrious Persons, he had commanded the same Institutions to be divided into four parts, that they might be the first Elements of the Mystery of the Laws. In them, he faith, was briefly declared, both what formerly obtained, and what was grown out of use, and rendered obscure, was illuminated by an Imperial Remedy. Which Books being compiled out of all the Institutions of the Ancients, and especially out of the Commentaries of his *Caius*, as well of his Institutions, as daily occurrences, besides many other Commentaries, had been presented to him by the aforesaid three prudent Persons, and having read and considered of them, he had accommodated to them the most full force and strength of his Constitutions. He concludes thus: Receive therefore these our Laws with all Industry and Charity; and shew your selves learned therein, so as fair hope may cherish you, that after the whole work (of study) is completed, our Commonwealth may be committed to your Trust and Government in the several parts thereof. Given at *Constantinople* the Eleventh before the Calends of *December*, Our Lord *Justinian* Father of his Countrey, *Augustus*, the third time being Consul.

59. Such is the Account (though in an Asiatick, rude and difficult stile to be interpreted,) we have from *Justinian* himself concerning the composing of his Digests and Institutions, about which, while he and his Compilers busied themselves, they were not otherwise idle, as to such matters, but continued the former course of daily adding new Laws. Of these the Reader, if he please, may consult *Baldwin*, and we shall touch at some of them as they best serve our purpose. He was continually consulted, in some point or other, by the Judges or Advocates of the Provinces, as particularly in the beginning of the year that came next after the Consulship of *Lampadius* and *Orestes*, by the Advocates of *Cesarea in Palestine*, about a

*De Jure Novis*  
*lib. 3.*

*Takes away the  
Difference be-  
twixt a Legatum  
and a Fideicom-  
missum.*

*L. Communia de  
legatis, Cod. lib.  
6. tit. 43.*

matter not fit for our relating. In *February*, on the tenth before the Calends of *March*, he took away the difference which formerly had been manifold, betwixt a *Legatum* and a *Fideicommissum*, and whereas formerly there was some agreement betwixt them, he now commands that it be perpetual. Hereby the Law of *Fideicommissa*, which began in time of *Augustus*, was perfected by him; and that of Legacies, which had been ancient, but narrow, was much amplified. Formerly the difference betwixt a *Legatum* and a *Fideicommissum*, was this: A *Legatum* was expressed by Imperative words, and *Fideicommissa* by Precative. Imperative were accounted Direct and Civil, as *Do*, *Lego*, *Capito*, *Sumito*, *Hares esto*. Precative were such as these, *Rogo*, *Peto*, *Volo*, *Mando*, *Cupio*. Formerly he had taken away the old forms of Words in Legacies; now he will have no difference to be made betwixt the form of a *Legatum* and a *Fideicommissum*, and he ordains, that there with wharsoever significant word expressing the Will and Pleasure of the Testator, a thing is left, it shall be valid, whether it be in Imperative or Precative words; and he adds, that it shall be the same if the Testator use an Obscurcation, which, because he invoked Almighty God, is termed an Oath, and was upon such occasions wont to be used by the Romans, being called otherwife from the Greek word, *exorcizing*, which was *εξοργιζειν*.

60. The summe of the whole Difference betwixt a *Legatum* and *Fideicommissum* lay in this, that in the latter only the Will and Pleasure of the Testator was regarded, but in the former subtily of Law, for that the *Legatum* proceeded from the Law of the Twelve Tables, as did the Testament, and the *Fideicommissum* was received *ex aequo & bono*. A *Fideicommissum* might formerly be left by nodding or signs, in the Greek Tongue, which a *Legatum* could not be; nay in the Punick or Gallicane, which, by this Law of *Justinian*, must be interpreted to be extended to the *Legatum*, which in like manner might be left by one dying intestate, and by the posthumous Son of a Brother; and by a Legatary both a *Legatum* and a *Fideicommissum* might be left, though formerly a *Legatum* could not. Both before the Institution of an Heir, and after the death of an Heir, or Executour, both might now also be left, though formerly a *Legatum* could not. And whereas a *Fideicommissum* could not be sued for in form, but by extraordinary cognizance, *Justinian* would not only have it recoverable by ordinary Action, but also as in case of

*Legata,*  
*B b 2*

**Sect. 2.** *Legata*, granted all three Actions, *viz.* Real, Personal and the Hypothecarian. But so great a Friend *Justinian* was to liberty, in making Testaments, that he also made free from restraint of words the manner of disinheriting, a matter wherein good caution seemed to be requisite, as being averse to the course of Nature. On the same day he decreed, that if any one disinherited his Son in these words, *Let son of mine be a stranger to my substance*, he should be esteemed not past by (in which case he might have relief,) but disinherited. He gives this as a Reason or Advice: *When the sense of the Testator is most manifest, never let the Interpretation of words so much prevail, that it be better than sense, or meaning it self.*

He gives full scope of words in disinheriting.

61. This year was indeed fruitfull of Laws made for regulating the ancient *Jurisprudencia*, and especially the month of *April*, which would furnish us with store, but not proper for an History, which being written in the English Tongue, and for the English, it is most proper to make choice only of such Constitutions as, with the discovery of the Legislator's design of altering the Law, may best suit with the Knowledge, Customs and Genius of our Nation. There had been formerly a mighty contention, not only betwixt the old Lawyers, but Princes themselves, in their Edicts, concerning the Efficacy and Force of a disjunctive word, and this difference on the last day of the month, if he did not decide, he resolved to remove, cut and take quite away. Sometimes it was written, *He, or he, be mine ut sit mihi Heir; To him, or him, I give, bequeath, or I will have given; Him, or him, I will, or command, be, or to be, a Tutor.* It was controverted whether such Injunction, Legacy or Assignment of a Tutor was good. Whether should be understood to be meant, the former, or the latter, or whether he who had Possession should be thought to have the best right. So many and so various Opinions were held about this matter, that *Justinian* faith, *No small Book might have been filled in the bare reciting of them.* He therefore thought fit to end the Controversie by determining, *ib. 6. tit. 36.*

He ordains that a disjunctive word shall be taken for a conjunctive.

*Aut*, in this Case, should be taken for *Et*, the disjunctive to be received as a conjunctive, fo as both should be Heirs, or Legataries, in equal shares, as if it had been written, *He and He.* *Paulus* indeed, the Lawyer, speaks in the Pandects of Disjunctives and Conjunctives, that they are after put one fort for the other. And it may be so; but however this Decision of *Justinian* was new and extraordinary, and seemed to some not to agree fully with the mind and meaning of a Testator. But in a dubious and perplex Case he followed what he thought most equal, and chose rather to give to both, than all to one, and nothing to the other. In this partition betwixt them he judged less inconvenience and hardnes to lie.

62. He began the month of *September* of this Year by correcting, as he faith, a very great fault of the ancient Subtilty, as to Law. This Subtilty, he tells us, thought fit that there should be one sort of Law for Males to succeed their Parents by Testament, and another sort of Law for Women, though in succession to those that died intestate, there lay one common and equal Right to both Sexes. Of old they held and ordained, that with one fort of words a Male, and with others a Female should be disinherited. In reference to the disinheriting of Grandfons, sometimes they introduced the Civil, and sometimes the Pretorian Law. And if a Son was disinherited, *ipso jure*, he either nulled the Testament, or was admitted to the whole possession of the Estate, contrary to the Will; but if a Daughter was past by, she had the *Ius accrescendi*, and did not break the Testament, by which she did in part, as it were, break her Father's Will in the same moment, and as if she had been mentioned therein, was placed after Legataries, yet, by the Pretorian Law, she had an intire possession of the Estate, contrary to the Testament. Now a Constitution of the great *Antoninus* did in so much hinder and straiten the Daughter, as she had advantage by the *Ius accrescendi*. But these Law-makers *Justinian* accuffeth, as Accusers of Nature her self, in that she did not make all Males, and none of which they should be begotten. Now he pretends to follow the example of the more ancient *Romans* in correcting this Errour. For he faith Sons and Daughters, and all others, were disinherited alike, till the *Centumviri* (who were Judges in Testimentary and Hereditary matters) brought in the difference, whereby it came to pass, that a Daughter that was past by had less than a Daughter that was disinherited. He determines therefore, that a Daughter shall have no less right than a Son, either to break the Testament, or to sue for the Possession of the Estate against the Will. He also will have posthumous Daughters to be disinherited, as if they were Males, and no otherwise, that they may not be esteemed as past by. And what he ordains concerning Daughters, he will also have extended to Nephews and Nieces by a Son.

63. But it is observable, that on the first day of *November* of this Year, he delivered the Law and Lawyers of much trouble, by taking away the ancient Ceremonies

He makes Daughters equal with Sons as to Testaments.

*L. 3. de liberis  
hereditatis. Cod.  
lib. 6. tit. 28.*

**He takes away the ancient Ceremonies about Adoptions.** monies about Adoptions. Here it will be convenient, from *A. Gellius*, to inform the Reader what the ancient Rites and Differences of this thing were, in old times observed. When Strangers, saith he, are taken into another family, and into the *Lib. 5. c. 19.* place of Children, it's either done by the *Praetor*, or by the People. That which is performed by the *Praetor* is called Adoption, that which by the People, Arrogation. They are adopted, who by the Parent, in whose power they are at present, are by three Mancipations, or Sales, parted with, and by him who adopts them are challenged, and recovered before him, in whose Court lies the Action at Law. Such are arrogated, who not being in any paternal, but their own power, and at liberty, voluntarily give up themselves into that of another man, and are authours of this change themselves. But these Arrogations are not lightly, nor without scrutiny, celebrated. The *Curiata Comitia* are not granted, though the *Pontifices* prelude. And it is considered whether the Age of the Person that arrogates be not fit and proper it self to beget Children, and whether the Estate of him who is arrogated be not aimed at, and treacherously designed. Moreover it's said, that an Oath was conceived by *Q. Mutilus*, then *Pontifex maximus*, to be taken in Arrogation. But one cannot be arrogated that's under a *Veliceps*, (so he calls him) or one who takes his virile Gown. Now because this sort called Arrogation, whereby one passed into another family, was performed per Rogationem *Populi*, or asking leave of the People; the words of it were these: *Please you to will, or command, that L. Valerius (for example) shall become Son to L. Titius, as well in Law, and Right, as if he had been begotten by that Father and the Mother of the Family; and that he may have Power of Life and Death over him, as over a Son born. So as I have said, so I desire of you, Quirites. But neither a Pupil, nor a Woman, can be arrogated, though he be in the power of her Parent; for the *Comitia* meddle not with Women; and for Tutors, it is unlawfull for them to have so much Authority and Power over their Pupils, as to subject a free Person, committed to their Trust, to the Power of a Stranger. Now *Massurius Sabinius* hath written, that *Libertini* might be adopted by Persons of ingenuous or absolutely free condition in strictness of Law; but he faith it is not permitted, neither doth he think it ought ever to be, that those of the state and quality one-ly of *Libertini*, should invade the Right of *Ingenui* by the way of Adoption. Otherwise, saith he, if the Antiquity of the Law should be observed, a Slave al-should, by intervention of the *Praetor*, be given by his Lord to be adopted; which most of the Authours of the ancient Law have written might be done.*

**Arrogation in the Comitia ceased long before Justinian.** 64. So much, and something more, writes *A. Gellius* concerning this matter. Now *Baldwin* observes, that these difficulties of Arrogation, as he terms them, in the *Comitia*, were taken away long before the time of *Justinian*. For *Dioclesian* declared, that an Arrogation made by the Indulgence or Grant of the Prince, and intimated before the *Praetor* or President, should be full as valid, as if it had been done according to the ancient Law by the People. But the ancient Rites of Adoption longer continued. *Gellius* writes what these were, *viz.* three Mancipations, or Sales, and Recoveries before a Magistrate; and *Suetonius*, before him, of *Augustus*, that he bought *Caius* and *Lucius* at his House, by Money and Weigh-scales, of their Father *Agrrippa*. First, because the natural paternal Power was to be dissolved, the Rite of three Mancipations intervened. Then because this was done for the cause of Adoption, the Party was not manumitted, but adopted, after three Mancipations. But now whereas *Justinian* had formerly determined, that the Power of a Natural Father should not always be dissolved by Adoption, and *Anafactus* had before that resolved, that without any other Ceremony a Son might be emancipated by the Rescript of the Prince, it had been ridiculous and absurd to retain the ancient form of Emancipation in Adoptions. Therefore on the first day or Calends of *November*, he took away the whole Pageantry of the ancient Emancipation, by abolishing the imaginary Sales, or Mancipations, wherein he signifies, that Mancipations and certain *Rhipismata* intervened.

**He takes away the old formalities in Adoptions.** 65. The same day of the month, of the foregoing Year, when *Lampadius* and *Orestes* were Confus, he had taken away, as he terms them, the old Circuits in Adoptions, which were wont to be made by three Emancipations, as to Sons, and two Manumissions, or by one Emancipation in other children. And he gave leave to Parent, who desired to give away by Adoption Children in his Power, to manifest this thing before a competent Judge, by the way of registring, without the old Observation of Emancipations and Manumissions, he being present who was adopted, and not contradicting, as also he who should adopt him. Now on that day twelve month after, or the Year whereof we write, he signifies

*L. ult. de Adop.  
timbus. Cod. lib.  
8. tit. 48.*

Sect. 2. nifies to *John*, the *Præfetūs Prætorio*, ‘That having beheld in Emancipations a vain Observation, to be kept with Sales, figurated upon free Persons, inextricable Circumductions, and injurious *Rhapsimata*, of which no rational effect is found, And the ancient Circuits, he will have this sort of Circuit to cease for the time to come, and gives leave to him that will emancipate, either to doe it according to *Anastasius* his Law, or without a sacred Rесript, to go before a competent Judge, or such Magistrates as by Law, or long Custome, were permitted to doe this thing, and to dismiss from his hand his Sons, Daughters, Nephews, Necces, or such Off-spring descending as were in his Power, and to retain his legitimate Rights, although he did not specially referre any to himself; to give the *peculum*, or transfer other things upon them in way of liberality, to detain other things by the way of *Uſufructus*, and doe all other things, the vain Custome, as was said, being only taken away. The Custome was, that the Son was thrice sold by his Father, and, as it were, sold back to him again, that he might manumit him, being redeemed, as a Lord did his Slave, and thereby have over him the right of Patronage. This was called *Fiducia*. The *Rhapsimata*, some think, were Cuts on the Ear, wont to be given to Slaves at their Manumission, as a Ceremony; others, that they were streaks given by the *Vindicta*, or Rod of the *Prætor's* Lictor. Five Witnesses were to be present at the imaginary sale, with the Weigh-scales and Money ready. But *Justinian*, by removing those Ceremonies, which, in the time of *Romulus*, and the twelve Tables, were thought convenient, delivered the *Imprudentia* from many Thorns and Briars, if *Itribonian* had not dispersed their Stumps and Pricks into the Digests, by inserting into them several remainders of these abolished Rites. So short was his memory or diligence in this and many other matters, as *Baldwin* sufficiently discovers.

66. Certainly our Legislator laboured much in things of this nature, as appears, amongst other Instances, from another Law he published this very day. He had formerly taken away that shadow of liberty, called *Dedititii Libertas*, declaring, It should no more for the future molest the Commonwealth; because it was of no use, but was only an empty name of liberty. For he, he faith, who was an observer of Truth, would have those things only to be in his Laws, which indeed were real. Such as had this liberty had little benefit, for they could neither make a Testament, nor receive any thing from one, be reduced to the former City, nor be made Heirs.

Having abolished these *Dedititii Libertas*, the liberty of the *Latini*, as also impercept, as settled upon uncertain foundations, did, he faith, reel and flagger, having at first been brought up in a tumultuary and confused manner. For the *Latini* *Liberti* seeming to have been introduced after the manner of the ancient Latinity, sent in Colonies, it were very absurd the Original it self of the thing being taken away, to have an Image or Representation thereof continuing. Now whereas after severall Fashions, and almost innumerable, the condition of these *Latini* was introduced, diverse Laws and *Senatusconsultum* made thereupon, and thence many difficulties did arise, as well as by the *Lex Junia*, the *Senatusconsultum Largianum*, and the Edict of *Trajan*, of which Law-Books were full, but no good Experiment had been made; he now thinks fit to cut off all these things, and to reduce the Latine liberty by certain methods into the perfect *Roman*. For how can it be endured that there shoulde be such a kind of liberty, as by virtue of it, at the time of death, liberty and servitude should concur in the same Person? and that he that dies shoulde, dying as free, be snatched away, both into servitude and death, at the same time? Hereby it appears what a sort of liberty this of the *Latini* was, and it will be convenient to observe, what this our Legislator tells us elsewhere in his *Institutions*, that the state of *Libertini*, or such as were made free, was of three sorts. For such as were manumitted sometimes obtained the greater liberty, and were made *Roman* Citizens; sometimes the lesser sort, and were made *Latini* by the *Lex Junia Norbana*, and otherwhile were only *Dedititii*, by virtue of the Law called *Lex Elia Sentia*.

67. *Roman* Citizens were made, either by the *Vindicta*, or by the *Censu*, when they were inrolled, at the command of their Lords, in the Books of *Cese*, or were manumitted by Testament. Or, as others have exprefsed, who by Testament in the Church, or before the *Consul*, received this favour. These could both make a Testament, and succeed in an inheritance, by virtue of one made. The *Latini* were made either by an Epistle, amongst Friends, or even at an Entertainment or Banquet. These could neither make a Will, nor succeed by virtue of one, but by a secong Manumission might become *Roman* Citizens. Now the *Dedititii* were such as had been subjected to punishment after Crimes committed; for the same publicly

*Latini* takes away all troubles and difficulties about Liberty.

Three sorts of Liberty former ly.

One became Roman Citizens, Another *Latini*, A third *Dedititii*.

publicly beaten, or in whose Faces or Bodies such marks were made by Fire, or Iron, as could not be defaced, who had been bound in Chains, in way of punishment, by their Lords, been found guilty, watched and observed, and who had been delivered up, that they might combat with the Sword, or with wild Beasts, or had been thrown into Custody. These could neither make Testaments, neither receive benefit by one, nor be made Citizens. They were called *Dedititii* from the example of *Stranger Tributaries*, who, being Rebels, were overcome by the *Romans*, and basely did *dedere*, or give up themselves into their Power. But to come nearer to the *Latini*. They were also called *Latini Liberti*, as *Baldwin* will have it, who were not manumitted altogether after the legitimate manner, and in solemn order; not by a Lord who was above twenty years of Age, one who was Lord *ex Jure Quiritium*; or when the Party manumitted did not exceed the Age of thirty. Yet whatever others say, he delivers it as Law, that being manumitted, they enjoyed such liberty, as to have *Commercium*, and a right of receiving advantage from a Testament, though they had no *Connubium*, or privilege of Matrimony, nor could make a Testament, nay, indeed dyed as Slaves. This descended from the Law called *Junia Norbana*, preferred in the time of *Tiberius* by those who were then Consuls. Thence they were called *Latini Juniani*. But that Law, and its Interpreters, signifie, that many ways these *Latini Liberti* might be made *Roman* Citizens.

69. *Suetonius* relates how *Vespasian* married a Woman of *Latine* condition, being by a recuperatory Judgment pronounced ingenuous, and of free condition. Indeed such were easily made *Roman* Citizens, so at least as they enjoyed the privilege of *Quirites*, as long as they lived; and that they might not trouble themselves in obtaining it, afterwards *Trajan* conferred on them the *Jus Quiritium*, as long as they lived in general, or permitted them to enjoy it, though their Patrons being unwilling, or ignorant of it, they had procured to be Citizens; but for all this, so as they should die as Slaves. Afterward the *Senatusconsultum Largianum* was made in the time of *Antoninus Pius*, that the *Latini Liberti*, who were manumitted at full Age, and by a Lord that was at full Age also, as was provided for by the Law, called *Lex Elia Sentia*, although not solemnly, as by the *Vindicta*, or Testament, might be made *Roman* Citizens, and dying, might enjoy the privilege of a Citizen, otherwise they could not make a Testament, as in the time of *Salvianus of Marseilles*, an hundred years before *Justinian*, they could not doe. At length, now this Emperor took away all their troubles and difficulties, and would own no other Liberty but what was joined with freedom of a Citizen. And afterward, as some have thought, by his Seventy eighth Novel Constitution, he would have all that were manumitted, not to be of libertine, but full, free and ingenuous condition. By this Law of which now we treat, he ordained, that Liberty it self should be conferred several ways, wherein the *Latine* Liberty was wont to be bestowed. For example, a Lord might manumit his Slave by an Epistle, provided it were attested by five Witnesses. He might doe it also amongst Friends, if he took five Witnesses, or did it *apud Alia*, and had the testimony of Witnesses and publick Persons.

70. *Claudius*, the Emperor had of old made an Edict, that if a Slave were in some grievous Infirmity, forsaken by his Lord, who would neither look after him himself, command him to others, nor send him to an Hospital, such Slave should enjoy the *Latine* Liberty, yet so, as his Lord at his death seized on his Goods. Now *Justinian* ordains, ‘That a Slave so used shall be absolutely free, and his former unkind Master shall have nothing to doe with his Estate, either when he lives or dies. In like manner a She-Slave, if sold on condition not to be prostituted, if she be by him that buys her, or her former Lord, referring to himself a way of recovery, prostituted afterward, she shall obtain full Liberty and Franchise. Farther, whereas a *Pileus*, or Cap was used by Slaves manumitted, as a Badge of Liberty, he farther ordains, that such Slaves, as at the Funeral of their Lords precede the Corpse, or stand in the Bier, so as to ventilate the Body, and that by order of the Testator, or the Heir, shall presently become *Roman* Citizens; whereas formerly an entrance upon an Inheritance was necessary, as well as the Cap, for making free those *Libertini Orcini*, as they were called. ‘If one by Will, or by the other course of the *Vindicta*, signified, that he would make his Slave a *Latine* Freed-man, he shoulde, for all that obtain his full liberty. If a Lord bequeath liberty to his Slave upon a condition, and while that condition depends, the Heir, being a stranger, gives him liberty, he shall not be as formerly, a *Latinus Liberatus*, but a *Roman* Citizen. If the condition failed, he shoulde be his *Libertus*, who made

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**Sect. 2.** made him free; if the condition was fulfilled, he should be as a *Libertus Orcinus*, and the Patronage go as otherwise by Law it ought. He esteems it very hard what formerly was practised, in case a Slave upon a Controversie and Suit was found to be such, and cast by his Lord, that then he should only be a *Latine Freed-man*, in case any other paid his price down to the Lord. He declares such an one shall be a *Roman Citizen*, as also a She-Slave, given in Matrimony by her Lord to a Freeman, if the Lord by writing configned her a Portion, which was done for free and even noble Persons. In like manner shall be free a Slave, whom *apud Acta* his Lord names his Son. A Slave also, to whom his Lord delivers the Writings, or defaces such whereby the Slavery was proved, and made out, if it were done in the presence of five Witnesses. These excepted, he declares, that all other ways and Methods found in any Lawyers Writings or Constitutions, shall cease, and pretenders to liberty by them shall continue in slavery, as formerly. That the *Latine Liberty* may absolutely be so, he repeals all Laws made concerning it, as to that particular, if mention be made of Liberty, and none of Latinity, it shall be taken for absolute Liberty and Freedom. In conclusion, this Constitution shall take place in those who shall only for the future be *Liberti*, or Freed-men.

Many Laws he repealed.  
The Lex *Alia Senta* but in part.

71. Thus did *Justinian* both relaxate the bonds of Servitude, and open the way to Liberty; out of which good humour he published various Constitutions, which carry the name and form of Repeals. But amongst these, none are to be found for taking away the *Lex Alia Senta*, for though some Heads of that Law he took away, yet others he retained. That Law forbade, that one under twenty years should manumit a Slave, except he made good the cause thereof before Council. *Justinian* first declared, that the Age of seventeen should be sufficient; and afterward, as appears by his one hundred and nineteenth Novel, was content with that of fourteen, wherein the man was capacitated to make a Testament. The same Law commanded, that no one less than thirty years old, being manumitted by the *Vindicta*, or by Testament, should become a *Roman Citizen*. On the contrary, *Justinian* would have no consideration of Age to be had, but that he who was manumitted might be an Infant, and thereupon yet become a *Roman Citizen*. In conclusion, the same Law would have a Slave, who had been bound in Prison by his Lord, if he was afterward manumitted, to be only in the number of the *Dediticii*, of whom we have already spoken, as to the repealing of this Law. There was another difference of Servitude, when one was a Slave *Jure Quiritum*, by a solemn Rite or Cession in Law, or only by buying and sale, which difference he also took away, by forbidding any Dominion but what was natural, and *Jure Quiritum*. If a Slave was given in pledge, if manumitted by the Giver, he would have him enjoy liberty, though not fully, without the Creditors consent. If a Slave belonged to two Persons, as Lords, if one of them manumitted him, the whole right of him came to the other, *Jure accrescendi*, by way of accruing, yet if a Souldier did so manumit, his Companion was forced to sell his share in the Slave, who thereupon obtained full liberty. This *Justinian* would have also of force, though one who was not a Souldier did manumit, and the Slave should obtain thereby his Freedom. In conclusion, he abolished the use of the Assertion, so called, because of old it was not lawfull for one reputed and held for a Slave, to sue for his liberty though he had an occasion, but by a Vindicatur, who was termed *Affertour*, who could act for him; and if the first *Affertour* was cast, or deserted the Cause, it was lawfull for a second to take it up.

The Advocates of *Cesarea*.

72. This same day of the first of November was still more fruitfull in the production of another remarkable Law. And this was an answer to the Advocates of *Cesarea* in Palestine, though directed to *John the Prefectus Praetorio*. *Baldwin* will have it *Cesarea* in *Cappadocia*, formerly called *Mazaca*, which had its Society of eminent Government in the *Forum* of Lawyers, who, as *Strabo* relates, were *Tigranes* King of *Armenia* led away into barbarous Servitude; yet were as by the right of *Postliminium* afterward restored, and recovered their former Dignity. This Dignity, they and their Successours seem to have retained more than five hundred years from that Accident, till the time of *Justinian*, whom they often were wont to consult in controverted points of Law, as were other Advocates of *Palaestina* and *Lycicum*. Yet in this point to which this Answer is directed, there seems little or no difficulty worthy to move a Question. It was an ancient Opinion of Lawyers, that a Convention, Bargain, or Compact, concerning the Estate or Goods of another man as yet living, was not only unprofitable, but filthy and dishonest, inasmuch that such Bargainers and Contractors, were thought unworthy to be Heirs, and lost the Right of succeeding to such Persons, which otherwise

*Tales hereditatis  
aut appellatae  
vultus.*

wife accrued to them. Certainly if any do greedily expect and covet the Estate of another man, that Expectation is of Evil and dangerous Example, and may provoke to the Procurement of the Death of such a Person. Indeed we may in some Cases, sell or give away our Hope and Expectation, as of the Draught of a Net; but the Hope of another's Inheritance is wicked, if we make a Compact concerning it without his Knowledge or Consent. But the Advocates of *Cesarea* doubted if such a Pa*c*t might not be tolerated, as was conceived under an express Condition, if the Inheritance should fall to the Bargainers. *Justinian* so far Confirms the old Law, as not to tolerate any such Action, and forbids not only any Gift, but any Obligation or Security to be made thereby.

72. If there had been made only a Pact concerning a future Estate in general, whencesoever it should come, it might have been of Force, because there was no appearance of thinking of the Death of any one Person. So a Society was wont to be rightly contracted, that if any just Inheritance should happen, it might be common. And to *Justinian* elsewhere doth extend an *Hypotheca*, or tacite Obligation to such Estates as should happen by Succession. But where a Convention is specially directed to a certain sort of a single Inheritance, it seems to be intent upon the Death of some single Person, though by a Condition this wicked design, and present thought be covered and dissembled. *Justinian* only faith, the Pact shall be null; but whereas he addes according to the ancient Laws, he signifies that the Penalty formerly mentioned is to be inflicted. Which is to hold if the thing was done Craftily by them, that knew the man to be alive; for if they thought him dead, and by that Error were drawn into a Compact concerning an Estate as falso, the Pa*c*t indeed should be null, but there should be no Penalty. One exception *Justinian* makes, which is, the Consent concerning whose Goods the Compact is made; and this, faith he, he hath also from the ancient Laws. *Baldwin* yet affirms, that there is no mention made of it, in those Laws that are extant, however the Reason is plain, for this Consent removes the Suspicion, for which such a Pa*c*t otherwise is rejected. Such a Consensor shews the Compact to be made *Bona Fide*, and yet he is not obliged, but he may if he please change his mind before his Death. If he change not, the Pa*c*t obliges the Parties. In like manner, if two Persons agree to succeed each other in their own Inheritances, the one thinks of the other's Death, both ly at catch, but neither purposed to give to the other; and therefore such a Pa*c*t is also rejected, especially amongst *Paganis*, or such as are no Souldiers. But where there is a simple and liberal Consent, there is no Suspicion of Treachery, and the Pa*c*t is esteemed honest, especially if made by otherwise Legitimate Heirs, concerning the dividing of an Inheritance, when falso. As if the owner Consenting, an Agreement be made betwixt the Brother and Sons of another Brother, that they should succeed by Poll, and not altogether as representing their Father. But without the Consent of the Owner, the Agreement were against good manners, and made too much haste.

73. He made Answer to the same Advocates upon another Question this same day, which is not much material to mention; but so much in short. It was how Writings were to be Credited, which attested the Preface of a Party, and his return was, that they were to stand to them, till the contrary was proved. This same day he also decreed, that no temporal Prescription but of the largest time should operate against a *Minor*, or one under the Age of five and twenty. At the same time he also took away a Legacy from a Legatee, that should conceal or suppress a Testament, and assigned it, not to the Treasury as formerly had been done, but to the Heir. The Lawyers in the Pandects often say, that a Legatee who opposed a Testament, affirming it to be void or false, and was cast in the Suit, should obtain nothing by the said Testament, but what should have belonged to him, fell to the Treasury; but this *Justinian* doth not assign to the Heir, which he might have done as well as the other, and wanted some Heir to put him in mind of it. However, though he had not yet made his new Law, for taking away the *Caducia*, yet he had begun to take away many things from his Exchequer, and to leave them to private Men. He was so favourable to the Cause of Women, as to the *Dos* or Portion they brought to their Husbands, that whereas formerly he had given them a certain tacite Obligation upon the Estates of their Husbands, for the repaying of it; "Now on the fifth before the Calends of December, he referred the Cause of them, before that of others, who had such sort of Obligations. Yet in this the Treasury is to be excepted, which having a Cause first in time was to be preferred to a *Dotal* Cause that came after." In this matter of Favour to Women, he declares at the beginning of his Law, that he was disturbed by the daily

*Justinian takes away from his Treasury, and leaves to private Men.*

*Favourable to Women.*

*L. ult. qui Potius  
res in signore  
habentur, Cod.  
lib. 8. tit. 18.*

*Sect. 2.*  
*L. ult. de Pa*c*tis,  
Cod. lib. 2. tit. 3.*

*Vide Baldwinum  
lib. 3.*

*L. ult. in quibus  
causis in integrum  
Resumum Restituimus,  
non nisi, Cod.  
lib. 2. tit. 4.*

*L. penalis, de Le-  
gatis, Cod. lib. 6.  
tit. 37.*

Sect. 2. \*daily Applications of those of that Sex, and that he had had Respect to the ancient Laws, and looked only at the time to come.

74. Great was the danger which of old an Heir or an Executour underwent, in entring upon an Estate. For, all Hereditary burthenes he was loaded with, and flood ingaged, and answerable to Hereditary Creditours *in Solidum*, even beyond the Estate that came unto him. Neither to free and discharge him, did properly belong the benefit of Separation; for it was rather introduced for the sake of such as were Creditours of the Heir before he entred on such an Estate. Indeed when a *Liberia* as Heir entred on an Estate and was insolvent, and had her Patron for her Heir, it was given an Answer in Law, that it was not unjust that the Patron should be relieved, and not burthened with Debts contracted by his *Liberia* in that manner, and therefore her own Goods were separated from the Hereditary: But this was a singular Case. A *Minor* also, or one under five and twenty was relieved, who had rashly entred on a bad Estate; and in like manner a Souldier. *Adrian* the Emperour gave relief also to one above five and twenty, whengreat Debts appeared after an entry made upon the Inheritance which lay concealed at that time; and *Justinian* had done something to the same purpose. But by all these the Heir seemed little to be relieved: And there being such danger in venturing on an Inheritance, the Right of deliberating was defred, which having formerly been indulged for a few Months, *Justinian* gave the space of a year. \*But there being found great difficulty in this Deliberation, and no other Fruit, for the most part, appearing than a suspending of the Cause of the Inheritance to no purpose; at length it seemed good, that the Executour, or Heir should make an Inventory or Repertory of the particulars thereof, and enter upon the Estate with that Condition; That he should not be obnoxious to the Hereditary Creditours, farther than the Contents of the Inventory, and the Estate it self did extend. In case the Legatees were absent at the making of the Inventory, he would have certain called together, with the *Tabularius* or Scribe. And however solemn the making of it was, he now gave leave to Creditours and Legatees to disprove it, if they could make out, that all the Goods of the Deceased were not therein expressed, *Bonâ fide*: Nay they might fetch Evidence from the Family of the Deceased, and call Hereditary Slaves to the Question it self; upon this Account as had been generally ordained, that such might be put to the Torture in Hereditary matters.

An Heir to make an Inventory and to be no further burthened.

The penalty of not making an Inventory.

75. \*In Case an Heir, notwithstanding the making of an Inventory, would infit upon the time of Deliberation, this over Cautious humour was suspected, and odious in *Justinian's* esteem, and he thought him so much to renounce the benefit of an Inventory, that it should be esteemed as none; and notwithstanding it, he should be obnoxious in *Solidum*, to the Hereditary Creditours even above the value of the Estate. If one would not make an Inventory, he left his Claim to the *Lex Falcidia*, and could deduct nothing from Legatees: Nay *Justinian* ordained afterwards, that Legacies should be paid intirely, as Debts were, without Respect to the quantity of the Estate. By the benefit of an Inventory, a Confusion of Obligations was prevented, in case a Creditour became Heir to the Debtor. If in the Inventory with the Goods he described and collated Debts, he should reckon also his own Debt, and should be numbered amongst the Creditours. But on the other side *Baldwin* is of Opinion, that if a Debtor succeeded as Heir, or Executour to a Creditour, his Name is to be put into the Inventory amongst Debtors, and amongst such he is to be reckoned: That as there ought to be no Confusion to the defrauding of an Heir, where the Creditour succeeds the Debtor, and makes an Inventory, so there ought to be no defrauding of the Creditours of the Deceased, when a Debtor is Heir. Nay, both Lawyers and Princes of old time answere, that as to the *Lex Falcidia*; such things should be reckoned as in time of Death were owing, either by the Deceased to the Heir, or by the Heir to the Deceased. *Justinian* farther in some fort Infringed the right of an *Hypotheca*; that if any one buy a thing of an Executour, who hath duly made an Inventory, he shall have that thing free, and stand in fear of no *Hypothecary Actions*. So much doth our Legislatour commend all manner of ways, with many Privileges adorn, and almost obtrude the Benefit of the Inventory upon Heirs, even against their minds, it being of his own invention.

76. The following Year, or the second after the Consulship of *Lampadius* and *Orestes* was turbulent, and when *Justinian* was in danger at the beginning thereof, to be deposed by the *Nica*, and Sedition of the People about the Nephews of *Anastasius*, he must needs have been put upon other thoughts, than the making of Laws.

Laws. But all being quiet, he returned to his former Course, and on the last of April made a Decision, which *Baldwin* thinks needless, as having formerly been done. It was, that a Condition which a Legatee could not perform, should be taken for none; especially when Liberty was bequeathed. From the end of April, *Baldwin* paies without thinking fit, to take notice of any Laws, till the beginning of September. On the first of this Month was dated a Constitution not ignoble, whereby he confirmed the old Law concerning the Testaments of Soldiers, who were in the Power of their Fathers: Such Sons might by Military Right make Testaments concerning their *Cafrense Peculum*, neither could such Testaments be called *Inofficious*. And when they left the Wars, they might also make Testaments concerning the same things, *Jure Communi*, against which no *Querela of Inofficious* shoud lye; but this latter Privilege *Justinian* will not have extended to Sons Emancipated. Now as Sons that were Soldiers had their *Peculum Cafrense*, L. ult. de Inoff. cito Testam. Cod. which they got by their Labours and Dangers in the Wars, so others by their pains obtained Wealth, which Princes thought fit also to appropriate to them, and what was so gotten was called, *quasi Cafrense Peculum*. Such was that got by the *Palatines Officers*, and such as served at Court; by Professours of liberal Sciences, *Archiciatri* and others. Of old to Proconsuls, Presidents of Provinces, and some others, it was permitted to make Testaments concerning such a *Peculum*, which Privilege now *Justinian* extended to all that had Wealth so acquired. And as he had formerly given the Privilege to Clerks, that against their Testaments made of their *Peculum*, no *Querela* shoud lye, so now he grants it to all in General. Although what he formerly gave to Clerks in a special manner, he seemed by a Novel Constitution in a special manner to take away; commanding them absolutely to leave a Legitimate to their Parents or Children, as being obliged to give Example of greater Piety and Dury, than others were.

77. It is not to be forgotten, \*That this year *Justinian* directed another Constitution to *John* the Prefect, whereby he forbade a Marriage should be prohibited betwixt a Man older than fifty, and a Woman than fifty, as had been discountenanced by the *Lex Julia* and *Papia*. Now this Law did not absolutely forbid the Marriage of such a Man, with such a Woman; but it judged it not fitting, nor sufficient to prevent the pain of *Celibate*, because it was late and barren; it imagined it a Marriage without Marriage. Afterward it was thought fit, that a Man of fifty might Marry, but not a Woman of fifty; which was approved by the *Senatusconsultum Claudianum*, and the reason was fetch'd from Nature, and declared by *Aristotle*, a Man being by him supposed to be able to Generate till fievety, and a Woman but till fifty; to which Opinion the Lawyers were ready to subscribe. \*But *Justinian* thought Nature might be fruitfull beyond these bounds, and he considered that Procreation was not only the honest end of Matrimony; and therefore as he found other Heads of that Law to be repealed before his time, so in Favour of ancient People, he refolved to take this away likewise. And it happening afterward, that a Woman above fifty had brought a Child; and of this being confuted by the Advocates of *Cesarea*: He could not refuse to admit of the Child as Legitimate, though born after the wonted Age of the Mother, but reckoned it amongst Legitimate Heirs. And this was a Question rather of Fact, than of Law; it being alledged, that the Birth was Supposititious as not proceeding from so ancient a Woman. \*In a matter doubtfull and questionable, yet he pronounced that the Cheat was to be proved by him that alledged it, it being no proof to alledge the ordinary Course of Nature, which might sometimes exceed her ordinary Methods, and to be sure it was a thing equitable to Favour the Infant. But when another Question was moved, whether a Child born in the eleventh Month after the death of the Husband was Legitimate; the difficulty was greater, it being not only a Question concerning the force of Nature, but of the fidelity of the Woman, who might lye and dissemble the true Father. What else was to be judged in this Case, he prudently and Cautiouly determined in a Novel Constitution. As for the Birth of a Child after the fiftieth year of the Mother: *Baldwin* instances in an History, which serves better, than any Glosis to make good *Justinian's* Law. It is this, *Constantia* the Wife of *Henricus Suevus*, the fifth Emperour, being fifty four years old was with Child, and that there might be no Fraud had Keepers appointed to watch her. And at that Age she brought forth a Son, who by the Name of *Frederick* the second succeeded his Father, *A.D. MCC*. As for a Birth in the eleventh or twelfth Month after the death of the Husband, let the Faculty of Physick, and the Lawyers of *Paris* speak, in the behalf of a late Prince of their own Blood.

**Sect. 2.** 78. In the seventh year of *Justinian's Reign*, he himself the third time was Consul in the East, and without a Collegue. For in the West he who now Reigned in Italy, was content there should be no Consul in the West; Nay, for the foregoing years there were none in the East, the Emperour not regarding this Title, which had long ago degenerated into mere Name and Form, and the barbarous Princes esteeming it but as a Badge of the Empire. And now *Justinian* seems to have intermitted his busines of making Laws so practised by him in the five preceding year; there being no new and singular Constitution published this year, as *Baldwin* observes, which he doth not attribute to his distraction about Martial Affairs. For the *Persian War* was dispatched, that of the *Vandals* in *Africk* was ended, and the *Gotrick* in *Italy* was scarce begun. He-suspects him and his Lawyers to have been busied in perusing the Pandects, and composing the Institutions, with the Edition of which this year was over and above Ennobled. The Institutions were compiled more lately, and yet published a little before, but obtained not Authority or Force in the *Forum*, but from the same day the Pandects were published. Concerning the Edicts and Prefaces premised and conjoined, to both we have spoken already, and altogether. That of the Institutions is a Book indeed, wherein the Authour much Glories and Prides himself. He pretends it so to be Composed, as to be a sort of *Index*, of both Laws Ancient and Modern, a Breviate of many Constitutions formerly published by him; and to appertain no less to the Code, than the Pandects.

79. Now *Baldwin* will have it so far from comprising the Heads of all his New Constitutions, that he affirms not the fourth part of them to be touched, scarcely sixty of two hundred and fifty. Yet where the place permitted it, and occasion required, he acknowledges that the Architects of this Epitome were mindful of their *Justinian*, and not so exceedingly forgetful of their New Law as they had been in the Pandects. He owns that the Memory of some Constitutions are herein preferred, which elched been lost; as those *De Jure Patronatus*, and *De Incertis Personis*, which possibly were written in Greek, and therefore some few hints of them only remain in the Code. As for the Patronage of such as had been Slaves, it has been spoken to. By the other Constitution it seems, he made it lawfull to leave a Legacy to an uncertain Person, which before could not be done: For Example, a Legacy thus left; *Let mine Heir give to him, that shall give his Daughter in Marriage to my Son, &c.* For though this uncertain Person became after certain, yet the Legacy was null, because it seemed given rashly, and without good Advice. Amongst the Living, Liberality might be conferred on an uncertain Person, as in throwing Money to a multitude; but the Ancients required a more settled and Composed mind in Testators. To ones own Posthumous Child, a Legacy they permitted to be left, but not to one of another Man; and though the *Prator* was Affittee to the latter, in obtaining an Inheritance, yet he granted no Action for Legacies. This being but too nice and subtle, was Corrected by *Justinian*. Indeed it had been lawfull to leave Legacies to the Poor in general before his time, which he confirmed by a peculiar Constitution: This was a singular Exception and could not avail, that a Legacy left for the redeeming of Captives could be good, till *Leo* the Emperour expressly confirmed it. Him *Justinian* followed, and afterwards ordained Universally, that a Legacy might be left to uncertain Persons.

*Justinian makes it Lawfull to leave Legacies to uncertain Persons.*

80. Though the Constitutions of *Justinian*, concerning *Legata* and *Fideicommissa* be extant; yet a noble Head of this Subject had been wanting, if not mentioned in the Institutions. Concerning Legacies paid by Errour to pious Uses, their being irrevocable. *Baldwin* farther observes, what *Antinomia*, or repugnancy in Law had been found in the Pandects, if it had not been for this little Book, which shews whether these repugnant Testimonies brought out of Authors, is to be followed. But so great was the Oscillancy of *Tribonian*, that he wilhes he had also made some Notes upon his Pandects, to shew us what to doe in so many difenting places, and tells us what Opinion we are to follow, and which of them was most liked by *Justinian*. He declares, that such a Book of Annotations had absolutely been as necessary, as the Institutions. Not to say, that many things are rashly delivered in the Institutions, which upon good Grounds were rejected in the Pandects. But truly these things, saith he, are Cautionly and Considerately to be weighed, that from the thing it self we may prudently determine, what is to be imputed to the Carelessness, and (if one may say so) to the folly of *Tribonian*. For his mistake, and to use *Cicero* his Word, his Heedlessness (*non Curantia*) ought not to overthrow the Reason and Verity of the Law. The Institutions were published on the eleventh before the Calends of December, and the Pandects on the

seventeenth before the Calends of January. But the Institutions were not to be of Force till this latter day, together with the Pandects. And it is to be observed, that the Institutions are to be esteemed the latter, and that consequently they derogate from, and repeal the Pandects upon occasion, and not the Pandects them.

**Sect. 2.** 81. *Baldwin* also is out of Humour, to find in the Title of the Pandects, that they are styled Books, *Juris Enucleati*, or Kernels of the Law, being Collected from all the ancient *Jurisprudentia*. *Justinian* calls the Compilers of them, *Compositores Iuris Enucleati*, and he wilhes they had been such as was *Q. Mucius*, of whom *Cicero* testifies, that he did speak *Enucleat & Politè*. But perhaps, he adds, it would be silly to expect such a thing from some *Græculi*, especially in what concerns the *Roman Jurisprudentia*. Certainly they who boast, they give us Law in the Kernel, have given us a Kernel inclosed in a very hard Nut; or rather one with the other, so bruised and intermingled, that they can scarcely be discerned. But as for what the Inscription tells us, that ancient Law is gathered together in the Pandects, as *Justinian* also boasts in his Preface to the Institutions, how this is to be taken, is not obscure. For, as was formerly said, he would have the Pandects accommodated to the use of his own time and the *Forum*, and they are so interpolated, as to contain a certain mixt Law, partly Old, and partly New; so they seem to be a Composition of both Laws. And *Justinian* himself, somewhere calls them a Composition of new Law. But I have, so he concludes, formerly shewn what diligence and fidelity *Tribonian* used in the patching of them together.

82. In the year following, wherein *Justinian* was Consul the fourth time, together with *Paulinus*, though the *Roman World* was busied in turning over these new Books, yet was it still plied with hot and new Constitutions; yet these nor many, but sinuous and mightily pretending to the Civil Law. *Augustus Caesar* indeavouring to bring all Men to marry, as we have seen in our second Part, and not able to doe it, after several other Laws called *Leges Juliel* brought up *Lex Papia Poppaea*, to punish *Celibate*, and increase the publick Revenue; that if the Commonwealth could not be supplied with Men, it might with Money. Now a great design of this Law, was to make Legacies and Estates to be of the Nature of *Caduca*, and in many Cafes to fall to the Treasury for certain Defects, of which it's not fit here to inquire; and *Baldwin* concerning this Subject hath written largely.

*Justinian takes away Caduca.* ‘*Thefe Caduca*, some Cafes excepted, did *Justinian* now take away, and let these things fall to Heirs and Legatees, and would not have them to accrue to his Exchequer. This he did by a Constitution directed on the Calends of June, to the Senate of *Constantinople*. Besides this Constitution published after the Pandects, on the third before the Nones of July, he gave out another for facilitating still more, the making of Testaments, and that in Favour of *Pagani*, or Countrymen. In the *Pagi* or Villages, he is content five Witnesses be sufficient where more fit ones are not to be had. In Cities and *Castra*, or lesser Towns, he will have the ancient Law to be observed. As five Witnesses here are sufficient, so formerly to all Codicills, and in such Testaments wherein such Heirs are instituted, as other wife were to succeed by Law. *Leo* the Emperour afterward would have three Witnesses suffice in Cities, and three in the Country for making Testaments. And indeed it was thought fit to depart by degrees from that scrupulous severity of the Ancients in making Wills, though some reasons (as lately to shun Perjury) drive again sometimes a State to a more near observance of them.

83. Now towards this time, *Justinian* began to bethink himself, what a vast number of Constitutions he had made, since the first publishing of his Code. They were grown up to near as great a Bulk as it had been: He thought therefore, to put them all together and make a new Edition. Therefore this year on the sixteenth before the Calends of December. The Code in this fort augmented, corrected and interpolated came abroad. *Baldwin* blames them that reckon only fifty Decisions to be inserted, there being, he faith, above two hundred new Constitutions added at this new Edition. And here he affirms, according to his Customs, that it had been no less necessary to have had another review, Interpolation and Edition of the Pandects, for making the Law complete and agreeing. Nay, that the Composition of the Code and Pandects, was not only to be driven to the ninth year, as *Justinian* faith, but even the Promulgation of them to the time of his Death, that Perfect, Enucleate and Consummate Law, might have been delivered to Posterity, to be constant and perpetual; and so he might have saved the pains of throwing out so many Edicts, which afterwards he again rejected, according to experience and use of things which *Livij* affirms, to be the most severe Examiner, and Exploratour of Laws. At the publishing of the Code, he commanded

*He makes a second Edition of his Code.*

*De Caduca Tot.*

And Novel  
Constitutions  
preceding after.

Twelve fol-  
lowing Year.

The first is fe-  
vere against  
Heirs or Lega-  
tees, who per-  
form not the  
Testator's  
Will.

Will have Pri-  
cipal Debts  
sued before such  
as are bound.

Sect. 2. manded that out of its Body no Constitutions should be read. He meant such Constitutions as were already abroad, not those he should afterward publish; for he forewarned there might be occasion from various experience, yet to make others. And he was not deceived. For scarcely had a Month and an half passed from this new Edition, when in the beginning of the following year, he set upon making Novels, of which he poured out so many that their Volume almost at length exceeded the Code it self. And as formerly he Composed his Edicts in the Latine Tongue, rather than the Greek, now he made use more of the Greek, than the Latine. For both the Eastern and Western part of the Empire, was to be gratified; and the Gothic War now raging in Italy, it seemed most fit to Consult the East, in the making of Laws.

84. In this succeeding Year, wherein *Belisarius* was Consul, he published twelve Novels, whereof the first soon after the coming out of the Code, on the Calends of *January*. It confirms the severity of the old Laws, against such Heirs and Legatees, as do not fulfil the Will of the Testator, ' ordaining that such shall receive no benefit by a Testator, who so long defers to do what therein he is ordered, that he continues negligent an whole Year after a Judicial Condemnation. No other way was there to make good the Will of the Dead, and afterward he was a little more severe upon the Score of Religion, ' depriving one of the Right of Succession, who being by a Magistrate once and again admonished, did not pay Legacies given to pious Uses, condemning him as to the Fruits and Interest, if he made not payment within six Months after the Testator's death, whereas the Heir was wont to pay Fruits and Interest of old, for ordinary Legacies from the Controlling of the Suit. ' But he excepts Parents and Children, so as they shall have their Legitimate share which they should have had by Law, or otherwise might have brought the *Querela Inofficio Testamenti*, though they contemn the Commands of the Testator; this belonging to them, whether the Testator will or not. By the ancient Law, called *Lex Falxidias*, such Care was had of an Heir, that the fourth part he was inable to retain of an Estate left by the Testator, to be deducted if need were, out of Legacies and other burthens imposed on him. Now *Justinian* was so favourable to Legatees that he indeavoured by this Novel, in a manner to remove and take away this *Falxidian* part, leaving it in the Power of the Testator: If an Heir in such a Case would not take to the Estate, he left it to others that were next concerned to do it. If the Heir omitted to make an Inventory; to be sure he should have no benefit of this Law, or if he did it not in due form; and here he will not trust a *Tabularius*, but all the Legatees, or three Witnesses in the Room of them, must be called together. In Conclusion, if the Heir pay a whole Legacy to one of the Legatees, he shall be obliged to all the rest, and have no benefit of this Law.

85. By another Novel he would have principal Creditours, to be sued before *Fidejessors*, or such as were bound with them, and this Constitution he gave out this same year, on the fourteenth before the Calends of *April*. Of these it shall suffice to have touched, for we must not give an Account of all his Novels, whereof several have been mentioned, and others nearly relate to the more private Part of the *Jus Privatum*, and belong to Law, and not to History. Indeed some that concern the *Jus Publicum*, History and the Constitution of the State its requisite that we Examine, but first we shall mention at parting with these things, that concern private Law, one Novel which by no means is to be passed by: The reason is given by *Baldwin*. If there be any new Constitution which abrogates many old Laws, which overthrows the most subtle Mystery of the ancient Doctrine, which delivers the *Jurisprudentia* from many Ambages and vain Circuitous, which not only dissolves, but cuts many of its Knots; in Conclusion, which as it were with one Stroke blots out many Pages of the Pandeks, this is it. *Justinian* had formerly taken pains to Model aright this most Noble part of the Law, concerning the Legitimate Succession to Persons dying intestate. But now he perceived all was to no purpose, except he cut down with one blow, all that wood of the ancient Law, being too acute and precise, beset with so many Thorns, and perplexed with so many Turnings and Windings; and that by reducing the whole matter to some one Form, simple, agreeable to Nature, and the Law of Nations. Great Contentions had continued about this Business in the *Roman* Law, for one thousand and three hundred Years, from the founding of the City, and *Justinian* had spent sixteen in the Composing of them.

86. What a difference was made, and how great in the *Roman* world, betwixt Children in ones own power and Emancipated, betwixt *Agnati* and *Cognati*, from the Laws of the twelve Tables till this time for a thousand years, what disturbance

it

Nov. 4.

Nov. 1.

Nov. 13.

Nov. 4.

It cuts off Contests about suc-  
ceeding to the  
Estate of an In-  
testate.  
By calling all  
Children to the  
Inheritance.

it made, and in what difficulties it involved the Jurisdiction, the Books of Law speak aloud. ' But now our Legislator commanded it to cease, in Legitimate Inheritances of the Intestate. To those Inheritances in the first place, he simply and naturally calls the Children of the Deceased, whether they were in his power or not, and of whatsoever Degree or Sex. The Law of the twelve Tables first called only Children, under the paternal power and such as were in the first Degree. Yet the *Praetor* also admitted such as were Emancipated, and at length the Senate commanded Sons to be the Legitimate Heirs of their Mothers, though Woman had not her Children in her power. Therefore a necessity of Children being in power to become legitimate Heirs, was taken away many Ages before *Justinian*. And for the other point of the first Degree, Grandchildren were also admitted, but rather as Sons than Grandchildren, for they supplied the first Degree, and came to the Inheritance, rather as their Fathers than their Grandfathers, by way of Representation. ' Now *Justinian* seems not to have altered the Law in this point, for he always would have Grandchildren by two Sons not to succeed in *Capita* by Poll, but in *Stirpes* by way of Representation. Though had he regarded Natural more than Civil reason, he would have judged in the opinion of *Baldwin*, that they ought rather to have succeeded in *Capita*, especially there being only Grandchildren. But he did not always with sufficient acuteness see what was consequent, the subtlety of the ancient Law being taken away. As for the Sex, there was of old also some difference betwixt Nephews and Neices. But he had abolished it before.

If no such, Pa-  
rents.

87. ' If there were no Children which are called Descendents, then in the second place he called to the legitimate Inheritance Parents termed Ascendents, that is, Father and Mother equally, or if there were no such, those above them, but so as he granted them *Stirpes* not *Capita*, that is one half to those of the Father's side, and another half to them of the Mother's. Now here is no Succession from Degree to Degree, it being contrary to nature that what ought to be in ascending, should be in descending. Therefore doth the Mother exclude the Grandfather by the Father; for simply and naturally the next Degree in order of Ascendents, is preferred by this Constitution. Now the old Law made a long Distinction as to the Father. As whether the Son dying Intestate, was in his power or Emancipated, whether he was Emancipated *Contraria felicia*: and sometimes the Father, by virtue of his paternal Power, seized the Goods of his Son as his own, and otherwise became Heir as *Manumisso* by right of Patronage. Hardly at length did the Senate admit the Mother to the Legitimate Inheritance of her Son. Of these things it's fit a remembrance should be had by the Confession of *Baldwin*, to make us more sensible of the natural simplicity of the new Law introduced by *Justinian*.

With whom he  
joins Brothers  
and Sisters of  
the whole blood.

88. ' Our Legislator together with Parents, admits and joins Brothers and Sisters of the whole blood, and gives to each of them, as much as to each of the Parents. But here he hath respect to *Capita* rather than *Stirpes*, whereas he divided the Inheritance to Father and Mother by *Stirpes*, so the Accession of Brothers and Sisters alters the Law of Ascendents. And such Brothers and Sisters as are admitted with Parents, are much more Heirs if no Parents be alive, and it is also to be supposed, that they are to be preferred before those of half blood only. The ancient Law when it called *Agnati*, in the first place called those by the Father's side, but those by the Mother not at all, for the former were *Agnati*, but the latter not. And because it had respect to *Agnation*, not to *Cognition*, it provided for those that were by the Father, only as much as for *Germans*, or those of whole blood. ' But *Justinian* takes notice of the Natural more than Civil Conjunctio, and by this one Rule, cuts off infinite Disfractations and Disputations of the Ancients, and obliterates so many things in the Digests, that *Baldwin* tells us, his Relation would be withoutend if he should reckon them up. ' But what he confers on Brothers and Sisters, he also gives to their Children, but not so fully and in *solidum*. When the old Law called the next *Agnati*, or those of the Father's side, to the Inheritance of the Intestate, it called not the Son of one Brother already Dead, together with another Brother, for the Brother being in the nearer Degree excluded the other Brother's Son. Neither did the Ancients grant the Succession, which was given to a Grandson, to succeed with his Uncle by the Father's side, to the Son of a Brother. They gave it to the Grandson, because though he was alone, yet otherwise he could not be Heir. To the Son of a Brother they granted it not, because by the Law he might from his Degree come to his Inheritance; if there was none nearer than he; but they thought it not Law to joyn him with a nearer,

Takes notice of  
Natural rather  
than Civil Re-  
lation.

**Sect. 2.** as it were born out by a new Succession. <sup>4</sup> But our Legislator liberally granted the succession which they denied, so as the Son of a Brother German should exclude both the Brothers of half blood, in right of his Father, into whose place and Degree he succeeded. But this is consequent, that if there be several Sons of one Brother, who are admitted with a Brother German of the Deceased, the Inheritance shall be divided in *Stirpes* and not in *Capita*. Yet if only Sons of two Brothers succeed without an Uncle, no reason there is, but that they succeed the old way, not in *Stirpes*, but in *Capita* or by Poll. <sup>5</sup> The same thing was granted to Sons of Uncles, but not to a Grandson of an Uncle, to have equal right with the Sons. *Justinian* prefers the Son of a Brother before an Uncle, because in the order of Descendents, to whom an Inheritance naturally devolves before it returns to Ascendents, of which rank an Uncle is.

89. As those who are called to a Succession from a collateral or transverse Line, that Succession is to be measured by the privilege given to the former sort. *Justinian* in his Institutions saith, an *Agnatus* is to be admitted to an Inheritance, though he be in the tenth Degree. And the *Prætor* in case of *Proximity*, would promise possession of an Estate, to those alone who were in the sixth Degree, and from the seventh to the Children of a Cousin by the Mother's side. Therefore *Agnati* were admitted at a greater distance than *Cognati*; but whereas *Justinian* took away the difference betwixt them as to Inheritances, he seems to have granted the same privilege to the *Cognati*, as formerly the *Agnati* had enjoyed. So that it may be presumed, that such as are removed no farther than the tenth Degree, may be called to an Inheritance; for *Justinian* easily would admit them before his Exchequer, having waved the concernment of the *Caducia*. But what difference was made by the *Lombards*, how they admitted *Agnati in infinitum*, and denied Ascendents could be Heirs; and by such as have from them imbraced the *Feudatory* way, is not proper at present to be insisted on; it being novelty to what we are now about. Afterwards he made another Novel Constitution, which is as an Appendix or Accession to this, dated on the fifth before the Calends of December, in the seventh year after the Consulship of *Basilius*. He had formerly granted to the Sons of a Brother, that they might be Heirs with another Brother of the Deceased, by a certain Right of new Succession; yet he had denied, that such Sons of a Brother, could be admitted to inherit together with Parents. But musing long, and much about it, at length he concluded it was not to be denied them, and for this purpose, he published his Hundred twenty and seventh Novel, which in this matter, should correct and amplify his Hundred and eighteenth. This Novel was published at *Constantinople*, the same time that *Totila* King of the Goths, took and defaced *Rome*.

90. We think it not fit to say much more, concerning the Novels of *Justinian*, but give only farther some few hints. For first, several of them have been spoken of already upon occasion. Then many of them relate to Ecclesiastical matters, and so are not of our Cognoscience here. And then there is no order observed in the Disposition of them, as is either in the Digest or the Code, but as occasion was offered of any doubt wherein the Prince his Resolution was necessary to every thing, so it is set down without any other method or form. The Body or collection of them is called the *Authenicum*, because most of them being written in Greek by the Emperour, they were Translated into Latin, and the Translation was so good as to be counted Authentical, as also to distinguish them from the *Authenticks*, which are crept into the Code, and from the Epitome of *Julian*, which was often called a Book of Novels. *Accursus* and the Doctors have commented and glossed only on ninety eight as Dr. *Duck* tells us, but *Julian* in his Epitome, presently after the Death of *Justinian*, published one hundred and twenty five. *Eloquens* published an hundred sixty five, and *Cujacius* added three. But we ought to faith to follow the opinion of *Accursus*, and the common and received one of Interpreters, when we speak of that Law, which is received and used amongst Christian Nations. However, in our laecest Editions, we find one hundred sixty eight, and those illustrated by the Commentaries of the Learned *Dionysius Gothofredus* and others.

91. The first Latin Version of the Novels, was that of *Julian*, the Antecessor, made not long after *Justinian*, which all Writers commend. The other which *Accursus* and the Interpreters make use of, *Alciatus* calls barbarous, but *Cujacius* commends its authority from Antiquity. It was made as *Molinus* guesseth by an uncertain Author, and one unskillfull in the Latin Tongue; but being received by all Nations, both in their Studies and Judicatures, it hath the Authority of Law;

The Authenticum.

Novels how many.

The Latin Version.

De sua ex auth.  
ritate facta Cris.  
tiana. lib. 1. c. 4.

and if a Controversie arise concerning the Text, recourse is not always to be had to the Greek Fountain, because *Contius* thinks, that this Translation was made from a more perfect Copy than now we have. Therefore our lately mentioned Countraymen concludes, that such Novels as are not by Custome received, ought not to be admitted, which also is to be said concerning the Novels of *Leo* the Emperour, surnamed *Philosophus*. But we must farther add, that the whole Volume is distinguished or divided into nine Collations, Constitutions or Sections, The nine Sections. as the Novels into Chapters; that is, the Latine Volume is to be divided, for the Greek Text acknowledgeth not this Division into Collations. Some are general and concerned all, who had the like cause of Doubt; and some are private and concern only the place or Person, for whom they were written, some belong to the *Jus publicum*, and others to the *Jus privatum*, these being far the greater number. In conclusion, we have been tedious upon this Subject of *Justinian's* Laws, and still must add something farther, and therefore it will be convenient to dismiss the Novels; especially considering what is added at the bottom of the Titles of all the Collations by *Gothobred* or some other. What ever Dr. *Duck* writes, having reckoned them all up he adds, 'Therefore all consent that there are an hundred and sixty eight Novels of *Justinian*, neither more nor less. But *Mathaeus Monachus*, in his Preface to the Collection of Greek Ecclesiastical Constitutions, plainly wrote, that *Justinian* made an hundred and seventy, from whence it appears that two are yet wanting, that I may omit, that most above related, are not the Constitutions of *Justinian* himself.'

92. Still besides these, we find added in the later Editions, twelve Edictsocalled, or General Laws translated into Latin by *Henry Agylas*. Concerning them, the same is to be said as of the Novels, in which some of them are included. They belong for the most part to the ordering of the Eastern Provinces, whose power they were. And now we suppose we have our whole Number, or all the Constitutions and Laws made by *Justinian*, if not more than all. Put them then altogether, and we have this Account. In his Code, there are of Ecclesiastical concernment which bear his Name, thirty and eight at the least, and of such as relate to Civil Affairs, three hundred thirty and five, as I have reckoned them. Add to these one hundred and seventy Novels, which *Mathaeus Monachus* wrote that he published, two being wanting of the number, and twelve Edicts, and they make up five hundred and fifty five Constitutions made by him. Of these, such as are in the Code are undoubtedly his, and therefore in shewing how he introduced new Law, they were to be made use of. And thus we have taken a sufficient survey what *Justinian* did, as to modelling the old, and bringing up new Law; we see that besides his own Constitutions in the Digest, and in the Code, he has caused to be inserted the opinions of the ancient Lawyers, and the Edicts of the Emperours his Predecessors. But here we find a loud Complaint made, and that not undeservedly, that after the compiling of his Books, the writings of the ancient Lawyers so full of Wisdom and Learning were neglected, and indeed perished, little to purpose being left of them. And he is by many accused, together with his *Tribonian*, of burning or destroying all those writings of the Ancients, and the Laws of the twelve Tables, that his own Collections might be of greater authority, and be the Standard of Law. O what fighting and complaining there is amongst learned Lawyers, that they want thole clearer lights and more infallible Guides.

93. But others are more kind and charitable to his memory, who rather think that these writings perished by misfortune, by the Calamity of the Times, and the Incursions of the Barbarous Nations. For of the three Cities which were the Universities for Law, *Berytus* perished not long after *Justinian* by an Earthquake; *Rome* was often taken and wasted by the Goths, and other Barbarous People; and after many other Calamities, *Constantinople* at length became a prey to the Turks. Certainly after *Justinian's* Death, the whole Roman Empire was overwhelmed by the Goths and other Barbarians, with so many Calamities, such Plunderings, Burnings and Defolations happened, that they attribute it to the singular providence of Almighty God, that in the Pandemics, by the indeavour of *Justinian*, such remains of the ancient Lawyers were preserved. And here it will not be amiss, nor besides our purpose to let the Reader know, what Reliques or Remains there are left of the ancient Law before *Justinian*, which escaped the Envy, or the Iniquity of the Times. The first Foundation of the Law, were those Ordinances made by the Kings of *Rome*, called *Leges Regiae*. These were collected into a Body by *Sextus Papirius*, and afterward *Granius Flaccus* wrote a Commentary upon them,

but

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**Sect. 2.** but both Volumes have miscarried. Yet fragments of them have been collected *Vide Notitianus*, by *Antonius Augustinus*, *Contius*, *Baldwin* and others; that is of three of the Kings, *viz. Romulus, Numa and Servius Tullius*, which last as *Dionysius Halicarnassus Reliquiarum praewrites*, made fifty Laws concerning Contracts and Crimes, for no Footsteps are extant of any made by *Tullus Hostilius*, *Ancus Martius*, or *Priscus Tarquinius*, and much less of *Tarquinius Superbus* who abolished those of *Servius Tullius*.

**Of the Laws of the twelve Tables.** Of the Laws of the twelve Tables, the second Body of the *Roman Jurisprudentia*, fragments have been collected by many, every one using his own method therein. Of the several methods, that of *Francis Pithaeus* is judged best by *Jacobus Gorhofredus*, who himself hath made Observations concerning Errors committed, Omissions, Interpolations and matters foreign to the thing, hath restored the Fragments that remain into order, added the History, Proofs, Notes and Glossaries in a work published at *Geneva*, in the year MDCLIII. All Laws afterwards enacted for the use of the People at *Rome*, at least as much as in them lay, have been collected and catalogues of them exhibited by *Ant. Augustinus*, *Zafius*, *Mannius*, *Hoforan* and *Charondas*. Of these Laws some singular ones have been collected, and illustrated by Commentaries. As the *Lex Velteia* by *Antonius Augustinus*, the *Lex Julia Majestatis* by *Contius*, and the *Lex Julia de Adulteris* by *Brifianus*. *Baldwin* hath collected the Heads of the *Lex Voconia Falcidina*, *Julia*, *Papia*, *Popaea*, *Rhodia*, *Aquilia*, *Curatius*, *Jacobus Gorhofredus*, and others have done the same by other Laws of lesser Note. As for *Senatus Consulta*, *Ant. Augustinus* collected such as concerned the *Ius Privatum* from *Tiberius* his time till that of *Marcus*. And *Scipio Gentilis* hath illustrated with singular Commentaries, Orations of Princes, which were wont to precede the *Senatus Consulta*. The *Editium Perpetuum*, the third and indeed the chiefest Body of the *Roman Jurisprudentia*, was indeavoured to be collected by *Equinatibus Baro*, but with a mixture of other things. A better and pure collection was made by *Guil. Ranchinus*, only the Chapters of the Edict are not disposed according to the true method, but that of *Justinian's Law*.

**Fragments of ancient Lawyers remaining besides in the Pandects.** **As of Gaius.** **Of an Anonymous Author.** **Of Paulus.** **Of Modestinus.** **Three Stemmatata.** **A Confutatio.** **An Historica.** **Narration.** **A Collation of the Mofaick and Roman Laws.** **Of Ulpian.** **Of an Author.** **Of Paulus.** **Of Modestinus.**

94. Of the Lawes of the twelve Tables, the second Body of the *Roman Jurisprudentia*, fragments have been collected by many, every one using his own method therein. Of the several methods, that of *Francis Pithaeus* is judged best by *Jacobus Gorhofredus*, who himself hath made Observations concerning Errors committed, Omissions, Interpolations and matters foreign to the thing, hath restored the Fragments that remain into order, added the History, Proofs, Notes and Glossaries in a work published at *Geneva*, in the year MDCLIII. All Laws afterwards enacted for the use of the People at *Rome*, at least as much as in them lay, have been collected and catalogues of them exhibited by *Ant. Augustinus*, *Zafius*, *Mannius*, *Hoforan* and *Charondas*. Of these Laws some singular ones have been collected, and illustrated by Commentaries. As the *Lex Velteia* by *Antonius Augustinus*, the *Lex Julia Majestatis* by *Contius*, and the *Lex Julia de Adulteris* by *Brifianus*. *Baldwin* hath collected the Heads of the *Lex Voconia Falcidina*, *Julia*, *Papia*, *Popaea*, *Rhodia*, *Aquilia*, *Curatius*, *Jacobus Gorhofredus*, and others have done the same by other Laws of lesser Note. As for *Senatus Consulta*, *Ant. Augustinus* collected such as concerned the *Ius Privatum* from *Tiberius* his time till that of *Marcus*. And *Scipio Gentilis* hath illustrated with singular Commentaries, Orations of Princes, which were wont to precede the *Senatus Consulta*. The *Editium Perpetuum*, the third and indeed the chiefest Body of the *Roman Jurisprudentia*, was indeavoured to be collected by *Equinatibus Baro*, but with a mixture of other things. A better and pure collection was made by *Guil. Ranchinus*, only the Chapters of the Edict are not disposed according to the true method, but that of *Justinian's Law*.

95. Of the writings of the ancient Lawyers, fragments and pieces are put into the Pandects, under the several Titles of the severall Subjects. And some, as *Ant. Augustinus*, have taken pains to unite those pieces of the same Authors, and exhibite them together with some antecedents and consequents of the same Chapter, so that thereby a shew is made of a Restitution of the Books of those ancient Authors which perished. Some have illustrated with Commentaries those particular Authors, or the particular Books mentioned to be written by them. And besides those Fragments in the Pandects, some other Fragments out of them, have come to our Hands which it would be most usefull to put into one Volume, and in part it hath been performed by *Peter Pithaeus*. But particularly some Fragments of *Gaius* are remaining, which were collected by *Anianus* the Chancellour of the Gotick King, and mangled out of the four Books of his Institutions; for so many he wrote: and other Fragments of his Institutions might still be added from the Pandects, the Author of the Collation of the Mofaick Laws, *Boetius*, *Priscian* and *Diomedes*. There are also some remains of the Labours of *Ulpian*, or twenty nine Titles, collected also by *Anianus*, and it's thought out of his Book or Body of Rules; and more Fragments still might be added from the Collation of the Mofaick Laws, and *Boetius* upon the Topicks of *Cicero*. Besides these there are some Fragments of an anonymous Writer, concerning the Species of Law and Manuscripts. Moreover five Books of the received Sentences of *Paulus*, written to his Son, or rather pieces taken out of these Books by *Anianus*, the Collectours of the Pandects and others, but highly usefull for the knowledge of ancient Law, and the understanding of that of *Justinian*. One Fragment also of *Modestinus* still remains, taken out of his third, or rather his ninth Book, bearing title concerning the Goods of *Liberti* and *Testaments*.

96. Three severall *Stemmatata* are also extant, or ancient Descriptions of the Degrees of *Agnation*, according to which Inheritances descended. A Confutation of an ancient Lawyer of the middle Age concerning Facts. An *Historico Juridical Narration*, concerning the Confirmation of the *Rhodian Laws* by the Emperours, *viz. Tiberius, Vespasian, Trajan, Adrian, Antonius, Pertinax and Severus*. A Collation of the Mofaick and Roman Laws, out the entire Books of the ancient Lawyers, *Papianus*, *Paulus*, *Ulpian*, *Gaius*, *Modestinus* and others; as also the *Gregorian*, *Hermogenian* and *Theodosian* Codes, and distinguished into sixteen Titles. From the Prefaces to the sixth and seventh Titles, some collect that the Author was no professed Lawyer, but the Book is usefull in that it shews, what liberty

*Tritionian*

**Autors of Pa-** **plia.** **Juridical Notes.** **Valerius Mac-** **Other Writers.** **The Notitia.** **Remains of Con-** **stitutions.** **The Rific que** **Justinian's Law** **in the East.** **Admired and re-** **ceived in the** **West at this** **day.**

*Tritionian* and his Colleagues took in Hearing, Reading and Altering the writings of the ancient Lawyers, in that it contains many Fragments of old Writings, and Constitutions, no where else extant or not so fully; and shews how the Books of ancient Lawyers were divided into Titles, especially in Title the fifteenth. A Book of Anwers of *Papian*, is hither also to be reckoned, collected out of the *Roman Lawyers* and *Laws*, though it's thought he was a *Burgundian*, and did it for the service of that Nation. Moreover *Juridical Notes* used in publick Monuments and Books of the Civil Law, before *Justinian's Collection*. Of these are published several Treaties of ancient Writers, *Vologis Mactanus* his Book also *de Affe* and the distribution of it, necessary for knowledge of Institution of Heirs and many other things, and thought fit by *Cajacius* to be read before the Institutions. To these it's thought fit to add such as have written Books concerning Boundaries, (*Finium regendorum*), as *Siculus Flaccus*, *Frontinus* and *Aggenus Orbicus*: And the *Notitia Dignitatum* to often mentioned by us. Then in the last place as for Imperial Constitutions, there is a Collection of the short Recruits of *Hadrian* left done by *Golodus*. A Constitution of *Gordian* concerning Marriages contrair to Order, and *de Dore Caduca* published by *Cajacius*. Some remains also there are of the old Imperial Constitutions, collected in the two Codes *Gregorianus* and *Hermannianus*, to which severall might be added out of divers Authors. Of the *Theodosian Code* and the Novels, *Theodosius* and other Emperours before *Justinian*, great mention has been made in our seconde Part, and here we need to say nothing more concerning them.

97. If *Justinian* was guilty of destroying the Writings of these ancient Lawyers, he was justly punished himself with a certain *Lex Talionis*. His Books continued in esteem and use in the Schools and *Forum* for forty years, till *Phocas* the Emperour despised all Law and Equity. Afterward they were in a little use and esteem two hundred years, but then *Basilios Macedo*, out of Envy it's said, did what he could to abolish them, and he and his two Sons, *Leo* and *Constantinus Porphyrogenitus* made new Collections, *viz.* an Epitome of *Justinian's Code*, and another large work called *Basilica*, which continued to be the Standard of Law at *Constantinople*, till the end of that Empire; *Justinian's Books* being wholly neglected and forgotten. Yet out of his Books were the *Basilica* Composed; and though the said Books were not known in *Italy*, and the Western parts, for five hundred years after his Death, yet by chance the Pandects were found at the taking of *Amalfi* in *Italy*, in the War betwixt *Pope Innocent* the second, and *Rogerius* King of *Sicily* and *Naples*, about the year MCXXVII, since which time *Justinian's Law* has revived, flourished, and continues to be indeed the general Law of Christendom, one single Kingdom excepted. Of the Errors committed by the Compilers enough has been said; but withal a Necesity of reducing the Law into narrower bounds, than formerly it was hath been shewed. And considering the los of the Writings of the Ancients especially, the World is happy that the Collection was made, for so it esteems it self in it, all Nations, as was said, that are governed by Laws, imbracing them as the most exact form of that Nature.

98. We have now done with the Wars, and also the Laws of *Justinian*. And though from a Man's Actions so much in publick as these were, an indifferent Character might seem easie to be drawn; yet there is a Book which hath done it to our Hands, though the Pourtraire be very ugly, and the work it self very bad. But it is fatered upon no other Pencil than that of *Procopius*, whose Lines hitherto we have had reason to commend, and it is dressed and presented to the World, with as much advantage as possible, by a very learned hand; we must not be partial, but must open and discover this peice, and then we must be so just withall, as to make Observations upon it, such as it self and other Writings shall suggest; to doe right as near as may be, to truth and Persons.

### S E C T. III.

#### The Character of Justinian.

**Sec. 3.** **In the first place**, where the Writer takes him in hand, and considers him as the Heir Apparent of the Empire, in the days of his Uncle, he pronounces this concerning him, that at length he proved the Author of so many and great

**Sect. 3.** great Mischiefs, as never had been heard of in former Ages. That he was prone to invade the Rights and Possessions of other men, and so much to the slaughter of them, that he esteemed it but a trifle to destroy many Myriads, which were not guilty of the least offence. That he never would stick to anything already determined, but still thirsted after Novelty and Change, and the utter Destruction of whatsoever was excellently constituted. That with the Raging Pestilence, we have formerly described, some men although very few were infected, and others though seized with it, yet Conquered its Malignity. But the ill influence of *Justinian's* Government, no *Roman* whatsoever but fadly felt, who being ordained by Heaven for a common Scourge and Plague, none escaped him; some being wickedly Murthered, others constrained to lead a Life made miserable by penury, to whom Death would have been a great kindness, and others deprived both of Fortune and Life together. He thought it not enough to destroy the *Roman Empire*, but would turn his Forces also upon *Africa* and *Italy*, that the Nations there Inhabiting, might also perish with those that were subject to his Command.

In particular.

On this fair Text as fairly he Comments by these particular instances, which amongst others he heaps up against this Prince. Scarcely had he been in Power ten days, when *Amanius* chief of the Eunuchs, with others, he commanded to be killed, because they had spoken something fawcily, concerning *John* the Bishop of the City. *Vitalianus* the Tyrant he caused to be put to Death, notwithstanding the publick Faith given for his Security, at the Celebration of the Sacred Mysteries. In the Faction of the Citizens he so far encouraged, or rather excited the *Veneti* to their seditious practices, that thereby the *Roman Empire* seemed to be shaken from its Basis, and the Cities were made desolate, as by the Invasion of some Enemy, some terrible Earthquake, or a Contagious Sickness. Yet these horrible Disorders did nothing so much perplex the minds of good People, as his carriage in reference to such a Mischief. For when men suffer never so much from violent or unjust Oppreffours, yet still they are comforted with the thoughts of Justice, which they expect from the Hands of Magistrates, and such as ought to demean themselves as maintainers of the Laws. But *Justinian* was so far from giving them any Redress, that he manifestly favoured both by word and deed those Riotous Persons, giving great gifts to some of them, and conferring upon others Offices of Magistracy, and places of Dignity. Therefore this Mischief, like a Gangrene, spread over the whole Empire, not one City being free from the Factions of those two Parties. And as for the Emperour, he never regarded how matters went, nor in the least did such things affect him, as were done under his own Eyes in the *Circus*. For he was unspeakably dull and senefles, most like to a slow and stupid Aſ, following which way ever he was drawn by the Bridle, and moving also his Ears when he lifted, as that and other Animals are wont to do.

After he came to manage Affairs upon his own sole Concernment; whereas it should have behoved him to have special regard to his Treasury, as it were set himself by all means possible to exhaust it. The *Hiones* and other Barbarous Nations, by bribing them to quit the Territories of the Empire, he irritated and provoked to make more Incursions; for after each Invasion, they still presumed they should not fare worse than they had formerly done. Vast Summes he drown'd in the Sea, thinking to give bounds unto that Element, and by great leaps of stones and Rubbish to oppose its natural force and motion. Yet the Estates of Private men he greedily devoured, objecting to some feigned Crimes, and pretending that others had freely bequeathed to him their Fortunes. Most that were guilty of Patricide and other heinous Offences, redeemed their Lives by all they were worth. Such as were at Law with their Neighbours, about any Lands or Possessions, and had no good Title, made it over, such as it was, to the Emperour, whose Relation to it took away presently all flaws. Here our Author, though contrary to all method and order, cannot dispence with a fancy come into his Head, but must needs compare our Emperour with *Domitian*. First, as to the form and lineaments of his Body. For he was of a middle Stature, indifferently Fat, of a beautiful Countenance, though something long Visaged; his Complexion being Ruddy, after he had fasted two days together. Then as to his Disposition, he was absolutely ill Conditioned, and as apt to be deceived, being both a Knave and a Fool equally with the other. Yet though he lay exposed to the tricks and artifices of other men, was he the greatest dissembler in the World, speaking nothing but apōdēsign, and his Heart and Tongue never agreeing. He was the most perfect in the Art of Disimulation that ever was man, covering his Deceit, hiding his Indignation,

And is rapacious in recruiting.

Like to *Domitian*.

He was a Fool, But very cun-

ning.

The Author's  
general charge  
against *Justinian*.

He caused to be slain *Amanius* and *Vitalianus*.

In the Factions favoured the *Vene-*  
*ti* in an extra-  
vagant manner.

He exhausts his  
Treasure.

Misfits to *He-*  
*rcatius*, who cast her off.

Indignation, and concealing his Resolutions with the greatest craft imaginable. **Sect. 3.**

4. He could laugh or cry according to the present occasion. His breach of Faith was not single, but accompanied with violation of all sacred Obligations. In his Friendship he was utterly uncertain, and in his Enmity inexorable. Gold and Bloud he equally thirsted after, with a kind of infatuation. Nothing did he more delight in than Contentions and Innovations. Easily was he persuaded to whatever was naught, but to what was good could not be drawn by any motives. In devising and executing what was wicked, he was very subtle and dextrous; but the very Name of Honesty he could not endure. These and very many other vices abounded in him, above the proportion of humane Pravity; for Nature had as it were taken them by parcels from other men, and with them patched up his Disposition. Accusations he readily admitted, and as readily punished. For he never heard a Caule thoroughly, but as soon as the Accuser had done, immediately gave Judgment, and by his rash decrees, ordered the Destruction of Places, the burning of Cities, and Plundering of Nations of whatsoever they had. All these things considered, our Historian doubts not to affirm, that if any one will well consider what Mischiefs formerly happened to the *Romans*, and compare them with the Calamities suffered under this Prince, he will find greater slaughter of men, to have been made by this one man, than in all ages which went before him put together. Then repeats he again, what he had formerly said concerning his spoiling private Persons of their Estates. And that he may finish all in a word, he assures us that this Emperour neither had any money himself, nor suffered his Subjects to have any; as if he did not so much deprive them of what they had out of Covetousness, an envy at their prosperous Condition, for he exhausted and made beggerly the whole Empire. Such was his Disposition and temper, the pretended *Procopius* tells us, as near as he could reach it. Then he comes to his Wife, to describe her Original and Education, and how in Conjunction with such an Husband, she utterly ruined the *Roman State*.

5. At *Constantinople* lived one *Acacius*, whose Calling and Employment it was to feed and look to the Beasts which belonged to the Faction of the *Praefini*, and were wont to be baited on the Amphitheatre, being commonly from the Bears called *Arietophorus* or *Vitarius*, as we use to say the Bearward. He dying in the time of *Anastasius* left three Daughters, *Comitina*, *Theodora* and *Anaphisa*, whereof the Eldest was scarcely then seven years old. Their Mother married a second Husband, but *Asterius* Master of the *Orchestra*, who by virtue of his Office had the disposal of the Place, sold it to another, and so turned out the Mother, her Husband and Daughters. She being reduced to a great strait, when she saw the People flock thick to the Shews, put Garlands upon the Heads and Hands of her Daughters, thereby presenting them as humble Suplicants. The *Praefini* rejected both them and their Petition; but the *Veneti* at that time wanting a Bearward, readily entertained them. Being thus provided of a Livelyhood, and very handsome, yet their Mother as they grew up, put each of them upon the Stage. *Comitina* the Eldest was accounted one of the eminent Courteans of her time, on whom *Theodora* when young waited in Quality and Habit of a Servant, carrying after her on her Shoulders the folding Stool, on which the was wont to sit in the places where Company reftored. But as soon as she came to Womans Estate, she also put her upon the Stage, and she became presently a Strumpet, such as the Ancients called *Planipedes*, pretending neither to Musick, Singing, nor Dancing, but prostituting her self to every one as she had opportunity. After this the Acted with the *Mimicks* or Clowns, all sorts of Farces, being so ready of her Tongue, that she was presently taken notice of, and of such a demeanour, that the more and more attracted the Eyes of the beholders. For she was complaisant throughout, not taking ill any word or gesture how obscene soever; however men behaved themselves to her, she would set up a Laughter, and that was all.

6. Therefore all sober Persons esteemed her no better than a Plague-sore, and whosoever met her in the morning, accounted it a sign of ill luck. Afterward *Eusebius* the *Tyrian*, Governor of *Pentapolis*, carried her down into his Province as his Misfit; but presently taking some Conceit against her, he cast her off again, and so to get Bread she was constrained to prostitute her self as formerly. She first tried her Fortune at *Alexandria*, and thence passing through all the East, returned to *Constantinople*, where she drove such a trade, as no man ought to name who would have Almighty God his friend; it's certain that the Devils so provided, that no place should be free from her Impure practices, and so she was born and bred as one that was to be the most famous of all Whores, of what Ages soever. Indeed the

\* Eam interigit  
qua est in AEGY-  
PTO ad alec-  
ANDRIA decem  
annos timeret de-  
cens.

**Sect. 3.** the Authour of the Antiquity of the City of *Constantinople* writes, that *Theodora*, the Wife of *Justinian*, after her Return from *Paphlagonia*, lived in *Embolus*, where she spun Wool for her living, and after she came to be Empress, built a Church, which she dedicated to St. *Pantaleon*. Now in this part of the City, called *Embolus*, as formerly on the Bank side in *Southwark*, and in the *Lapell Street* at *Antwerp*, lived the most common and poorest sort of Strumpets; therefore is to be found in *Pliny*, *Mulier Embolari*, concerning which the Critics have wasted so much paper. For the word *Embolus*, in the plural number, signifies the same with *Porticus* in Latin, from the *Fornices* or Arches of which, Women being called *Porticias*, and consequently the word Fornication coming; so from the *Porticus* or Galleries themselves, in Greek *Embolis*, those Strumpets were also named *Embolariae*.

*Bryantia prouulfe ait usque ad Tzecnianus Ecclaeas, Porticus Treadens vocat Autor Antiquissimus Descriptionis urbis Constantinopolis. Almann. ad pag. 242.*

*Justinian falls in love with her. Being his Mistress he makes her a Patriarch.*

*Having made it lawfull,*

7. But *Theodora* had not been very long at *Constantinople*, e'er *Justinian* fell most passionately in love with her. At first he conversed with her as his Mistres, being promoted to the degree of a Patriarch, and shd so far made use of her time, and his fondnes, as to heap up a great deal of Wealth. Yet so long as *Eusephia* the Empress lived, who was otherwise indulgent enough to him, he never could obtain Licence to marry her; but the dying, and *Justin* the Emperour, her Husband, doating, through the extremitie of his Age; he who had all the power in his Hands, began to be feared on all sides, and resoloved to improve his Interest and Opportunity to the accomplishing of the Marriage. But there was a great rub in the way, which must necessarily be removed. This was an \* ancient Law which forbade Men of Senatorian Rank to marry Strumpets, or any other of such base or unlawfull Callings, which by a crois Confutition he cauled the Emperour, his Uncle, to repeal, which done, he married *Theodora*, and opened the way for other Persons of Quality, to bestow themselves in such unequal and disparaging Matches. The Constitution yet extant in the Code, but these four Letters J U S T, being prefixed to it in ancient Manuscripts, gave occasio[n] of mistake to learned men, who therefore have thought it made by *Justinian*, as the Title shews in the very last Edition. But there's no doubt but *Justin* was the Authour; for into the Code have crept several other false Inscriptions, and Subscriptions also, as *Alemani* shews in many particulars. And there was another Constitution of *Justinian*, of the same subiect, quite different from this, containing not only more Chapters, but also some contrary matter, which though it be not now extant, yet is there the summa and substance of it in a Rescript to the Bishops, written to the same purpose. This Constitution of his Uncle, *Justinian* did not onely confirm, by this Edict, but several other Novels also. And this is observable, that as after several express Laws about the Marriage of Senators, (as the *Julian*, that of *Constantine* and of *Martianus*,) it was now first heard of in the *Roman* World, that they could marry with base Persons; so in this Constitution of *Justin*, there is only made mention of Stage-players, such as *Theodora* was, although in that of *Constantine*, antiquated by it, several other \* sorts be expressly mentioned.

*dotalia Instrumenta reprobatur in illa Justinianis, non autem Imperatoris Rescriptum, in hac verò contra Justinis sanctius. Babes in Justiniani Rescripto ad unum Episcopos quod Graec tibi exhibet ex vaticana Bibliotheca Alemannus in Not. ad Arcan. Hist. p. 4.*

\* *Ancilla, Liberte, Sciente, Tabernaria, Lenomus & Arenariorum Filia, queque mercimoniis publice praefuerint. Alom.*

*He marries her.*

8. *Justinian* and *Theodora* now married, began their Reign the third day before Easter, when it was not lawfull to salute or wish well to any Man. Indeed such was the custome then in the Church, that although in Celebration of Divine Service the Priest prayed for Peace, after the usual manner, yet in memory of the Passion of our Saviour, they abstained from the chearfull Kifs of Peace, and from Salutation. The beginning of their Domination falling out on this day, the Authour accounts it an *Omen* of the Wars, Conspiracies, Plagues, Prodigies and Earthquakes, which fell out in the Reign of *Justinian*, who having it in his Power to make his choice out of the most beautiful, most rich, and every other way most accomplished Women which the whole *Roman* Empire afforded, could fix no where but on one of the most vile and filthy Strumpets in the World, and prefer the Embraces of one defiled with many other Villanies, besides the Murther of many abortive Infants, before the Bed of any chaste and pure Virgin whatsoever. Yet was there not one man that opened his Mouth against so foul an Indignity, not a Senator, not one Churchman; but such as had formerly seen her act upon the Stage,

now,

now, with Hands lift up, protested themselves her Slaves and Vassals; and the Soldiers vowed, they would, for the sake of *Theodora*, encounter with all Difficulties and Dangers. Indeed she had a lovely Face, and was otherwise also very tempting; She was of little Stature, and had very quick and rowling Eyes. They acted all their Inclinations; but this they counterfeited by agreement, the better to conceal and carry on their Designs. Sometimes he would take the part of the *Veneti*, and then she would seem to be against them, and they would complain that they were disrespected by each other. In Law Suits, and matters of Controversie, the one sided with the Plaintiff, and the other with the Defendant, and to be sure he that had the worst Cause carried it, giving ever one half, or more, to gain the other. Many Persons he pretended to favour, and suffered them to pill the Commonwealth at their pleasure, whom he must accuse and prosecute, sore against his Mind, as he pretended, who would seem to take their part, but in the end they must bleed out their Wealth into his Coffers. By these Arts they carried on their work with much ease, and establisht their Tyranny, so as it was not to be shaken.

9. Being come to the Administration of Affairs, after his Uncle's death he immediately set himself to overturn the whole frame and posture of all things, as if he had put on the Imperial Ensigns for this very purpose. For, abrogating the ordinary forms of Laws, of Magistracy, and the *Militia*, he brought up new Models of his own Invention, without any shew of Reason, but that every thing might receive a mark from his Name; which also he bestowed upon such things as he could not find a pretence to alter. The vast Treasures which he scraped out of the Ruines of numberles families, he either prodigally spent upon Barbarians, or confunred in extravagant Buildings. Whereas the *Romans* had Peace one with another, he, impatient of Rest, and thirsting after Blood, set the Barbarians together by the Ears. He gave vast summs to the Captains of the *Hunes*, to procure Peace and a good Understanding, as he said; but they, like Beggars that had fare well at his door, cried Rost-meat, and sent their Neighbours to speed as they had done, who entring, and wasting the Emperour's Dominions, constrained him to purchase Peace from them at the like rates. Hence came it to pass that there was no end of War, but it was handed, as it were, from one to another, there never wanting Commanders amongst *Hunes*, *Saracens*, *Sclavi*, *Perians* and other Barbarians, whose mouths were to be stopped as well as those of others, and consequently there was hardly a Mountain or Hole in the *Roman* territories free from Devastations, many Provinces having been five times, or oftner, wasted in his time. Vast Treasures did he employ in purchasing Peace from *Chosroes*, the *Perian* King; but then again, without any reasonable cause, he would break the League, by drawing into a Confederacy of Arms against him *Alamundarus*, the *Hunes*, and other Associates of that Crown. The Provinces being thus exhausted, and no way replenished, except by great Effusion of Man's Bloud; that he might make the greater spoils, he involved them in farther troubles, upon the Account of Religion.

10. But having filled his Treasury with Confuciations upon this account, and procured the Destruction of more than an hundred thousand Men; he fell upon such as he supposed, or would take for granted, to be guilty of Sodomy. He proceeded against them by making a positive Law, saith our Authour, for that purpose; and indeed there are two several Constitutions of his extant, upon this subject, as *Aleman* observes, whereof one being made upon another occasion, and the other bearing date of the eighteenth year after the Consulship of *Basilus*, there is no doubt but that which was made in the beginning of his Reign, as this *Procopius* hints, and as *Theophanes* plainly tells in his second Year, hath miscarried. The occasion of the severity used against this sort of Offenders, *Theophanes* writes to have been given by two Bishops, *Esias of Rhodes*, and *Alexander of Dispolis in Thrace*, who being found guilty of this Crime, were put out of their places, and severely punished, having their Members cut off, and then being led through the City, with a Crier before them, making this Proclamation, *All ye that are Bishops, beware that ye dishonour not your Reverend Dignity*. Wherefore, saith he, the Emperour published severall Laws against those libidinous Persons, and many were punished by virtue thereof. These surely are they which this *Procopius* detesteth as severe, and inflicting indecent punishment upon the Offenders. He mentions only loss of their Genitals, and then exposing to open shame; but *Cedrenus*, and others, farther add, that some were tormented by sharp Reeds, thrust into their privy parts. At first, this Severity was not used towards all, but either such as were of the Faction of the *Praefini*, or were reputed very rich, or were out of the Prince his favour.

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*Sect. 3.* favour. But herein appeared his Cruelty and Injustice, that when no body prosecuted, and upon the Testimony of one single Witness, sometimes a Boy, and sometimes a Slave, who was compelled to appear against his Master, he would proceed to Sentence and Condemnation.

11. Astrologers he could not endure, and upon this account roughly handled certain Magistrates, whose Employment it was to punish and prevent Robberies. Being ancient Men, sober, and of good Repute, he caused them to be set on Carmels, to be contumeliously carried through all the City, and lashed on the Shoulders, for no other Crime but being skilfull in Astrology, and living in the City. For such like Reasons as this, a great multitude of men fled their Country, betaking themselves not only to the neighbouring Barbarians, but to the Nations at greatest distance from the *Roman* World, and in most Cities you might have seen Strangers come from far to hide their Heads, as if their own Dwellings had been wafted by the Incursions of some Enemy. All the wealthier sort of Senatours, whether living at *Constantinople*, or other Cities, he oured of their Estates. There was one *Zeno*, Nephew of that *Anthemius* who was Emperour in the West, and him they named Governor of *Egypt* by design. The Ship, appointed for his Transportation, being laded with his best Moveables, abundance of Money, and vessels of Gold, set with precious Stones of exceeding great value, the Emperour and his Wife perjured thole that were intrusted with the Treasure, to convey it into a place appointed, and then to set fire to the Ship, which he must be made to believe perished by accident. And not long after *Zeno* dies suddenly, whereupon they seize on all his Estate, producing a certain Tselfament, which the World verily believed he forged. By virtue of the same trick they made themselves Heirs to *Tatianus*, and others of eminentest note in the Senate. The Estates of some they invaded by counterfeit Letters, and by that means became Heirs to *Dionysius*, that lived in *Liberia*.  
*Vide Parag.*

*They spoil all the wealthy Scenatours of their Estates.* *banus*, and to *John* the Son of *Basilius*, the most eminent Man in *Edesa*, who, fore <sup>133. hijs cap.</sup> against his mind, was, as we said before, delivered as an Hostage to *Chosroes*. When he had once got him into his Hands, *Chosroes* pretended the Conditions were not performed on the *Roman* part, and refused to set him at liberty without Ransome. This coming to the knowledge of his Grandmother, she sent away two thousand pounds of Silver to redeem him, which being come to *Dara*, into the Emperour's Hands, he forbud any thing to be concluded with the *Persians*, lest, as he said, the Wealth of the *Romans* should enrich the Barbarians. It happens in the mean time, that *John* dies, and then does the Governor of *Dara* produce a Letter, whereby the Deceased made the Emperour Heir of all he had, and signified that to be his last Will and Pleasure.

12. But it's hard to say, thus our Author proceedeth, to how many Men they made themselves Heirs. For before the Sedition of *Nica* happened, they made their choice here and there; but afterward they sold the Goods of the Senatours by heaps, taking out of them what they thought fit, and appropriating to themselves the best Lands; only out of their abundant Mercy they left some parcels, most obnoxious to Taxes, to the right Owners, who tired with the exactions of the Collectours, and the Importunity of their Creditours, were weary of their miserable Lives. Wherefore to me, and those of my rank, faith this Author, these two seemed neither Man, nor Woman, but some pernicious, incarnate Devils, ordained for a Plague to Mankind, consulting how to destroy and root out all Nations upon the Face of the Earth, and, like Furies in humane Shape, vexing, disturbing and tormenting the whole World. But he makes them worse than Devils in respect of their wicked Tempers and Dispositions. Many there have been in former Ages, faith he, whom either Nature or Occasion have made very terrible to Mankind, who have been the ruins of Cities, Provinces, and some whole Countries; but none like these could ever turn upside down the Frame of the whole World, to whose Councils Fortune always was subservient, and ever at hand, for the destruction of Mortals; for at the same time such desolation was made by Earthquakes, Plagues and Inundations, that they seemed to have been procured by them, in some extraordinary way, beyond the limits and methods of humane Power. Indeed it's reported, he adds, that *Justinian's* Mother, by some of her most intimate Friends, has been heard to say, that he was neither the Son of *Sabatius*, her Husband, nor of any other Man living, but that a certain *Demon* came and lay with her, whom she only felt, and could not see, by whose Incubation she presently conceived. Some also of his Chamber, watching by him, have seen in the night a certain *Spectre*, or *Demon*, appear in his likeness.

*Make them selves Heirs to many Persons.*

*The Author thought them Devils incarnate.*

13. Another

*Several Stories to that purpose of Jeflinian.* *Sect. 3.*

13. Another affirmed, that he had seen *Justinian* rise hastily from his Seat, (for he never sat long) and as he walked, his Head suddenly was dissolved into air, the trunk of his Body still keeping in motion, and observing the accustomed methods of walking; which when he admired, and blamed his Eyes for so deceiving him, presently his Head would return to his Body again. Another related how as he stood by *Justinian*, he saw his Face turned instantly into a shapely piece of Flesh, without the print of any Forehead or Eyes, and then again a resemblance of a Face as speedily returned. Our Author tells you, he did not see these parages with his own Eyes, but writes those things as were in great seriuosness affirmed to be true. Another Report went, that a certain devout Monk, persuaded by some of his Brethren, came to *Constantinople* to plead the cause of the neighbouring Countries, which were very much burthened, contrary to all Law and Equity. Being easily admitted, when he came to the Threshold he still retired back again, which the Eunuch that brought him in, and other by-standers, admiring, asked him seriously what the matter was, and why he went not forward, but he, like a mad Man, in silence returned to his Cell, where being importuned to tell the true Reason, he affirmed, that he saw the Prince of the Devils sitting on a Throne, whom no Man could well desire either to go or speak to. And why may not this Man seem a *Demon*, who never did eat, or drink, or sleep, to speak on, but only tasting of the meat set before him, presently rose from the Table, and spent the night in walking about the Court, being also devilishly inclined to the sin of Leachery?

14. As for *Theodora*, while she was yet a Player, her Gallants reported, that Spirits were wont to spend a great part of the night in her company. As she returned to *Constantinople* from *Egypt* and *Africk*, being much perplexed with the ill usage she had received from the Hands of *Hecebolius*, one *Macedonia*, a Woman of the same Profession, comforted her, and had her not despair of better fortune, which would be able to give her great Wealth, and make her a sufficient compensation for her present penury. To this she answered, that as for Wealth she was not at all solicitous, being the last night bidden in a dream to take no thought about it; for when she was come to *Constantinople*, she should be preferred to the Bed of the Prince of the *Demons*, or *Genii*, and being by the power of Art once married to him, should be instantly possessed of the greatest Riches the World could afford. These things were credibly reported, and believed by many. But *Justinian*, however otherwise qualified, yet carried himself with great gentleness and affability to all. No man was denied access to his presence, neither would he be offended with any *Indecorum* that happened, either in word or gesture. He never shewed any sense or compassion at the Sufferings and Miseries of his People, yet against such as had offended him would he carry himself with that calmness and evenness of Temper, that with a pleafant look, and a low voice, would he give order for the destruction of an infinite number of innocent Persons, the devestation of Cities, and the setting of their Goods to sale. But in case any one petitioned him in their behalf, or implored his Clemency and Compassion, then woulde he frown and swell, and pertinaciously adhere to his former Sentence. Such Churchmen as incroached upon their Neighbours, he would protect, esteeming it a choice piece of Piety to doe. When any such Causes came before him, he thought himself obliged by Religion to give the Victory to such as had got any thing into their hands, though never so unjustly, upon that account: Much of his ill-gotten Goods he gave to Churches, to cover his Crimes with a Veil of Piety, and that they might never any more return to the right Owners.

15. By this preposterous sort of Piety, he defiled himself with infinite Murthers. And he laboured with all his might, to bring all men to be of the same Opinion concerning Christ, under which Religious Pretext he deprived many of their Lives, not accounting that Murther, which was acted upon men of a contrary Judgment. He had a mind as light and unstable as dust in the Wind, easie to be drawn to any thing but Humanity, and from any thing but Covetous desires. With flattery he was much taken, whom he easily believed that he should be taken up into the Air, *Tribonian* his Assessor earnestly affirming that he was in great Fear, lest for his singular Piety he should suddenly be rapt up into Heaven. This piece of flattery or Jeer he firmly believed. If *Theodora* at any time found him averse to any of her Proposals, she had nothing more to doe than to bait her Hook with hope of Profit, and the might lead him whither she pleased. Therefore did he make no difficulty at all, to enact and repeal Laws, if there were any Money to be got by it; neither would he hold the Judges to the meaning and intent of his own

*Onel upon the account of Religion.*

*Tribonian's flat-tery.*

**Sect. 3.** own Constitutions. In his time, there was no conflant or firm Opinion concerning Almighty God; no Faith nor stable Law, Covenant or any thing else that was constant. Such of his Officers as were cruel in the Execution of his Orders he prized, and hated such as shewed any Humanity, which caused some to make a shew of Naughtiness, who otherwise were Vertuously inclined. He often abstained from meat for two days together, especially in the Holy Week, or that preceding Easter, drinking only a little Water, eating a very few Herbs, and sleeping the space of an hour; the rest of his time he spent in walking. Had he employed his Talent all this while in the Affairs of the Commonwealth, it would have been most happy under him; but using these natural Abilities, and improving his Watchings, Labours and Indeavours, to the disquiet of his Subjects, especially being of a most sharp Wit, to invent and put Mischief in Execution, the natural Parts and Endowments he had proved the Plague of the Commonwealth. There was no encouragement under him, for doing any busines. Neither was there any Footstep or Shadow of Antiquity. But here faith the Writer of these Accusations, left I should be tedious, I will explain my meaning in a few things, and pass over the greater part; how truly let the Reader judge.

He was of a sharp  
Wit, to put mis-  
chief in Execu-  
tion.

All his Answers  
in point of Law,  
he himself di-  
rected without  
his Quæstor.

The Senate fig-  
nified nothing.

Theodora Prodi-  
giously Cruel.

16. In the first place he neither did any thing, nor cared for any thing which was becoming imperial Majesty, accommodating himself to the Manners and Customs of the Barbarians in his Speech, Habit and Disposition. The Answers which of Course he was to make in writing to any Consultations, he did not commit to the Care and Discretion of the *Quæstor*, as the Custome was, but he himself for the most part spake and pronounced them, although he spake very bad Greek. Many Persons therefore came and required Justice, but had no Judges, before whom they could proceed. The Secretaries, who of old time were intrusted to write things never so private, now would not he admit to any such busines; but dispatched all himself, and dictated the very Judgments of the Magistrates of the *Municipia*, allowing to no Body the Liberty of declaring what was Law, but arrogating all things to himself, and deciding Causes upon hearing of one Party. Through this covetous humour of his, oftentimes it came to pass, that he and the Senate made contrary Decrees concerning the same thing; although indeed the Senate now signified nothing at all, onely assembled of Course, because it was an ancient Custome so to doe, having no Power at all to doe Right or Justice to any man, but what the Emperour and Empress before resolved, that ever passing and concluding. If any one doubted of his Cause, for a sum of Money he could procure the Prince to antiquite all former Laws, and make a new Constitution for his very purpose. But if again it happened, that any could receive benefit from the abrogated Law, for the same Cause and Consideration, he could recall it as were from Banishment, *Tanquam ex postlimio*.

17. The *Referendarii* were hardly permitted to present Petitions according to the Nature of their employment, or to declare their Judgment concerning them, yet making use of the time, and of the disposition of the Emperour, who was apt enough to be deceived, they put false Colours upon things, and Cheating him first, abused also their Clients by false Representations, and squeezed out of them great sums of Money. The *Pretorian Guards* in the Court, forced the Judges to give Sentence as they pleased; so that there was no Order, nor any certain Course or Government, every one acting what he listed in despite of the Laws, and all things being deformed and broken, not so much as their Names intire and safe, so that the Commonwealth at this time resembled a wanton Queen of Children. But the Emperour was persuaded to this Trade of selling Justice by one *Leo a Cilician*, a man of infatiate Avarice, and as great Flattery, by whom being intrusted in the Mystery he never after left it off; but Couzened as well the Plaintiff as the Defendant. To be sure there was nothing to be obtained by Force of any Law, Promise, Bill, Stipulation or any Contract, but onely by Money given to *Leo* and *Cesar*. *Theodora*, on the other hand, had a mind so prone to Cruelty, that she seldom acted by direction of any one whomsoever; but with Pride and Violence, did whatsoever came into her Head. No Prayers, Petitions, or Interreaties could ever stop or allay her Fury. Not onely did she retain, as her Husband did, Malice to the death of the Party, against whom she had once conceived hatred, but trampled and insulted upon their very Ashes, the Children together with the Inheritance, receiving her Indignation and transmitting it to those that came after them. Her Body she had special Care of, though not so much as she desired. Early in the Morning she entered her Bath, wherein having spent considerable time she went to Breakfast, and thence to sleep. At Dinner and Supper she had all plenty and variety of Meats imaginable,

**Sect. 3.** imaginable. She slept both very long and often, and so using all manner of Intemperance, the small time she had to spare she thought to be sufficient for the Government of the *Roman Empire*.

No employment  
without her. 18. If any sought for employment without addressing themselves to her, they were sure to be dismissed with Disgrace. *Justinian* was by Nature fit for speedy dispatch of busines, both by reason of his Watchfulness, the readiness of his Wit, and that easie access to his Person which all men found. But the greatest Nobles were forced to dance attendance, and could get hardly any admittance to the Empress, standing by troops, like Slaves, in an hot and little Lobby, and glad full to stand, left any mischief should come by their absence. And they stood with their Necks and Shoulders erected, and their Faces bearing out, so to be seen by the Eunuchs and hard access.

And insufferably  
arrogant. After many days waiting they were hardly admitted, and that one after another, and these but such and such neither. Being come into her presence, they stood as astonished, and presently withdrew, having first worshipped her, and kisst both her Feet, not daring so much as to speak, much less to ask any thing, except commanded so to do; to so servile flattery was the Senate it self degenerated, *Theodora* being sovereign Lady of the *Roman Empire*, which now went wholly to wreck, partly through the incredible levity of the Tyrant himself, and partly by reason of her difficult humour, which put a stop to all busines. Her manner was, if any, with whom she was offended, were accused of the least Crime, to lay heinous things to their charge, and then calling such Judges as were fit for her purpose, to cause their Estates to be sold, then to have them most cruelly lashed, though they were descended from most noble Ancestours, and after this preparative, either to be banished or put to death. On the contrary, if such as she favoured were guilty of Murther, or any other heinous Crime, she would sometimes pleasantly, sometimes with indignation, divert their Adversaries from farther prosecution. Such matters as were most grave, and of the deepest consequence, she would turn into ridicule, with laughter and a jest, as if she had still thought her self to be upon the Stage.

19. A certain Patriarch there was, both deserving respect for his Age, and the long time he had been employed in Offices of Magistracy. This Man (our Author tells us he is obliged to conceal his name, lest so great an affront should be transmitted to posterity) having a Debtor who was a great Confidant of *Theodora's*, and had been often solicited in vain to pay him his Money, he was revolved now to prosecute him, and came to the Empress to beg the favour, that he might be indifferently dealt with, and as the merits of his Cause might require. *Theodora* having warning of his coming, commanded her Eunuchs to compass him about, to have an Eye upon her self, and to echo out a Song, or company of Verses, which she would sing. The Patriarch introduced, as the manner was, cast himself at her Feet, and being ready to weep, told her, that the case of a Patriarch, who wanted Money, was very hard, because that thing which to other Men procured pity and compassion, to Persons of his Rank brought Disgrace and Misery. For if a Man of inferior condition were in debt, he might but reveal his case, and he had some relief; but a Patriarch, though he could not pay his debts, yet to confess so much, was a shame, if he did confess it, no body would believe him, it being thought impossible that any Patriarch should fall into Poverty, and if so be that credit should be given him, he were ruined in his Fame and Dignity for ever. Now truly, Madam, saith he, I am both in debt, and have others indebted to me; I do not defraud my Creditors, which would tend to the disparagement of Men of my Quality, yet others indeavour to defraud me; wherefore I humbly intreat you would assist me in so just a cause, and deliver me out of my present trouble.

20. He making this his Complaint, *Theodora* sung the word Patriarch, and then the Chorus of Eunuchs added, Thou art troubled with a Tumour or Hernia. He continued still his Complaints, and she persevered in the same Tune; the Eunuchs keeping time as formerly, wherewith being much troubled he got him home, having according to the Custome done his Obedience to the insulting Empress. The greater part of the Year he passed in the Emperour's Houses, situated near the City, and upon the Sea; but especially in that called *Hereum*, to the great damage of her Attendants, who following her thither in great multitudes were straitened of Provisions, and exposed to the Inconveniences of passing by Water, of Tempests and the Whale or *Porphyron*, formerly mentioned. Here it will not be amiss, to let the Reader know, that the Emperour had several Houses of Pleasure near *Constantinople*; as the *Habendum*, or *Septimum*, seven miles distant, and not the seventh Region of the City, as some have imagined. Besides this, there were o-

Alcmena.  
thers

**Sect. 3.** thers which received their Names from their distance to *Constantinople*, *Broia*, *Pera*, or Fountains, first beautified by *Justinian*, as the certain *Procopius* writes in his *Septichora*. another Work. Then *Eria* or Sepulchres, where the Citizens were of old time wont to be buried, for so *Cedrenus* and *Suidas* write; but *Procopius* chuses rather to call the Place by its old Name *Heraeum*, which it received from the Chapel of *Juno* there standing. This place, which *Justinian* and *Theodora* chose for their Retirement, was so well furnished with every thing tending to Neatness and Pleasure, that several Poets, as *Agathias* (the Historian also) and *Paul* the Silentiary conceived it a fit object of their Wit. But besides, *Justinian* and *Theodora*, in their first Years were wont for their Pleasure to pass the time at *Chalcedon*, as appears by several Rescripts. And once for the recovery of her Health, the went as far as to the Baths of the *Pythia*; wherever she went or staid, carrying with her a mind implacable towards those, against whom she had conceived any Displeasure, or apprehended the least caule of Jealousie.

**21.** After that *Amalasuntha*, as *Procopius* declares in other Books, had resolved to quit the Government of the *Goths*, and thought of spending her days at *Constantinople*, *Theodora* presently began to bethink her self, that she might possibly have such a Rival, as by the Nobility of her Birth, her Royal Dignity, her singular Beauty, and sharpnes of Wit, might so work upon the Levity and Inconstancy of her Husband's humour, as to bring her no small Displeasure, and therefore resolved to prevent her Journey, by sending her farther off, to another World. She perfudged *Justinian* to send *Peter* to her, with such a Message as we formerly mentioned; but having pickled him out for the purpose, secretly injoyed him to make her away, promising him great matters if he did it speedily. He overcome with her Temptations passed into *Italy*, and by reasons unknown to others, perfudged *Theodorus* to put her to Death, and was rewarded with the Office of *Magister divinorum officiorum*, wherewith he received great Power, but with it the Indignation and Hatred of all the World. This Office was that of *Magister divinorum officiorum*, as appears from two Novel Constitutions, directed to him under that Title. He was born at *Theffsalonica* in *Ilyrium*, was one of the ordinary Advocates of *Constantinople*, being a Man of singular Prudence, powerfull Eloquence, and excellent Temper, but excessively Covetous. After his return from *Italy*, and his Preferment, he was sent Ambassador to *Chosroes*. He wrote a Book *De Republica* and an History, the Fragments whereof *Alemanus* saw in the Vatican Library. His Son *Theodorus*, called *Contocheres*, because one of his hands was shorter than the other, was accused of Treason in the thirty fourth year of *Justinian*.

*Theodora* prosecutes *Amalasuntha* to be murdered.

**22.** There was one *Priscus* Secretary to *Justinian* for his Letters, a *Paphlagonian* born, and of an Humour very well suiting with his Master's Temper, whom he much loved, and doubted not but he was beloved by him again, and by his Favour arrived at great Wealth. But *Theodora* not brooking his high and flighting demeanour, accused him of we know not what to her Husband, which for the present did not take; but not long after, she makes him be carried aboard a Ship, and whether she was pleased to order, there to be shaven, and sore against his mind to be made Priest. *Justinian* in the mean time taking no notice of it, nor, as if he had been feised with a Lethargy, ever asking what was become of him, only he so far remembred himself as to seize on that small Estate which was left him. *Theophanes*, *Alemanus* tells, in Confirmation of this story writes (and it seems he had it not from *Procopius*) that *Priscus* was made Deacon of *Cyzicum*. And the Reader must know (what otherwise the Course of this History will teach him) that it was an ordinary Practice of the Eastern Emperours, to cause such as to whom they would stop all Accels to Worldly Honours, to enter into Orders though quite contrary to their Inclinations. *Theodosius Junior* is the first that's known to have begun this no-way laudable Custome, compelling *Cyrus* the *Præfectus Praetorio*, of whom had conceived some Jealousie, to be Bishop of *Smyrna*. But after the later Greek Emperours, there were few that did not Practise it toward their Friends, Relations or others. But to pursue the story; there was one *Arcobindus* a Barbarian born, but very beautiful, and of *Theodora*'s Ward-robe, against whom, though she was to be thought to be passionately in Love with him, she conceived a deep Displeasure. Having first caused him to be cruelly Whipt, she afterward so disposed of him, as no body ever knew where he was.

An ill Custome of the Emperours, to have such as they would not have preferred.

For whatsoever she would have kept secret, she so terrified her Instruments that they never blabbed it out, being herein more successfull, than ever was any Tyrant living; on the contrary, she had so many, and so faithfull Spies abroad, that nothing could be said or done by her Adversaries that came not to her knowledge. Whom

*Atlem.*

Whom she was a Strumpet, had a Son named John.

Whom she had a mind to punish without the Worlds taking notice, she would send for him if he were a Patrician, and she alone would deliver him into the hands of her Officer, who shoud in the dead of the Night cover his Head, bind him fast and carrying him aboard, Transport him some whither into the utmost bounds of the *Roman* World, where he shoud languish till either her hard Heart relented, or Death made an end of him, and his Misery both together.

**23.** *Bafianus* a young Nobleman, of the Faction of the *Præfati*, had spoken some Words of the Emperors; and understanding the would be even with him, betook himself to the Church of *St. Michael*. She bade the *Praetor* pull him out thence, and accuse him not of Contumelious Language against her Person, but of Sodomitical Practices. The young man was taken out of the Church by the Magistrate, and cruelly tortured. The multitude at the sight of his tender and beautifull Body made Exclamations, and required he might be dismissed; but this cruel Woman perfisited in her Resolution, and causing his Privities to be cut off, destroyed him unheard and uncondemned, and then was his Estate confiscate to the publick Treasury. For if she was in a rage and set upon it, neither the Sanctuaries, nor Laws, nor the Prayers and Intreaties of the whole City could appease her, nor resuscit that which she had appointed to Destruction. This farther appeared in the Case of *Diogenes*, a man well beloved and favoured by *Cæsar* himself, as addicted to the Faction of the *Præfati*. But concerning a Displeasure against him, she laid the Crime of Sodomy to his Charge, and endeavoured to suborn two of his own Slaves, both as Accusers and Witnesses against him. But this device not taking, by reason that the Dignity of the man required, that many and eminent Judges appeared upon the Bench, and the Testimony of the Slaves was rendered invalid, for want of Competency of Age, she got one *Theodorus* into her Clutches, a familiar acquaintance of *Diogenes*, and him she attacked both by fair Words and Tortures. For, perceiving he could make nothing of it, she caused a Leather Thong to be tyed about him, from the Forehead to the Ears, and to be twiched so strait together, till the hoped his Eyes would gush out of his Head, yet would not he lye for the matter, and the Judges dismissed the Caufe, which had no matter of Proof, to the great Satisfaction of the People, which highly applauded them.

What this Woman Practised against *Belisarius*, *Photius*, and *Buzes* has been already shewn. *Callinicus* Prefect of the second *Cilicia*, for putting to Death two of that Countrey, who being of the Faction of the *Veneti* had attempted his Death, and killed his Servant, she caused to be Crucified at their Graves. The Emperour upon the News fled Crocodiles tears, grunted in his Palace, and threatened the Executioners; but so far received Comfort, as to seize on the Estate of the deceased. *Eunarius* makes mention of this Act of Cruelty, and says farther, that the Names *Lib. 4. c. 31. Atm.* of the men were *Taurus* and *Festinus*; whence it appears, that he had not the particulars out of the secret History, as *Hubertus Giphanius* did imagine.

**24.** Farther, *Theodora* as if she intended thereby to hide the filthiness of her former Age, set her self to punish all such Women, as prostituted their Bodies. Five hundred common Strumpets or thereabout the sent by Troops beyond the *Bosphorus*, and shut them up in a Monastery, compelling them to lead strict and severe Lives, which some of them not able to bear cast themselves down Headlong in the Night. Two young Widows of the very chief Nobility, pretending they lived incontinently, she compelled to take Husbands out of the very dregs of the People, such as they could not but abominare, though they were of her chusing. They aware of her purpos, fled to the Church of *St. Sophia*, hid themselves in the *Baptistarium* and grafted about the Font: But no Sanctuary was so Sacred as to be inviolable, where her Passions were ingaged. Their Mother to her great Grief was present at the Nuptials, and *Theodora* (though it was a wonder) at last defretted what she had done, and to make them some amends got Preferment for both their Husbands. But this proved no Satisfaction to them, their Husbands raging with intolerable Cruelty, against those that were under their Jurisdiction, as I shall hereafter declare faith our Author; for as for *Theodora*, she had neither Respect to Magistracy, Commonwealth, nor any Office in the State whatsoever, not caring how things went, so she could but have her Will and fulfill her Humour.

**25.** Another thing there was, which happened to her whilst she was yet a Player, and must not be forgotten. She proved with Child by one of her Lovers, and as her Custome was endeavoured all manner of ways to procure Abortion; but nothing would doe. Her Gallant perceiving her to be much troubled, that being big he could not follow her whorish Trade as formerly, took all care possible that she should not miscarry, and at last she was brought to Bed of a Boy; which naming male.

Her horrible Cruelty against *Bafianus*.

Against *Diogenes*.

Against *Callinicus*.

She punishes Strumpets.

*Nomen Memoria  
sterio sicut Martini  
Patriae  
in qua feminis de-  
gerent quas  
ancientia vita  
penitentia.  
Procopius lib.  
1. Addit. sibi  
hoc prosequitur  
latus; *Justinian* &  
*Theodosius* et  
*Theodora* pietatem, ut  
nisi Alem.*

Sect. 3. Sect. 3. ming John, he carried with him into Arabia. Being at the point of Death, he opened to his Son now grown up, the whole matter concerning his Mother, who having buried his Father comes up to *Constantinople*; where he tells the story to her Servants, that he might get Admision. They thinking no harm, and rather with joy told her, her Son John was come. She fearing the Report might reach her Husband, sent for him in, and delivered him into the hands of one of her Domes-ticks, whom she was wont to employ on such like Errands, who so disposed of him, that the wretched Youth was never after heard of, nor no man ever saw him since her Death. At this time the manners of almost all Women were corrupted, with all Impunity and Liberty injuring their Husbands; for when they were accused of Adultery, by her means they escaped, and their Husbands as a punishment of false Accusation were condemned to give them double Dower; some were ignominiously Whipped, and others imprisoned, and then again saw their Beds defiled, by such as were rewarded with Dignities and Employments for so doing. For this reason most Husbands dissembled the dishonesty of the Wives, and left them should be discovered, gave them all opportunities of playing the Whore.

Whom the fact away so as he was never heard of, and why.

Women Gener-ally corrupted.

The dispo-ses wholly of Mar-rages.

And orderedeth Saturninus.

She hated John the Prefect, and Why.

Though a wicked man.

26. All matters concerning Marriage, she would have wholly in her Power. The *Cafe de Romans* was now worse than that of the very worst Barbarians, who married according to their own Inclinations; but here it was not, who liked her or him, but whom *Theodora* pleased to put together. Often did she take away the Bridegroom out of the Arms, if not out of the Bed of the Bride, denying with Choler, that she ever gave her Consent to the Match. One *Saturninus* she thus used, and compelled him to marry the Daughter of one *Chrysomalla*, who had been once a publick Dancer and then a common Strumpet; yet together with *Indara*, another of the same Profession, was now taken from the Stage, and the Stews, into the Court to sit at the Helm of the Commonwealth. But *Saturninus* found his new Wife corrupted, and told a Friend that he perceived he had not married a Maid, which coming to the Ears of *Theodora*, she commanded her Servants to take him up as they use to do Boys at School, and Whip him soundly for his Tatling, she looking on and as he received the strokes, bidding him beware next time, and learn to keep a good Tongue in his Head. How the punished John the *Cappadocian*, we have said, fainth this *Procopius* in other Books; she did not herein desire to revenge the Part of the Commonwealth upon him, but only gratified her private Malice; for the Truth was, he feared not to accuse her to *Caesar*, and almost had brought her out of his Favour. Now the Story of her revenge we must here relate out of the first Book of *Procopius*, concerning the *Persean War*; having purposed hitherto omitted it, and referred it to this as a more proper place.

27. The Empress of all men living hated this John for Plotting against her, and accusing her to *Justinian*; and desired to kill him, but could not, the Emperour so much esteemed him. He knowing her mind, was deadly afraid, suspecting every Night to be murdered by some Barbarian in his Bed, so that he could not sleep; but was still peeping out, and searching the Entries, though he had about him some Thousands of Lanciers and Targetiers, a thing never used by any Prefect. But no sooner was it day, but again forgetting all fear, both of God and Man, he became a Plague to all *Romans*, frequented Sorcerers, and harkned after impious Southsayings, vainly foretelling to him the imperial Dignity. Of his wicked Course of Life, he bated nothing, nor was God in all his Thoughts. If he went to Church, or watched all Night, he observed not the Christian Rites; but having on a course Garment like a Heathen Priest, mumbled all the Night some ungodly Spells, to captivate more the Emperour's mind, and to preserve himself from mischief. To *Belisarius* he was very harsh, and still Plotted against him, because of all men he was most Renowned, and he himself by all men hated; but *Belisarius* being to goe for *Perseia*, left his Wife *Antonina* behind him at *Constantinople*, where being the ablest Woman alive to Effect, and bring about hard things, to gratifie the Empress she had this Device. John had a Daughter, his only Child, named *Euphemia*, very modest, but young, and so easily caught. Her having by much Soothing, gained to her lure, and having her on a time above in her Chamber, she feigned to lament to her, her own Fortune; saying, that *Belisarius* found the Emperour ungratefull, and in other things accusing the Government as unjust.

28. *Euphemia* overjoyed at her Discourse, as troubled with the Government and fear of the Empress, told her that they (meaning her Husband and her) were the Causes; who having the Power in their hands, would not use it. *Antonina* replied, that they were not able to stir in the Camp, if some in the Court con-

curred not in the Action, but told her that if her Father would, they might easily effect the matter. *Euphemia* promised the thing should be done, and departing related the matter to her Father; who pleaded with it, and conceiving it led the way to the fulfilling of his Prophecies, and the Empire, without any pausing upon it consented, willing his Daughter to treat for a meeting the next day, that he might give her his Oath. *Antonina* desirous to prevent his Suspicion, said that to give him a meeting now would cause a Jealousie, and hinder all; but the being to follow *Belisarius*, when she had left *Constantinople* and was in her House in the Suburbs, thither he might come to take leave and bring her on her way, where they might confer, and both give an Oath and take it. The Night before she was to begin her Journey he came accordingly, and the Emperour being informed by his Wife of his Attempts to usurp, sent thither *Narses the Eunuch*, and *Marcellus*, who commanded the *Palatine Guards*, with many Soldiers, and direction, to search out the busines, and if they found John in any Plot to kill him, and so return. It was reported, that the Emperour advertised of this Course of proceeding, sent to John that he should not meet with *Antonina* secretly, but he neglected the Advice, it being his fate to be ruined; and about Midnight met *Antonina* under an Hedge, behind which he had placed *Narses* and *Marcellus*, to hear what was said. There did he in plain Words consent to the Conspiracy, and confirmed it with most terrible Oaths.

29. Then did *Narses* and *Marcellus* break in upon him, but at the Noife, John's Lanciers came presently in, and he escaped and ran to the City. If he had had the Heart to repair presently to the Emperour, *Procopius* verily believes he had received no harm, but by taking Sanctuary in a Church, he gave full scope to the Emperess to advance her Design against him. Therefore of a Prefect he was made a private man, and being removed out of that to another Church, standing in a

He is compelled to be Prefect. Suburb of *Cyzicum* called *Artace*, was compelled to enter into the Orders of Priesthood, and named himself *Peter*. Yet did he not execute the Function of a Priest, left it should hinder his promotion to greater Offices, being unwilling to quit his hopes. His Estate was Confiscated, but the Emperour remitted much of it, and was still inclined to spare him. And he had opportunity to use his pleasures without Controul, and with moderation to esteem his Estate happy, at which all-men repined, that being the wickedest Devil in the world, he should thus live happier than he did before. But God would not suffer his punishment to rest here, but prepared this greater scourge for him. *Eusebius* Bishop of *Cyzicum* was as harsh a man as John himself, and was accused to the Emperour by the Citizens, but having the better of it, some young men way-laid, and killed him in the *Forum*; John having great differences with this *Eusebius*, was suspected to be guilty of the fact, and some Senators being sent to inquire into it, put him in the common Prison, and stript him naked like a common Thief, who had been so powerfull a Prefect, inrolled amongst the Partritians, and had late in the Consuls Chair, than which dignity none was greater in the *Roman State*. Tearing his Back with many stripes, they forced him to reveal his own Life, of the guilt of the Murther there was no great argument, but the Justice of God made him suffer for abusing the whole world. Depriving him of all he had, they put him into a Ship naked, save that he had on one course Coat that cost not much. Those that had the charge of him, whereforever the Ship put in, made him beg his Bread, and small monies for his subsistence; and so begging all the way, was he brought to *Antinœ* in *Egypt*, where in all this Affliction he quitted not his hope of the Empire, but fell to accuse some *Alexandrians*, for Arrears to the Treasury. Thus much writes *Procopius* concerning this John, in the first Book of his *Persean History*. In the Secret we are told farther as to *Theodora*, that though she had thus got him into *Egypt*, yet would she never make an end of persecuting him, nor of suborning witneses for that purpose. In the fourth year after his Banishment, she got into her power two young men of *Cyzicum*, of the Faction of the *Præfici*, and thought to be of their Number that killed *Eusebius*. Upon these she set both by bad and good Usage, and one of them out of fear accused him of Paricide; but the other though so cruelly handled, that he was in danger of Death, refused to ly. Being therefore not able to do any thing more against John by their Testimony, she cut off both their right Hands, because one refused to bear false witness, and left her Villany should be revealed by the other, desiring to keep clost those things, which were done publicly in the *Forum*. Thus much concerning John.

30. Next our Author resumes his confused Declamation against *Justinian*, saying, the mischiefs brought by him upon Mankind, sufficiently made him appear not

Sect. 3. not a man, but a *Demon* in humane shape, as he said before. None but God himself was able to give an account of the men destroyed by him, or to assign their Number, no more than that of the Sand. Yet considering all those Countries, which he had made Desolate, and without an Inhabitant; he affirms, two hundred and ten times an hundred thousand men to have perished by his means. To make this out, he gives you that account concerning *Africk* we formerly mentioned, after the Regaining of that Province. And what extravagance he commits,

The Regnancy of that Province. And what extravagance he committed in Africa, the same he faith was he guilty of in Italy, where he spoiled all by the Imposers and Gatherers of Taxes which he sent into that Countrey. Before the Italian War, the Dominion of the Goths extended from the seats of the Galls, as far as the Borders of Dacia and the City Sirmium. But when the Roman Forces were in Italy, the Germans feized on a great part of the Gallican and Venetian Territories; and Sirmium with the adjoining Countrey, was possessed by the Gepide. All this Tract of ground, faith he, is utterly unpeopled, partly by War, partly by the Plague and other Diseases incident to Armies. Illyricum, all Thrace, together with Greece, the Chersonesus and all the Regions lying from the Bay of the Istanian Sea, as far as the Suburbs of Constantinople, after that Justinian came to the Government, were depopulated by the Incursions of Hunnes, Sclabeni and Antæ, so that I believe above two hundred thousand Romans either perished by those Irruptions, or were led away Captive, and the places appear like the Defarts of Scythia. Besidess, all this while, the Saracens in the East harassed all from Egypt, as far as the borders of Persia, so that in this space of ground men are very thin, and the slain cannot possibly be numbered. Three times have Chosroes and the Persians invaded the Empire, and made the Provinces thereof Desolate, but in the time they entred Colchos, as well the Lazians as Romans and other Nations received much Damage, for neither did the Persians, nor Saracens, nor Hunnes, nor Sclabeni, nor other Barbarians, carry home their Armies again intire as they brought them. So that not only Romans but Barbarians also, felt the effect of the bloody fury of this Emperour Justinian.

31. *Chfores* indeed, as was said in a more proper place, was a man of a naughty Disposition ; but *Julfinti* perpetually gave the occasion and kindled the Wars. For in doing busines, he never had respect to time or place, but did all things unseasonably. In the time of Peace and Truce, he would give matter of Jealousie to his Neighbours ; War being denounced, he would fall back again, and out of Covetousnes make slow Preparations. Instead of those matters proper to his Sphere, he buffered his head with things transcending his Capacity, too curiously searching and prying into the Nature of Almighty God. His Cruel and Tyrannical disposition still ingaged him in War, and his Covetousnes in preparations hindered him from succels. During his Reign therefore, the whole world as it were swam with the blood both of Barbarians and *Romans*. For not onely did the Wars procure the Destruction of Mankind, but those desperate Factions of the *Veneti* and *Praefini* which raged for two and thirty years, to the time that the Authour wrote this Treatise. Neither did the Empire shed les blood upon the account of the *Samaritans* and Hereticks, who were put to Death. Such were the mischiefs which happened to Mankind, this man or *Dæmon* being Emperour and Authour thereof. These Evils that follow, he effected by a certain secret power and Demonaical Nature, some ascribing them to the mischievous *Genius* or *Dæmon* which accompanied him, though others to the Divine Power which was angry with the *Roman* Empire. The River *Scirtus* running by the City of *Edessa*, overflowed and much indamaged the Inhabitants. The *Nile* also did much mischief to the *Egyptians*, as we have formerly related. The River *Cydnus* rose to such an height, that the City *Tarsus* continued many days in water. *Antioch* the principal City of the East, *Selencia* its Neighbour and famous *Anazarbus* in *Cilicia*, were overthrown by Earthquakes, and the Ruine and miseries of the Citizens who is able to relate ?

32. Besides, at this time *Iberia*, *Amasia* the chief City of *Pontus*, *Polybotus* in *Phrygia*, *Philomida* in *Pisidia*, *Lychnidus* in *Epirus*, and *Corinth* all populous and flourishing Cities were destroyed together with almost all their Inhabitants. Then happened that dreadful Pestilence, which consumed well nigh half of those men that out lived the former Calamities. But to speak more concerning the exactions and oppressions of *Justinian*. His Uncle, when he came to the Government, found the Treasury very full. For, *Anastasius* the most provident of all Emperours, fearing that his Successour might burthen the People, had by this supply as he thought prevented that Inconveniencie. All this did *Justinian* presently consume, partly upon fortifications of Banks and Havens, partly in gaining the friendship and Alliance

His lavishments. Alliance of the Barbarians. He wasted so much money, as it hardly could be imagined, that any the most dissolute Nephew of an Emperor could make an end of in an hundred years time. For, the Officers of the Revenue affirmed, that in the space of about twenty seven years, so long as *Anastasius* lived, were laid up in Bank, three hundred and twenty thousand pounds of Gold, of which he left not a farthing before his Uncle *Justin* Died. Now what horrid courses he took to supply the want and Debts he contracted is impossible to be related, the Wealth of his Subjects being all swallowed up by him, which he presently vomited forth upon Barbarians. Such as were Rich, he caused to be accused of feigned Crimes, as Paganism, Heresy, Sodomy, Incest, Sedition, adhering to the Faction of the *Prajnit*, or Treason, and seized on all they had.

33. There were other courses he took to get money. He invented a sort of Magistrate, which at certain Rates should give licence to sell such and such Wares. And there the People was compelled to buy, though three times dearer than formerly ; neither was there any remedy to be had for any exactions, part of the profit coming to the Emperour's Coffers, and part to the purse of the Magistrate. He set up many Monopolies. And whereas the Prefect (*a*) of the City, had anciently sole authority to examine and Judge Malefactours, he made other two Officers, that he might have more Accusations, and consequently greater opportunity of felonizing the Estates of innocent Perfons. One of these he named *Praetor* (*b*) *Plebejus*, who was to prevent and punish Roberies. The Romans called him *Praefectus vigilum*, and the Greeks *Nocerarius* *G.*, and before the time of *Justinian*, this Office was performed by the *Vicomagistris* and *Collegiati*, who had the care of the severall Regions of the City, having received their Institution from *Augustus Caesar*. The other he called *Quæstor* (not *Quætor*, as some (*c*) eminent Lawyers have mistaken it,) to whom was committed the Cognisance of Sodomy, Whoredom, Heresie and Superstition. The *Praetor* daily brought stolen Goods to the Emperour, pretending there was none that owned them. The *Quæstor* proceeded without examination of the Caufe be it what it would, and Condemned the Parties unheard, whose Estates and Fortunes were then presently confiscated to the use of *Caesar*. Thus this wicked man committed to those two, and the Prefect of the City, all Cautes without any Discrimination, commanding them to destroy as many men, and as soon as possible, and to strive who shold doe most. Being asked whose Sentence shold stand, in case the matter shold come before all three, he answered His, who shold give Judgement before his Fellows.

(c) *Antonius Augustinus ad Novel. 80. Et Cuiacius, sed ipse Justinianus rem ericinuit, Novel. 80. Vide Aleman. in Notis pag. 3. de his rebus, quas obseruat.*

*lis Cappadocia, concilii Iauria, Pratoris Pisidia, & aliorum in Novellis. Procopius ipse Belisarius fuit. Alem. \* Fortasse hoc est tributus genus illud quod iam dlm abolutum revocabat deinde Michael Poplago Imperator, de quo videntur Cedrenus ut Alemannus innuit.*

Sect. 3. into his own Coffers. † But out of this Number are to be excepted *Phocas*, and *Bassus* his Succellour, men of too good Conscience to keep their Office any confide-  
rable time.

*gesta proponit tibi Alemanni, in Nisi. p. 95. Illorum certa mitia multam & huic historiæ lucem afferat & Justiniani Constitutum, quod nonnullarum sum eis tum Justiniani falsa Inscriptiones obseruantur.*

He sold Offices  
contrary to his  
own Law.

35. So dealt he with all the Magistrates of *Constantinople*. Throughout other Cities he sold Offices and Employments to the worth of men, and having received his money, delivered into their hands the Provinces to be handled at their pleasure. They stood in no fear of the Laws, but hoped to get greater Glory by the Immunity of their Slaughters and Rapines. He had made a Law, that Magistrates when they entered their Offices or Provinces, should take an Oath that they would not be Rapacious, nor give nor take any thing for, or by virtue of, their Places, who so did they used great Imprecations against them. But scarcely had one year passed from the making of this Law, but he forgetting, at least neglecting both his own Decree, the Imprecations and all Modesty, not obscurely, but openly in the *Forum*, and with the greatest Impudence imaginable, sold Dignities, to such as with greater licentiousness than ever offered money for them, not considering how they could dispense with the Oath. The Law here mentioned by this Writer is his eighth Novel, in publishing whereof he much applauds himself, ordering it to be expoed to view in the Feast of *Easter*, as a most grateful object of the People's Eyes, and to be cut in stone to remain in the Walks of the Churches, as a perpetual monument. The Copy of it he will have kept amongst the Vestments of Churches, and excites all People to give thanks for it to Almighty God, adding a *lxx* roof of his Predecessors, for their solicitude about money in this Affair; whereas *Theodosius* made a Law concerning this very matter, and so did *Marijanus* as some do testify, and *Anasafius* also practised the very same thing, conferring their Offices *gratis* which had been formerly wont to be expoed to Sale. *Thedodus Lc.  
vnde. Vide Alemans.  
qui sapit.*

But as for the Oath, the forme of it is exprefed in the said Novel concluding thus:

*Which if I do not observe, may I receive both here and hereafter, the terrible Judgment of the Great Lord God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, and let me have part with Judas, the Leprofe of Giezi and the trembling of Cain.*

Hires men to  
execute Offices.

36. Another thing *Justinian* devised, which is almost impossible to be believed. He grew weary of selling the chieft Officers about *Constantinople* and other places, and hired certain Fellows to discharge them, who received certain wages, all the Profits should redound to the Emperour. This he held as his greatest Maxim, to confer Offices on as great Knaves as himself, and so it happened, that seldom or never came better, but those that succeeded were far worse than their Predecessours. It often happened, that the *Hunnes* invading the *Roman* Territories, instead of being beaten back as they easily might have been, were Courted and sent away with rich presents, and the Title of Allies, befores the Booty they had gotten; and such Countrymen as could not endure to fee their Goods taken away, and their Wives and Children led Captives, but pursued them, and feized upon their Carriage-Beasts, that they might have wherewithal to redeem their own, were cruelly beaten and wounded, and constrained to make Restitution to the Barbarians of what they had taken from them. After the fall of *John the Cappadocian*, *Justinian* and *Theodosia* were at a los to find a man fit enough for their purpose to succeed him, and in the mean time employed (a) *Theodosius* who was none of the best, but not so bad as fully to comply with their humour. At last, having in their thoughts observed all men, and searched all Corners, they met with one (b) *Peter a Syrian* by birth, surnamed *Barsanes the Numularius*, who sitting at the Recet of money, often by the lightness of his Fingers, cheated the Collectours at their Payments, and that with such Industry and Impudence, that he would face them down, and outwear them when he was caught, and boldly ascribe it as an accident to a mistake, excusing the fault of his Fingers, by more than a flip of his Tongue. But the Ladder by which he ascended to this Dignity, was his egregious flattery of *Theodosia*, and being her Instrument in the execution of her wicked Designs.

*plurima Justiniani Rescripta habemus. Bit Prefectum Praetorio, bis Comitem largitionem suisse diversi Novellarum tituli demonstrant. Pla-  
feturam Xvarri cum administratissimo paulo post Procopius commemorat. Viteorem Ecclesiam Sancti Perri adscivit ut ex gratiis, C. P. decr  
Alem. p. 57.*

Peter a knavish  
Prefect.

37. For a proof of his future deportment, he endeavoured to defraud the Soldiers of their Pay, and more shamefully than ever, exposed the places of Trust and Dignity to Sale, abating someting in the price to thole who would undertake any impious

impious or unconfinable Employment. To the Lust of these Creatures he exposed the Lives and Fortunes of the Provincialis, and the Bargain being once made, they were sent down under the Name of Collectours, to tear in pieces the Bowels of the poor People, and to rage with implacable cruelty against them, that they might have wherewithal first to reimburse themselves, and then to spend upon their Lufts, or heap up Treasure for the occasions of *Cesar*, when he should be pleased to call. But, not only he, but the Prefects before him, and all other Officers under this Tyrant, employed under them the greatest Knaves they could procure. It hapned that the greatest part of the Corn that was brought to *Constantinople*, was putrifid and naught; yet this did he compell the Cities of the *East* to purchase at dearer rates than they were wont to buy that which was good, and the Citizens having it delivered, after the payment of their Money, cast it either into the Sea, or the Sinks and Channels. That which was good, and kept up in great quantities at *Constantinople*, he sold to such places as were in want, for double the Tribute which was imposed upon the Corn Countries. When a lesser Fleet than usual arrived, he caused Corn to be brought by the Husbandmen themselves out of *Bibylonia*, *Pbyrgia* and *Thrace*, and constrained them to accept so mean and inconfiderable prices, that they had better have given away the Corn, and paid double as much as it was worth to boot. This burthen was known by the Name of *Annona*. But so much Corn as this way was imported, not answering the Necessities of the City, great Complaints were made to the Emperour against *Peter*, and he purposed to deprive him of his Office, and more, understanding that he was grown very wealthy; till *Theodora*, his Wife, took him off, being exceedingly enamoured of *Peter* for his Charms and magical Tricks, whereby, as was reported, she wrought more upon *Justinian*, than by any other means. And he was very easie thus to be wrought upon, for Reasons formerly mentioned, which this Author here again repeats, to the trouble and dilate of his Reader, who cannot but be wearied with his endless Tautologies, and confused Allegations.

38. Yet did the Emperour at length, and with much difficulty, remove *Peter* from his Pretorian Prefecture; but then set him over the Treasury, through the importunity of *Theodora*, having put out of that Employment one *John*, a Man of great Integrity, whom the People much esteemed upon this account. *Peter* being placed in his new Power, caused as much mischief as ever, making away the Money which was affigned to many uses, so that those concerned in it were ready to starve, which, so long as the Prince had what belonged to him, and the Treasurer could but fill his own Coffers, was never regarded. The Coin also he caused to be made less than formerly. Farther, whereas it was a very ancient Custome for the Emperours to remit the small Remainders of publick Taxes, left such as were not able to pay, should be oppressed, and opportunity given to the Collectours to ext

It is removed,  
and set over the  
Treasury.

*Justinian never  
remis Arrears.*

act more than was due. *Justinian*, in the space of thirty two years, never vouchsafed his Subjects such a grace and favour, which, as it destroyed the poor, so such as were as yet able to pay, being never at rest, and not so much grieving to pay new Levies, as fearing to be unjuifly persecuted for pretended Arrears of vast long continuance, chose rather to forfayke their Grounds. Notwithstanding all the Havock that was made in a great part of *Aya*, by the *Perfians* and *Saracens*, and in *Europe*, by the Inrodes of the *Hunnes*, *Sclabeni*, and the *Gotick* War, the Inhabitants being reduced to the greatest extremity, yet wold he remit nothing to them of the ancient Imposicions, except to those that dwelt in Cities taken by the Enemy, and that but onely for a year.

39. And yet had he, as *Anasafius* formerly did (he means to the Citizens of *Amida*) remitted all publick paymens for seven years, he had done little in respect of the great Calamities they underwent; for *Cabades* retired, leaving Housies, and Churches, and all standing and intire, whereas *Chofrees* wasted all before him with Fire and Sword. But the miserable People found *Justinian* worse than the Barbarians themselves; for no sooner was the Enemy gone, but he would come with his *Annona*, and his Decrees of Imposicions and Taxes, after this manner. The Possessours of Lands were, according to their proportion, to find Provitions for the *Roman* Soul-diers at a certain Rate, and such as had not of their own, both for Man and Horfe, were forced to buy, and fetch out of other Countries, and satife the Options, (Officers of the Army so called) who often were very unreasonableness in their exactions: This was the *Annona*. This Imposition was a sudden and unexpected Plague,

*De Optiniibus ex-  
ercitu vnde Re-  
gnerat ab 130. D.  
Optiniibus Rijeti,  
Optiniibus Rijeti,*

*bit ab Optiniibus Domesticis quorum ex Procopii, lib. 1. Belli Vandali, antea mentionem fecimus. Optiniibus qui Annonam militibus erga-*

He imposed the  
*Annona*.

Sect. 3. falling on the Possessours of Lands, whom it deprived utterly, as it were, of all hope of Life. For on the grounds whose Owners or Tillers were slain, or had fled their Countrey, and now were desolate, and over-grown with Weeds, *Justinian* was so mercittfull as to lay it. The Descriptions or Taxes were laid also upon the Countrey, for repairing those Cities that were spoiled or wafted by the accidents of War, the Causes and Events whereof, our Authour tells us, it would be infinite in this place to describe. But the mischief staid not here. For the Pestilence having confounded the Husbandmen, and Owners of the Lands which lay untillied and out of order, the Tax thereto belonging was exacted of the next Neighbours, who were also forced to lodge and entertain the Souldier in the best Rooms and Appartments they had, while they themselves must be content to thrust their Heads into any hole or corner.

40. But forasmuch as mention is made of Houses and Lodgings, our Author esteemeth it a thing not to be past by silence, that sometimes no fewer than Seventy Thousand Barbarians have been quartered at *Constantinople*, in receiving and lodging of whom the Citizens have been extraordinarily straitened. Neither is to be past over what *Justinian* did against Souldiers. He set over them certain Officers, named *Censtores*, or, as in Greek they called them, *Logothete*, who were empowered to fleece them of as much Money as possible, of which, for their pains, they were to have the twelfth part. And whereas by Customs, and the Laws of the Camp, all Souldiers had not equal pay, but those newly lifted had less, those of a middle standing more, and the *Peterani*, or old Souldiers, greatest of all, that after their Millions they might have someting to live on, and reap some fruit of all their labours, now it was so ordered, that when the *Emeriti* went out, others that were next them did not succeed, nor were admitted to their Privileges, as the manner had been; but the *Censtores* forbade the Names of such as were slain to be omitted in the Roll, or any new Rolls to be made. Hence it came to pass that the Armies were exceedingly lessened, and the Souldiers utterly discouraged, the Emperour treasuring up that Money, which they of course ought to have received as an augmentation of their Wages. Several other ways were the Military Men injured, and reduced to that meanness, that the Name of *Grecian* became dishonourable, as if *Greece* brought not forth any stout or valiant Man. Here by *Greeks* he seems to mean all that spoke that Language. And the Reader may take notice, that now in *Justinian's* time the *Roman Empire* began to be called the Empire of the *Greeks* by the *Romans* themselves, who abominated at, and disdained the Domination and Pride of that People.

41. Some Soldiers were caitifed, as being lifted without any order from the Prince, the Commissions of others were fad to be counterfeit, others were blamed for being from their colours, and certain Searchers were sent into all the Provinces, to see what Soldiers were unfit for War. Some Aged Men, who deserved good rewards for all their time and strength spent in service, were turned out, and forced to beg their Bread openly in the *Forums* of Religious Persons, affording a lamentable Spectacle to all that passed by. Others, to save themselves, were constrained to bribe the Searchers, and so was the Souldier weakened, and destitute of Necessaries, and so much aliened in his Mind from his Employment, that the *Roman* Affairs generally all over, but especially in Italy, were much indamaged. *Alexander*, whom we fad formerly to have been nicknamed *Forcibus*, being the great Instrument of this Oppression, laid many frivolous things to the charge of the Soldiers in Italy, and the Inhabitants themselves he fleeced of great store of Wealth, under pretence of revenging the Injuries offered by *Theodoric* and the *Goths*. In times past the Emperours were wont to place certain Bands and Companies of Soldiers upon the Frontiers and Limits, who were thence called *Limitanei*, especially in the Eastern parts, to prevent the Inroads of the *Perfians* and *Saracens*. These *Justinian* presently so slighted, and neglected, that their four or five years pay was shuffled off by the Questors, and whereas during the Truce betwixt the *Romans* and *Perfians*, they ought to have enjoyed the benefit of the Ceflation, with their whole Wages, *Justinian* most injuriously disbandied them, by the same Fact exposing the Souldiers to penury and begging, and the Frontiers to the insolence of Invaders.

## CHAP. II. *The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire.* Justinian.

Men, in duty, and were wont to be chosen out of the most ancient and stout Soulriers of the *Armenians*. But in the time of *Zeno*, any one was in a capacity to compass this Employment, even Scullions themselves, if they brought but money. When *Justin* was Emperor, *Justinian* his Nephew, for great summs of Money paid him, filled up the Rolls, and to the former number added almost Two thousand more, who were called *Supernumeraries*. These, as soon as he came to the Government, he disbanded, every one, and kept their Money to himself.

As also the Pro-tectors and Do-mesticks.

42. When there was an Expedition to be made into *Africk*, *Italy* or *Perſia*, orders were given out to these Men, though utterly unfit, to march as well as to others. They then muſt buy off their Service, and be content to be fleeced by *Peter*, the *Magiſter Officiorum*, and the Murtherer of *Amalafuntha*, a Man of a mild and calm temper, but to be reckoned with the inferior sort of covetous and rapacious Perſons. In the Emperor's Court there were other Soulđiers, as they were termed, of an higher Rank, who purchaſing their places at a greater rate, had answeraſly greater Salaries allowed them. These they called *Protec̄tors*, and *Do-mesticks*, having no ſkill in matters belonging to War, but ferving to fet out the grandeur of the Palace; ſome of them lay in *Confantinople*, and others quartered in *Galatia*, or other Provinces. By the fame tricks *Justinian* frightened them, and made them quit their pretensions to their ſtipends. There was an ancient and moſt certain Law and Cufomme, that every five Years the Emperours ſhould give a Donative to the Soulđiers, for which purpoſe every fifth Year the Queſtors were ſent about, and paid to every Man five golden Staters. But after *Justinian* came to the Government, he quite aboliſhed the Cufomme, inſomuch, that in the thirty ſecond Year of his Reign, the time when *Procopius* is pretended to have written this Secret History, it was almoſt quite forgotten. Farther, whereauſe in all Employments, either under the Prince or Magiſtrates, Men arole by degrees, and ſucceeded each other, till thoſe that formerly were of the loweft, at length arrived at the highest Rank, and ſuch as were come to this pitch of Honour, had large allowance, as a reward of their former diligence, amounting to above Ten thouſand pounds of Gold yearly; he took this allowance away, reducing them to want and miferу, as he did all other mortals. So did this Tyrant vex and diſquiet theſe sorts of Men. Now I come to ſhew, what our Author, what he did againſt Merchants, Mariners, Artiſfers, Men relating to the Law, and other sorts of People.

43. There are two Straits lying upon each shore of *Constantinople*, the one of the *Hellepont*, betwixt *Selus* and *Abydos*, and the other at the mouth of the *Euxine* Sea, where there stood a Church, consecrated to the Mother of God. In the *Hellepont* the Emperours permitted no Publicans to receive Toll or Custome, but had their *Praetor* at *Abydos*, who watched all Merchandise carried into the Port of *Byzantium*, and such as fel fail thence without licence of the Officer appointed to grant Pas-ports. This *Praetor* could not demand any thing of the Mariners. But *Justinian* placed Publicans upon both the Straits, and two hired Officers, who were commanded to have a strict Watch, and raise as much money as possibly they could by way of Custome. At the Haven of *Constantinople* he appointed a certain *Syrian*, called *Addæus*, one of his Creatures, to raise as much as he could out of imported Wares, and he permitted not such as came in to return out of the Haven, but constrained the Mariners either to carry goods into *Italy* or *Africk*, or pay for the freights to others, that were hired, which burthen some, that they might flun, set fire to their Vessels, and went their ways. Merchants by this means were constrained to pay three times as much as usual for Transportation of their goods, and to make themselves favers, raised the prices of every Commodity, so that it became a publick grievance and a burthen to all the People.

*Hoc dictum est ab omnibus patre Scriptoribus Ecclæsiasticis Tertio saeculo Christi, de quo nonnulli inter Grecos minime convenit. Vide Alemann. ad Precep. Arcan. Hisp. p. 15.*

44. Formerly the *Nomularii*, or Money-Changers, were wont for every Stater of Gold to give two hundred and ten *Oboli* or *Pholes*. But *Justinian* conceiving it would make for his profit, brought down the Exchange to an hundred and eighty, so that the subject lost the sixth part of the value of every golden Stater. Having laid a Monopoly upon every thing but wearing Apparel, at last he devised a way to reduce such as dealt therein to an equal condition with their fellows. In times past the Manufacture of Silks was confined to two Cities of *Phoenicia*, *Berytus* and *Tyre*, whence they were transported all the World over. Now the Merchants at *Byzantium*, and other Cities, who traded in this Commodity, raised the price, pretending that they paid more than formerly had been usual in *Persia*, and were burthened with the tenth part in the *Roman Territories*. He therefore made a Law, that a pound of Silk should be sold for eight *Aurei*, under pain of Confiscation of Goods, to any one that should offend against it; which burthen the Mer-

Sect. 3.

How he oppref-  
fed Merchants.

Men,

Sect. 3. chants not able, or not willing, to bear, gave over the Trade, and what remained of their Wares, passed away privately, and by stealth; of which *Theodora* getting an inkling, made them pay her down an hundred pounds of Gold, and besides that, to lose their Goods. Afterward this Manufacture was assigned to *Peter Barsama*, the Emperour's Treasurer, who exercised all Villany in this, as other things under his Hands. All other Artificers, but such as he constrained to work for himself, he plagued by execution of the lately mentioned Law. And not by stealth or privately, but publickly, in the *Forum*, did he sell an ounce of that Silk, which was dyed with a more ordinary colour, for six *Aurei*, and that which had the Royal dye, which they called *Holoverum*, for above four and twenty, whereby he got great Wealth for the Emperour, and more for himself.

45. By this means multitudes were undone, and all the Artificers of *Tyre* and *Berytus*, who had lived upon this Manufacture, were either compelled to starve, or to beg their Bread; and some of them fled into *Perfa*. Here it will not be amiss to add what *Alemanus* hinteth, that Silk had been much dearer in former times, than when it was thus sold by *Peter*. For, as *Vopiscus* writes in the Life of *Aurelian*, Gold and Silk, in the days of that Emperour, were exchanged weight for weight, (as was once *Verina* Tobacco here for Silver) *viz.* a pound for a pound, *ολεμπερος τη μετα τη χρυσην*.

*Ego Holoverum  
tinbara Serici  
by color est non  
Sericum, ut ad  
hanc diem multi  
exstiterunt inca-  
piti, etiamq[ue] attonitus  
id offere conat-  
funt, inquit Al-  
emannus.*

As by this means multitudes were undone, and all the Artificers of *Tyre* and *Berytus*, who had lived upon this Manufacture, were either compelled to starve, or to beg their Bread; and some of them fled into *Perfa*. Here it will not be amiss to add what *Alemanus* hinteth, that Silk had been much dearer in former times, than when it was thus sold by *Peter*. For, as *Vopiscus* writes in the Life of *Aurelian*, Gold and Silk, in the days of that Emperour, were exchanged weight for weight, (as was once *Verina* Tobacco here for Silver) *viz.* a pound for a pound, *ολεμπερος τη μετα τη χρυσην*.

46. Next our Authour comes to shew how *Justinian* endeavoured the subversion of Advocates, Physicians, and others, professing the liberal Sciences; and for proof alledges what we have formerly said of this Subject. The publicke Monies of any City or Town, which the Inhabitants, out of good Husbandry had laid up, either for publick payments, or their Recreations, he feared not to seize on, so that all stipends of Physicians and Schoolmasters ceased, no care was had of publicke Buildings, no lights were set out in the Streets, and no Merriments, or innocent Divertisements, were now to be thought of; and as for Stage-plays, those of the *Circus*, and Huntingts, amongst which exerciseth *Theodora*, his Wife, had been born and bred, they were utterly laid aside. At *Constantinople* he would have all *Spectacula* to be left off, that he might spare Money, to the undoing of an infinite multitude that had their livelihood out of them. Therefore, saith he, all Men now are in fadness, no appearance of any mirth or chearfulness, either publickly or privately; Neighbours and Friends, when they meet, relating only their Miseries and Calamities, and some Disaster or other which has lately hapned. Every Year there were wont to be two Consuls created, one at *Rome*, the other at *Constantinople*, who were wont to spend each of them above two thousand Pounds of Gold, not of their own, but most bestowed on them by the Emperour. This was laid out upon Shews and poor People, but especially upon Stage-Players, and very much enriched the Cities; but since *Justinian* became Emperour, there is no time determined for these things,

How others pro-  
fessing Sciences

one keeps the Consulship a long time, and there is hardly any such thing to be seen as the *Comitia Consularia*. Now whereas this Authour faith, that every year two Consuls were created, this is to be understood ordinarily, and in course, for often, as we have before hinted, a Consul has been in the East, and in the West, without a Collegue. And this moreover is observable, that the Epistles of the Ancients, and other publick Monuments, are usually signed with the Name but of one Consul, in these years wherein two were created, as appears manifestly from the *Festis*; the reason is this; because some considerable space was required to have their Names communicated through the Empire, and in the mean time the Provincials made use of his that first came to their knowledge, as they inhabited nearer to *Rome* or *Constantinople*. In the publick Tables mention was made of him whose Name they knew not, in this manner; *Marcianus*, and *he that shall hereafter be declared, being Consul*.

47. Upon the very Bread which the poor People and Cripes were compelled to buy, *Justinian* laid such an Impost, to the value of three *Centenaries* of Gold, that the Sellers made it almost all of Chaff, or Bran at the best; to so great impiety and fondness did his covetous Humour descend. The Officers herein employed got vast Wealth, and brought a kind of Famine upon the Poor; for it was not lawfull any otherwise to provide themselves, but all their Bread they must buy after this manner. The Watercourses were so broken, that the Inhabitants could not be supplied, and many were every day slain at the Fountains in a contention to get Water, yet was no care taken to repair the Pipes, and all for saving of Money. The Baths were also flopt up, and yet could the Emperour, in the suburbs, lay out a vast deal of Treasure on the Houses seated towards the Sea side, as if that Court were not good enough for him and his Wife, which had given so great contentment to the former Princes. But not only at *Constantinople* did he thus afflict the Poor, who ate nothing but Bread, and drank nothing but Water onely. His cruelty reached those that lived in other Countries. *Theodosius* having conquered Italy, that forme remains of an Empire might appear at *Rome*, maintained in pay the Pretorian Companies, which were very numerous, as those of the *Silentiarii*, *Domestici* and *Scholarii*, who, if they enjoyed nothing else, to be sure had the privilege of Souldiers, and the *Annona*, or Provisions, which he permitted to descend to their Children, and Children's Children. And to the Poor that lived near St. Peter's Church, he yearly gave out of the publick three thousand *Medianii* of Wheat; all which *Alexander Forcicula* took away, and for that was much commended and esteemed by *Justinian*.

48. At *Thermopylae*, the Greeks that lived thereabout kept a constan Garrifon, and for fear the Barbarians shoud make Inroads into *Peloponnesus*, kept watch by their turns, at the Wall built on the top of the Mountains. *Alexander*, as though he took especial care for the Affairs of the *Peloponnesians*, affirmed there was no trusing to the Fortresses maintained by Courteymen, and placed there two thousand Souldiers, to be maintained by the several Citics of *Hellas*, the publick Revenues of which, under pretence of maintaining Garrifon-Souldiers, he brought into the Treasury; and by these means it came to pass that neither in *Hellas*, nor at *Athens*, were there any publick Buildings, or any publick conveniences of Corporations regarded; and so were matters ordered by *Alexander Forcicula*, to the great contentment of *Justinian* and his Wife. Things went as ill with the Poor of *Alexandria*, amongst the Advocates of which was one *Hephaestus*, who, being promoted to the Government of the place, appealed indeed Tumults in the City, but being more savage and cruel than the feditious themselves in effect, brought the Citizens into all sorte of Calamities. For by Monopoly exercised by himself, he hindred all others from trading, and set what rates he pleased upon all Commodities, as he did upon all Corn transpored from *Egypt*, having obtained the like privilege as to that Country. *Justinian* perceiving the Inhabitants took these oppresions with moderate Patience, resolved to lay on as much burthen as they would carry, and more highly esteemed his formerly beloved *Hephaestus*, who, to bind him more firmly to him, devised yet another way to gratifie his Humour. The Emperour *Dioctrian* ordained, that a great quantity of Corn should be yearly given by the People of *Alexandria* to the Poor, which Custome had continued down unto this time. Of this Corn *Hephaestus* brought twenty hundred thousand *Medianii* into the publick Granaries, witing to the Emperour, that the *Alexandrians* managed the busines neither according to Justice nor Discretion. *Justinian* readily confirmed what he had done, and was mightily pleased with a Minister so proper for his turn.

*Festis intelligi:  
de Adrianis a-  
quadatu, quem  
in iugio sit Imperi  
Julianum re-  
surreverat. Sic  
spinatur Alem.*

Sect. 3. 49. But so numerous were the wicked Actions of *Justinian*, that to recount them no time would be sufficient, but out of many I will gather a few Instances, faith our Author, from which it may evidently appear to Posterity, what an egregious Dissembler he was, how prone to despise Almighty God, the Priests, the Laws and the People, how Loyal lover, having neither respect to Modesty, to the good of the Commonwealth, nor at all regarding to colour his wickedness by any specious pretences, but only intent how to scavenge up Money, and pillage the whole Roman World. The Reader is to know, that he made one *Paul* Bishop of *Alexandria*, one *Rhodo*, a *Phoenician*, being at that time Prefect of the City, to whom he wrote, that upon all occasions he should give assistance to *Paul*, by whose means he hoped to bring the Primates of that Country to establish the *Chalcedonian Council*. There was a certain *Phoenician*, *Arfenus* by name, of a most wicked disposition, but a great confidant of *Theodora*, the Empress, by whose countenance he rose to *Sytopolis* *Christians* *in* *conditio* *intere* *cum* *Hyp* *am* *narr* *Cyril* *opus* *Arfenus* *par* *Arfenus* *per* *tum* *full* *que* *dam* *Syphaxum*. *Alem.*

Particular stories.

He scrapes up Money.

50. But *Paul* coming to *Alexandria*, procured *Rhodo* the Prefect to kill *Pseüs* a Deacon, alledging that he was the only man, that hindred him in the Execution of the Emperour's commands; and by frequent Letters indeed *Justinian* commanded him to be beaten, the Torments of which Nature not able to bear he dyed under the Lash. Yet when the thing was noised abroad, *Justinian* being earnestly moved so to doe by his Wife, laid all the Load upon *Paul*, *Rhodo*, and *Arfenus*, and constituting *Liberius* a Patriarch of *Rome*, his *Prefectus Augustalis* sent several Prelates down to *Alexandria* to inquire into the Fact, amongt whom went *Pelagius* Archdeacon of the *Roman Church*, who reprented the Bishop. *Paul* being convicted of Murther was deprived. *Rhodo* flying to *Constantinople* was there by the Emperour's Command put to Death, and his Goods were sold, notwithstanding he produced no fewer than thirteen of *Justinian's* Letters, wherein he was again and again with all possible importunity, urged to follow and fully obey the Orders of *Paul*, without the least Contradiction, as one who had certain Precepts to pursue in point of Religion. *Arfenus* at the command of *Theodora*, was by *Liberius* his Order nailed to a Crost, and her Husband feized on his Estate, pretending no other reason than that he had been intimately acquainted with him. But here was the jest: It was not long e'er *Paul* came to *Constantinople* to Petition the Emperour, and offered seven hundred pounds of Gold to be restored to his Office, of which as he said, he had been unjustly deprived. *Justinian* took his Money, entertained him with great Respect, and promised to restore him to his See, though it was already full; and he had lately so severely punished his Complices and Associates in the Murther. He busied his Head so much about it, that every one expected when it would be done; but *Vigilius* Bishop of *Rome*, hapning at this time to be at *Constantinople*, flatly refused herein to comply with him, or to reverse that Sentence which he had given by *Pelagius*. But thus was *Justinian* intent upon his Grand design, of scaving up Money.

51. Another thing gave as ample Demonstration, which he Practiced toward one *Faustinus*, who though a *Samaritan* dissembled his Religion, and accommodated himself to that of the times. Being chosen into the Senate, he also obtained the Honour and Employment of *Preconsul*, which once past, he was accused at *Constantinople* by certain Clergy-men, of being secretly a *Samaritan*, and of Cruelty and Impiety exercised against the *Christians*, that had been subject to his Jurisdiction. The Emperour was wonderfully concerned, that the Cause of Christianity should suffer during his Government, and the matter was brought before the Senate, where

Sect. 3. whereat the instance of *Cæsar* he was banished. But see the Ingenuity, and Piety of the Prince. *Justinian* corrupted with a great sum of Money (as much as he would ask) refinds the Judgment given in Senate, and *Faustinus* maintains himself in his accustomed Port, frequents the Court, manages the Affairs of the Emperour in *Palestine* and *Phœnicia* without Controll, and according to his own Lust and Pleasure. Thus much in short faith our Author, to give the Reader to understand how *Justinian* at his Pleasure broke the Sanctions or Canons of Christians: As for his rescinding of Laws, out of no other Consideration than for filthy lucre; I come now to declare it, in as few words. There was one *Priscus* amongst the *Ememni*, exceedingly dextrous in Counterfeiting another Man's hand. And this must also be remembered, that many years before one *Mammianus* a man of Patriotic Dignity, of great Nobility, and as great Riches, had made the Church of the said *Ememni* his Heir.

He refinds Ecclesiastical and Canonicals at Pleasure.

52. Afterward when *Justinian* came to the Empire, it hapned that this *Priscus* being to take a Roll of all the Families in that City, observed well such as were Wealthy amongst them, and in those noting their Ancestours, he counterfeited many Bills, as written with their own Hands, whereby they acknowledged that *Mammianus* had deposited very much Money with them. By this means he scraped together no less than an hundred Centenaries, or ten thousand pounds of Gold; but here was not all. He so counterfeited the Hand of a certain publick Notary of great Repute, and as great deserf, who had been wont in the days of *Mammianus* to draw Instruments for the Citizens, that he delivered those pretended Bonds, into the hands of the Solicitors of the Church, who had bargained with him for part of the Money to be received. But the thing could not take by reason of that Law, which confined all Actions within the Prescription of thirty Years; and as for the *Hypothecarii* and certain others, it barred them by an Exception which pleaded above forty Years continuall. Prefred with this Insuperable difficulty, they go to *Constantinople*; they get Admission to the Emperour, whose Authority alone could surmount it, and Presenting him with a great sum of Gold, beg he would be their Friend, and stand by them in their busines. He takes the Money, and presently makes a new Law, whereby he enlarges the time of prosecuting Actions in Church matters, to the term of one hundred Years; not only at *Emesa*, but throughout the whole Empire. This being as the Author relates it, we see the occasion of the Centenary Prescription granted by him to Churches; and hence it appears, that it was not only granted to the Church of *Rome*, as some would gather from his ninth Novel, but to all others dispersed through the *Roman State*.

53. According to the Tenour of the new Law, he sends one *Longinus* an Industrious man, and one of a strong Constitution to act at *Emesa*, before whom the Procuratours accuse the *Ememnians*, by the feigned Bonds of owing no less than two hundred pounds of Gold; and being not able to trace the Truth in so large and dark a space of time, they were presently Condemned. Most of the Citizens were like to be utterly undone by this Course of proceeding, when it pleased Almighty God by his Providence to moderate it. *Longinus* commands *Priscus*: the Inventour of this Mischief to bring all his Papers to him, which when he refud to doe, he gave him so sound a blow on the Ear, that the man fell down, and in great Fear and Astonishment, thinking that *Longinus* had smelt out his Villany, confessed the whole Cheat, and so a stop was put to their Proceedings. But this we must add to this Relation; that *Justinian* ashamed it seems of his Centenary Prescription, and having it beaten often into his Ears, that the great distane of time exceeding the Age of man rendered it impossible, again revoked it; of which it's a wonder our Author should take no notice. But possibly the Emperour might retract his former Edict, after the two and thirtieth year of his Reign, beyond which the secret History doth not extend.

54. Not only did *Justinian* handle, almost every day, the *Roman Laws* in this manner, but indeavoured also to destroy those which the Hebrews imbrace and Reverence. For in Cafe their Passover happened before the *Christian-Easter*, they were not suffered to perform the Ceremonies at their due and usual time. And most of them were grievously fined for eating Lambs flesh at that time, contrary to the usual Practice, and the Christian Canons. From these Instances, our Historian conceives he hath sufficiently proved the Emperour's naughty disposition; and having now almost tired himself, he talkes of making an end, after he shall have but a little shewn his Craft and Disimulation. But here before we go any farther, we shall add what *Alemannus* hints to us, out of *Theophanes* touching this matter of Changing days, that not only did *Justinian* deal thus with the *Jews*, but

Sect. 3. but with Christians also in the Celebration of *Easter*. For in the nineteenth year of his Reign, the People began to abstain from Flesh on the fourth day of *February*, But the Emperour commanded that Flesh should be eaten another Week, and accordingly the Butchers killed and exposed it to sale, but no Body either bought or tasted it. Yet *Easter* was begun as the Emperour commanded, and the People fasted one Week superfluously. Now for Prosecution of the Argument of *Dissimulation*, we are to know, that *Justinian* put *Liberius* the Patritian lately mentioned out of his Government, which he bestowed upon *John* an *Egyptian*, surnamed *Laxarion*. This being known by *Pelagius*, who was a great Friend of *Liberius*, he desires to be satisfied of the Emperour, if the Report concerning *Laxarion* were true? He utterly denies it, and gives his Letters into the Hands of *Pelagius*, whereby was confirmed to *Liberius* his former Charge, and affirms he had no Intention at present to displace him.

55. But at this time refused at *Constantinople*, one *Eudæmon* the Uncle of *John*, a man of Conſular Dignity, very Wealthy and *Cæſar's* Steward, who hearing what had lately paſſed betwixt the Emperor and *Pelagius*, demanded of him whether he continued firm in his Reſolution as to his Nephew's preferment. *Juſtinian* diſembling what he had written to *Liberius*, ſends alſo his Letters to *John*, bidding him to look to his Charge and mind his buſineſſes, for he had nothing otherwife determined concerning him. Hereupon *John* commands *Liberius* as a man out of Office, to remove himself out of the Palace, which he denied, ſhewing alſo his Commission from *Cæſar*. They both arm and fight: Many are slain on both ſides, and *John* falls amongst the reſt. Then doth *Eudæmon* importune the Emperor that *Liberius* may be summoned to give Account of his Nephew's death, which is accordingly done, and the matter being brought before the Senate, he is abſolved, as having done what neceſſity conſtrained, and in his own defence; but the Emperor would not acquit him, till he had fleeced him of a round ſum of Money, to great a Patron was he of Truth and Friendſhip. But it happened that not long after, *Eudæmon* dies Intelleſte, leaving a numerouſe kindred behind him, and much about the fame time, *Euphrates* chief of the *Palatine* Eunuchs, leaving alſo a great Eſtate, and a Nephew by his Sister; but no Testamēnt. Of both theſe *Juſtinian* makes himſelf Heir, not beſtowing one Farthing on thoſe, whom the Laws called to the Succession. In like manner did he deal with the Relations of *Irenæus*, who was dead long before.

56. About the same time, *Anatolius* chief of the Senatours of *Acalon* married his Daughter to *Mammilianus* the most Noble of all the *Cæsareans*. There was an Ancient Law, that when the Senatours of any City died without Issue-male, the fourth part of their Estate shoud come to the Senate, and the rest be enjoyed by their Heirs: Now *Justinian* makes a Law quite contrary, that in such a Case their Heirs shoud have but a fourth part, and all the rest shoud remain to the Senate and publick Treasury, although it never had been formerly known, that any Goods of the Senatours came either into the publick Treasury, or that of *Cæsar*. But such being now the Law, *Anatolius* dies and his Daughter pays what wasdue by the late Law to the Treasury and the Senate, receiving Discharges both from the Emperour and the Senate of *Acalon*. At length *Mammilianus* dies too and leaves a Daughter, which being married to a Noble-man, dies also at length without Issue, leaving her Mother alive. *Justinian* preferently seizes on all they left, openly saying, that by no means the Daughter of *Anatolius* being now grown old, ought to enjoy the Fortunes of her Father and Husband: Only to keep her from begging or starving, he allowed her for her Life a Golden stater a day, adding this in the Instrument of this Rapine; We bestowed on her this Statere, out of our innate Piety and Clemency, for by our Actions it is our Custome, to express the Holy and Pious disposition of our mind. This is enough, faith our Authour, more would be Irksome; but I believe it impossible for any man to remember all.

57. Yet he cannot make an end, but conceives it material to add that in Respect to his Covetousnes, the very Faction of the *Venetis*, however addicted to him, were very little regarded. *Maltbanes* a *Cilician*, Son-in-Law to *Leo*, a Referendary formerly mentioned, was sent into *Cilicia*, to Compose all Seditions arising in that Countrey. Taking advantage of the time, he handles unmercifully very many *Cilicians*, and some of the Money he Charges upon the Tyrant; another part he himself doth own. All others bore the mischief as Perfons constrained so to doe: Only such as were of the Faction, of the *Venetis* at *Tarsus*, hoping well from the Assitance of the Emprefs, openly reviled *Maltbanes* in the *Forum*. He having notice of it, gathers together a band of Men, and coming to *Tarsus*

*Tarsus* by Night, sends his Souldiers by break of day to plunder the Town. The Sect. 3. *Veneti* looking upon it no otherwise than as the Invasion of an Enemy, now one flood upon his Guard, and in the dark many being killed, amongst the rest fell *Damianus* a Senatour, and chief of the Faction of the *Veneti* at *Tarsus*. The News of his Death no sooner came to *Constantinople*, but the *Veneti* began to make disturbance throughout the City, and heavily to Rail at *Leo* and *Maltbhanes*, whom they loaded with all Indignities and Threats, which Words could not but offend the Emperor; pretending to be very much displeased, with what was laid to the Charge of *Maltbhanes*, by an Edict commanded Inquisition to be made. But *Leo* by a vast sum of Money extinguished both the violence of the Edict, and the Emperor's Good Will toward the *Veneti*; who having given Order, that the Proces should fall, received *Maltbhanes* at his coming to Court, with all possible kindness. Yet the *Veneti* set upon him, and wounded him as he came out of the Palace: And had certainly slain him, but that *Leo* hired some of the Company to stop the proceedings of their Fellows.

58. A Noble piece of Justice ! To suffer such violence to be committed in his own Court under his Nose, and Sacrifice all things, how pretious foever, to his covetous and fordid Humour. But behold yet farther, what affection he bore, like a true Father of his Countrey, to the publick Good. The former Princes, that they might have a speedy Account, what was done or Practised in each Province, either by their Enemies, or in their Troublesome and seditious Subjects; how their Officers behaved themselves ; that they might be advertized of any Accident or memorable Occurrence, as also, to convey up quickly and safely the Annual Tributes and Impositions, ordained certain Posts or Carriers after this manner. Betwixt every Stage, or in an whole days Travelling, they caused to be made eight Inns or places of Refreshment : sometimes fewer, but never under five. In each Inn were kept nigh forty Horses fit for Service, and as many Men to manage them, who succeeded to one another, and still taking fresh Horses : sometimes would Letters or any other things be conveyed in one day, as far as ordinarily they could passe in ten. This beffides the Convenience of passage, tended much to the Inrichment of the Inland Countries, the Inhabitants whereof put off their Provisions, both for Man and Horse at very good Rates to the *Quarfers*. Such as served the publick in this Employment, brought the Money they received to the Treasury, thence received their Wages, and so the whole busines was managed to the great Convenience and advantage of the State. But *Julian* took away the Post, that lay between *Chalcedon* and *Dacibiza*, and compelled all Passengers in little Boats, to go from *Constantinople* as far as *Helomonis*, though in passing the Straits they were in great Danger to be cast away. The Post lying toward *Persia* he left as he found, but throughout the other parts of the East, as far as to the Borders of *Egypte*, he left not so much as one single Inn , or Stable of Horses in a whole days Journey, but some of Asses. Whereupon the design of Intelligence was almost quite dashed, and Provisions lay upon the Hands of the Countreymen ; whas we said, were formerly wont to put them off at very good Rates.

59. He dealt in the same manner with the Intelligencers or Spies, who had been sent to be employed, at the publick Charge, under pretence of Merchantizing to pass into the Enemies Country, and even into the Court of Persia, where having covered their Intentions, they returned with all Convenient speed, and made Report to the Prince; who by this means was secured from a surprize on all occasions. But he suffered *Chosroes* the *Perisan King*, to outdo him in this point, who giving better Pensions, had ever his Spies resident at *Constantinople*, and carried it so cunningly, that though they still discovered all to the *Perfians*; yet were the *Romans* quite in the dark, as to the matter of *Lazica*, and which way *Chosroes* would take his Course. A great number of Camels also were sent to be maintained at the publick Charge to follow Armies, and convey the Baggage, that the Soldiery might have all Necessaries, and the Country might not be burthened by piling of Carnages. But *Jusfinian* took them all away to the great hindrance of his Expeditions. Now the Authour says, he will tell you something of his Ridiculous Tricks. There was one *Evangelus* an Advocate of *Cesarea*, a man of good Repute, who grew very rich both in Land and Monies, and at last bought *Porphyrion* a Maritime Village for three Centenaries, or three hundred pounds of Gold.

G g 2

Justinian

Sect. 3. *Justinian* coming to know it, gave him a very little and inconsiderable piece of Money, and took it from him, saying it was a shame, that *Evangelus* an Advocate should be Master of so considerable a Village.

60. At length this Bundle of Accusations, our Author wraps up in a farther Account of some things, wherein *Justinian* and *Theodora* were Innovators. In times past, the Senatours saluted the Emperour after this manner. Thoſe of Patriarck Rank bowed down, and did Reverence as low as his right Pap, and *Cæſar* as he fo-drew back killed him on the Head ; the reſt kneeled down on their right Knee and departed : As for the Emprefs, there was no certain Course of paying Reſpect to her. But when they came into the Prefence of *Justinian* and *Theodora*, as well Patriarck as others, preſently they fell on their Faces, and with Feet and Hands ſtretched out, killed each Foot and fo withdrew. She alſo gave Audience to Ambaſſadours, a thing never heard of before, and preſented them at their Departure, as being Miftrels of the *Roman Empire*. Of old, ſuch as ſpake to the Emperour or Emprefs, called them by thoſe Names and no other, and other Princes as their Order, and Dignity required. But ſuch as ſpake with either of theſe, and called not him Lord, and her Lady, and themſelves their Slaves, were accounted Rude and Sawcy, and rejected as Uncivil. Formerly very few, and that rarely came to Court ; but now as well as Magiſtrates, all others ſpent their time there. And whereas Judges gave Sentence, and buſineſs was done for Clients either at home or in the uial places of Judicature without moleſting the Prince, who left all to their own Freedom ; *Justinian* and his Wife to the utter undoing of their Subjects, called all their matters before themſelves, and tyed them to this ſlavifh Attendeſce. The Tribunals and the *Forum*, one might fee almost every day without a man in them, but *Cæſar*'s Palace crowded with perpetual Attendants. Their greatest Familiars therē paſſed all the day, and much of the Night ſpent with Watching and Hunger. Such as were freed from theſe Cares, were wont to talk and enquire amonſt themſelves, what was become of the Wealth of the *Romans*, and affirme that part of it was taken away by Barbarians, and the reſt thrust into Holes and Corners by the Emperour. But when *Justinian* ſhall once dye (if to be he be a man) whether the Prince of the *Dæmons* shall deſtroy mankind, they that are then alive by experience will find.

61. So concludes at length the pretended *Anecdota*, or ſecret History of *Procopius*, a work as extravagant in its Form and Composition, as is the matter therein contained. Incredibile it is, that a man who had digefted his other Histories into very good Order, according to the Variety of their Subjects, ſhould patch up ſuch a Fardel of Accusations with the greatest Confusion imaginable, joyning them onely, a Company of Tautologies with trifling Observations, and twenty times repeated Exclamations. The ſtyle of it is flanting, and nothing ever was ſo full of Ostentation. Nothing can the Author relate, but with a Periphrasis. No Sentence but full of ſuperfluous Particles, nothing becoming the Gravity of an Hiſtorian; but the Infinuations of a Sophift. His frequent Transitions, Epilogues, and an hundred times reiterated Observations upon divers particulars, and thoſe of the flightiſt moment imaginable, cannot but Naufeate the Reader. In this Libel you have one word no ſeldomer than six hundred times repeated, to ſpeak of no more; and indeed ſcarcely is there one ſtory or paſſage told, with any moderate Art, Care or Circumpection. There are thoſe that excuse him, becauſe he wrote *Anecdota*, or a ſecret History, which they accuse as generally Obnoxious to ſuch impertinencies and diſadvantages, as *Tully* himſelf pleaded in his own behalf. But let any one ſhew ſuch a Fardel of indigested ſtuff, Fathered upon any Man, but of tolerable Abilities: Certainly a man of Reaſonable parts, though he wrote that which he would have concealed, could not have his thoughts ſo broken or diſorder'd, as to obferve no Order, Method or Rule whatſoever. His Fears and Jealousies muſt be mighty high to put him into ſo much diſorder. And he muſt have been as puſillanimous as *Belisarius* himſelf, whom he will have to have carried himſelf with that baseneſs or dejectedneſs of Mind, upon apprehenſion of Death. His opportunities elſe of Secrecy muſt have been very little; his Locks and Bolts very weak, or the Man fo poor that he could not purſue any cloſe Cabinet, wherein to lay his Papers as he wrote them. Doubtless his Perturbation of mind was very high, or his Art was exceeding mean and deſpicable.

62. Such as he is, he appeared not in Print, till *Alemaniſus* (whoſe learned Notes make amends for his rude ſtory) published him out of the Vatican Library, in the fifteen hundred and twenty third year of our Lord. In that Library, he found two moth-eaten Copies, the one tranſcribed from the other; but both of them

Require ſervile  
Reſpect to be  
paid him by Se-  
natours.

The ſecret Hi-  
ſtory, a Fardel  
of them.

Published by  
*Alemaniſus*.

them without either Names of the Authour, or Title of the work; both of them without beginning, and the more Ancient without Conclusion, and each of them full of Gaps and void places; in which the Authour often promises he would tell many things, he never tells, and discovers ſo many Defects, that as it were through the Crannies, you may diſcover *Procopius* writing in stealth and hafte, or forgetting himſelf out of Perturbation of mind, faith the Publisher. For to come to the point, he concludes the Book was written by *Procopius*, and gives it the Title of *ἀνέκδοτα* from *Suidas*, who ſignifies that he wrote a Book under this Name, concerning the matters of *Justinian*, wherein were contained Accuſations and Cenſures of him, and his Wife *Theodora*, as also *Belisarius*, and *Antonina* his Wife. He farther informs us, that there were two other Copies of this Book (the ufe of which in ſetting forth this of the Vatican, he much wanted and defired) viz. One brought by *John Lascaris* from *Constantinople* to *Lawrence de Medicis*, which as was reported *Catharine de Medicis*, the Queen, carried with her into *France*, which yet the French-men enquire after in Foreign Libraries; and another belonging to *John Vincentius Pinellus*, which was lost at Sea in a Voyage to *Naples*; but ſome Fragments were taken out of it by *Peter Pitheus*, and *Guidus Pancirolius*, who alſo affirm, that the Title of it was *Anecdota*. Now by this name Authours were wont to call, ſuch Histories as they intended to conceal from the Age in which they lived; as *Ciceron* calls his History, which he began of the *Roman State* (derided by *Q. Fujus Calenus*, as *Dio* tells us) where in he Ceruſored the Actions, Manners and Diſpoſitions of the Great men of his time, and wrote it for his own Satisfaction, and the Information of *Pomponius*, and Poſterity.

63. *Nicephorus* indeed it's owned, reckoning up the works of *Procopius*, mentions one that was written againſt *Justinian*, but he calls it not *ἀνέκδοτα*, but *ἀντίφημον* or a Detracſation of thoſe Commendations whereby he had formerly to much extolled him. Hereby, as *Alemaniſus* gathers, it ſufficiently appears that he never ſaw this Secret History. Neither, you are to know, did any of the ancient Historians, who thought they accuſe *Justinian* of divers things, yet cite nothing out of this Book, nor the later Writers, as *Alemaniſus* confeſſeth, who write things quite contrary to it; onely *Suidas*, as appears by his *Collectiones* tranſcribed the better part of it, and by a Collation of his Collections with the Text of this History, *Alemaniſus* would have his Readers believe, that his and the Edition of *Suidas* were the very fame. To make us of this mind, he endeavours to poſſeſs us with as evil an opinion of *Justinian* as poſſibly he can, heaping up all the hard ſayings he can meet with in all Writers, if not more than all. For example, *Eutropius* mentions and deteſts his execuſive Avarice, and Rapine, and the vexing of his Subjects, of all Ages and Conditions by moſt ſecret and moſt different Arts, and as vile and Impudent Instruments. He adds, that places of Magiſtracy, Governments, and other Offices he Sold, and built his Churches, Hopitals, and Monasteries out of the Spoils of private men. He affirms that he nourished the Faction of the *Veneſi*, permitting them to make slaughter of the *Praſini*, and to fill all places with Murders, Rapines and Devaſtations. In the beginning of his Reign, he preſerved the Grandeur and Dignity of the *Roman Empire*, to his great Commendation, but when he grew old, he fo failed of his Duty or Abilities, that he suffered it to decay, and made it Tributary, as *Menander* writes, not only to the *Perſians*, but the *Hunnes*, *Saracens*, and other farts of Barbarous People. *Hesychius Mileſius*, an Historian Contemporary with *Procopius*, derided *Justinian's* Levy, for believing what *Tribonianus* flattering told him, that he ſhould be taken up alive into Heaven. Concerning his Frauds and Deceits, *Agathias* hath written more largely than *Procopius*, inſtancing in his Tricks, and producing the Copies of his Letters written to the Leaders of the *Hunnes*, whereby he ſet them together by the Ears, and cauſed them to deſtroy each other by intestine Wars. He mentions alſo his cruel, unjust and impious Rapines, committed againſt both the Children living, and the deceaſed Parents.

64. Farther, *Gregory* the Bishop of *Tours*, and the Historian of the *Franks*, tells a very good ſtory how *Juliana Amica*, a moſt choice and Noble Matron, deluded his Avarice. *Victor Tunnensis* relates, that *Vitalianus* General of the Army, was made away by his faction. *Liberatus* mentions his Cruelty and Tyranny againſt the Bishops of the East and West, and the Popes of *Rome*. On the contrary he encouraged the Patriarchs of *Constantinople* in their ambitious practices, and firſt of all Emperors gave them the title of *Oecumenical* or *Universal*, they arriving at that impious boldneſs, through his Courtenance and favour, to bear up with the *Roman Bishop*, and hardly to give place to the Head of the Church. And to this

*Το βιβλον Περι  
ανεκδοτων  
των ανδρων  
τας*

*Αντίφημον, five  
ανάρτητον  
ιστοριαν  
περι της Ανεκδοτης  
της Αντιφημονος  
της Ανθικης  
της Αντιφημονος  
της Αντιφημονος*

*Nicephorus Cal-*

*lifi. l. 17. c. 10.*

who will have  
*Procopius* the  
Authour.

*Ut ratiōne  
ευνοεῖται  
εὐνοεῖται  
εὐνοεῖται  
εὐνοεῖται*

*Alemaniſus.*

Sect. 3. great wickednes he added this Crime also, that he indeavoured to confirm and establish by his Sanction, the Canons of the *Constantinopolitan* and *Chalcedonian* Councils, whereby prerogative was given to the Bishops of that City. As for *Theodora* his Wife, her wicked practices both against God and Man were so notorious, that *Alemannus* thinks he needs not cite any Authours for Confirmation of his Assertion, onely brings the Irrefragable Testimony, and Infallible Judgment and Sentence of Cardinal *Baronius* founded upon the Reports of ancient Historians, though he never saw as he confesseth the *Anecdota of Procopius*. By this Book he affirmeth that the writings of the later Historians are to be corrected. Yet where they speak against *Justinian*, their Testimony by all means are to be imbraced. For many though they saw not this Book, yet recite and confirm the report of his wicked Life. *Theophanes* tells somthing, and so do *Isaurus* an Holy man, the Author of the *Alexandrian Chronicle*, *Johannes Antiochenus* and *Suidas*: Something also *Anastasius* the Vatican Library-keeper, *Paulus Diaconus* and *Aimoinus*: but *Zonaras*, *Cedrenus*, *Nicephorus*, *Euphrænius* and other Chroniclers give us them by bundles. All these had their materials from those Writers that were the Contemporaries of *Procopius*, and wrote the same things of *Justinian* as he did. These were *Hesychius*, *Agathias*, *Menander Protector*, *Euagrius*, *Johannes Epiphaniensis*, *Cyrillus Scythopolitanus*, *Theophilus* the School-Master of *Justinian*, *Innocentius Maronianus*, *Eustathius Byzantius*; and of the Latin Authours, *Victor Tunnicensis*, *Flavius Cremonius*, *Corippus*, *Gregorius Turonensis*, *Liberatus Afer*, *Facundus Elermanensis* and many others.

65. But there's no need, faith he, of urging their Testimony in this matter, there being Domesckit witnessesse enough to convince the world, that *Procopius* was no Lyer. These are *Justinian* himself, *Justin* his Uncle, and *Justin* the younger his Sisters Son, who being ready to be destroyed by the Seditionary *Veneti* and *Prafini*, restrained their Rage by words, which shewed *Justinian* to have been Authour of all these mischiefs. *Bebold Citizens*, faith he, *let an end be put at last to these publick Calamities. Know ye Veneti, that Justinian is Dead as to you; and ye Prafini, that as to you he still liveth.* As for the Infamous Courses of *Theodora*, her Life and Education, there is yet extant a Constitution of *Justin* the Elder, whereby it is made lawfull for Senators to marry Women of base Condition. And for the third part of the History concerning *Justinian's* Crimes, though he himself confesses them not, yet he openly acknowledgeth, and seriuosly declares the source of all these mischiefs, owning that he had taken her to be a Partner of his Councils, who was given him by God, his most pious Wife. All Writers plainly affirm, that his Reign had been fortunate, if he had not been Counsell'd and Governed by her in the management of his Busines. But *Alemannus* farther urgeth, *Procopius* by his other Books, sufficiently establisheth the truth of his Secret History; for therein he jejunely commends *Justinian*, but lays large Foundations of censure and reproach, mentioning more and greater Crimes than he lays to his charge in this Treatise, and sufficiently discouering his Cruelty, Avarice, unfaithfulnes to his Friends, breach of Faith toward his Enemies; his hatred of good men, his love of wicked men, his violating of all Law, Divine and Humane, and subiecting all things to the Imperious Humour and Lust of *Theodora*.

66. For instance, he durst not take *John the Cappadocian* out of her Hands, nor prevent the effects of her Implacable Malice, but though most dear to him, was forced to banish him, and could not restore him till after her Death. Though he had concluded Peace with *Chosroes*, he hired *Alamundarus* and the *Hunnes* to make War upon him, to the great detriment of the Empire. The Garrifon Souldiers for want of Pay he caufed to Revolt. Besidess those at home with him, in the Camp he had two eminent Instruments of his covetous Practices, viz. *John the Quæstor* of his Army, who, to spare the Emperours money, with naughty Bread destroyed a great multitude of Souldiers; and *Alexander Forcicula*, out of hatred to whom, they industriously suffered themselves to be worsted in *Italy*. Out of Covetousnes he instituted his *Logotheta*, and abolished all Degrees of Honours at *Rome*. He preferred the most wicked of men to places of Trufl and Dignity, as *Acacius* and *John Zibus*. These things and many others he published in those Volumes, which he gave *Justinian* himself to reade, who was not offended with them; and afterward he published an eighth Book, in which he no more spared him, than he had done in his former. For he again infists upon the Souldiers want of Pay, complains that due preparations for War were neglected; again Condemns *Justinian's* prodigality in the entertainment of *Ildigunas*, the insolent *Persian Ambassadour*. Declares that the affairs of the Empire were come to that palls, that a yearly Tribuite

*Hec omnia apud  
nos Cognitantes  
hic quoq[ue] partici-  
perem concili-  
fampones con-  
sumimus et de dat-  
is nobis, poffi-  
mat Coniugem.*

What Credit  
to be given to  
the Book of  
*Suidas*.

bute was paid to the *Perſians*, and great gifts were given to the *Hunnes*, who made *Sect. 3.* perpetual excursions into the *Roman Territories*. And he reprehends *Justinian's* unfeafonable Levy and Indulgence to his Officers, especially to his Commanders, which brought very much prejudice to the Commonwealth. To conclude this point, faith our Publisher, left we be tedious; *Procopius* seems so to have composed his *Anecdota* and his other Books which he preſented to *Justinian*, that scarcely is there any thing in his ſecret History, which by his own confeſſion you may not prove out of his former works.

67. These are the Arguments by which *Alemannus* will move us not to queſtione on the Authority of this Book. But firſt it's no small wonder that it ſhould lie concealed fo long, and never appear till almost the other day. That others of the Ancients ſhould not have as good opportunity to ſee it as *Suidas*, and that fo many that have ranfact the *Vatican Library*, ſhould never light of it in any Age; for although *Baronius* was not able to know it, though it lay before his Eyes, he was fo ignorant of the Greek Language, yet it's a matter nigh to a Miracle, that his Holinesſ should neither have a Library Keeper, nor any other Learned Attendant nor Student, who could understand that Tongue till *Alemannus* chanced to ſtumble upon it. Certainly the fortune of the other two Copies was almoſt Prodigious, that the one ſhould be drown'd, and the other loſt and never to be found; that *France* ſhould be fo barren of Learned men in the time of *Catharine de Medicis*, that none ſhould be ſensible of the worth of ſuch a Jewel, but ſuffer it utterly to perish. Is there not a fwred fulpicion that *Cajacius* or ſome other Learned Lawyer met with it, and burnt it as a scandalous Libel againſt *Justinian*? But in truth, whover wrote it, it may be termed a scandalous Libel againſt *Procopius*, doing almoſt as much prejudice to his Reputation, as it hurts the memory of the Emperor; So pitifull a piece of ſtuff it is, that the Writer muſt either have been very weak in his Intellectuals, or not himſelf when he wrote it. And can *Alemannus* excufe the matter by the Author's fear and apprehencion of Danger? Could his *Procopius*, a man of ſuch freedom and boldnes, who durſt preſent to *Justinian* himſelf, Books wherein fo ſevere cencures of his Actions were contained, be guilty of ſo great paffionimy? Could he who durſt look a Tyrant (as this Treafeire makes him) in the face, and tell him his faults to his teeth, degenerate into fo much Cowardie, as neither to truft to the Juſtice of his Caufe, the goodness of the Fact, nor privacy of his own Cabinet? but as he storied it of *Belisarius*, at every word to peep and look if any body ſaw him, and to be seized with ſuch perturbation of mind, asnot to be Maſter of his own thoughts, nor to write a Diſcourse with any tolerable method, or other qualifications except that of bitternes?

68. That which carries moſt strength with it is, that *Suidas* mentions a Book written by him under ſuch name, and that as well he as *Euagrius* ſay the ſame things, as the Author of this private History doth concerning *Justinian*. This indeed makes it ſomewhat probable, that *Procopius* wrote ſuch a Book, and that if we confide what manner of Book that of *Suidas* is, its Testimony again will be very much weakened. For firſt, few Copies of it tell us, that *Justinian* was *Avara*-*grellus*, or void of all Learning, which is moſt fake, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, even by the Confeſſion of *Alemannus*. Then if we may credit *Poffening* the Jeſuite, ver-*In Apia. verb.  
Suidas.* ry many things are falſely inserted into *Suidas*, as a *Sciolis & Schismatica*, by Smar-terers and Schismatics, and thoſe things are repugnant to Evangelical and Historical ſincerity. But admit *Suidas* for the Author of ſuch Stories, as there we find concerning *Justinian*, he is in no caſe of equal Authority and Credit to thoſe Authours, which make contrary Relations to thoſe of his. He was an earneft de-fender of very groſs Errores, and ſided with ſuch as were given to Lies and Fables. But rather to give you the Jeſuite's Judgment of him, he tells you he was heretical, and that the Book going under his Name is full of Errores, Fables and Lies; as for instance thoſe amongst many others; That the World was made of the Poetical Chaos; that it haſt continue twelve hundred thouſand years; that the Sun and Stars are fiery Subſtances, fed and perpetuated by terretorial humours; that Paradise is *Portus Penſilis*, or a Garden hanging in the Air far above the Earth; that *Cain* was begotten of the Devil; that the Jews worshipped the Head of an Afſe, and every seventh year Sacrificed a Stranger: In his Narration in the word *Nero*, touching *Annas* and *Cajaphas*, *Peter*, *Pilate* and *Simon Magus*, he forgereth many things: His ſtory in the word *Julianus*, he calleth *mendacium flagi-ſum*, or a moſt jewd Lie. As alſo his flandering *Conſtantine the Great* as base born, and his Son *Crispus* as Inceſtuous: His commanding of *Acacius* and *Acesius* two Hereticks, to which he adds, that he writes many things againſt the truth of History.

**Sect. 3.** 69. In his Relation in the word *Apollonius*, he praiseth many things which are monstrous and utterly to be exploded, and seemeth to allow the impious art of Magick and of Divinations. He approves of *Apollonius* and *Danis* two wicked Magicians, who are both Condemned to Hell. And to omit very many of this kind of Impieties and Fables which abound in *Suidas*, his Narration (*in verbo Jesus*), *Baronius* not only rejecteth, but Pope *Paul* the fourth for that cause besides some others, exploded the Book of *Suidas*, and placed it in the Rank and Number of prohibited Books. Such a worthy Witness is *Suidas*, concerning whole reviling *Justinian*, *Gothofrid* makes little account, esteeming his words no flander, and imbracing the quite contrary Opinion. As for *Eusagrius*, where he follows Authors of better Note, he is not to be Condemned; but in very many things he is too credulous, fabulous and utterly to be rejected. As what Credit can be given to his story of the Monk *Barisanophilus*, whom he reports to have lived in his Cell, where in he had mewed himself up for the space of above fifty years, and neither to have been seen by any, nor to have received any Nourishment? What a worthy Saint doth he describe *Simeon Moros*, or *Saint Fool* to have been? How doth he commend *Synesius* who as was formerly shewed, though he was persuaded to be baptized and enter into Orders, yet would not believe the Resurrection was possible. We might farther instance in the blood of *Euphemius*, and several other idle stories; but two there are especially which demonstrate him, either to have been extremely negligent in the search of truth, or very malitious in perverting it. One is that, *Maximianus* succeeded in the Bishopric after the Death of *Nestorius*; an untruth so palpable, that none can think *Eusagrius* to have been ignorant of these manifold and undoubted Records which testify the contrary. The other concerns the Fable touching the Epistle and Image of Christ, sent to *Abgarus*, which *Eusagrius* points out at large, and commends the Epistle as a true writing of Christ, and celebrated by the Ancients, of these two passages in their proper places. Here it sufficeth to say that Pope *Gelasius*, and with him the whole *Roman Council*, having made a long Catalogue of fabulous Writings, and particularly this Epistle of Christ to *Abgarus*, paseth this censure on them all: Thefe and all like unto them, we confess to have been not only refuted, but cast out of the Church, by the whole *Roman Catholick* and *Apostolick Church*, and we confess as well these Writings, as the Authors and the followers also of them, to be Eternally condemned under the Indissoluble bond of an *Anathema*. Such an untrue and fabulous, yea, according to his own Principles, miserable and accursed witness hath *Alemanus* chosen, to confirm the Authority of his secret History in conjunction with *Suidas*.

70. But besides the invalidating the Testimony of these Witnesses, by making them appear untrue upon Record in his own Court, it's easie to bring others in behalf of *Justinian*, who in point of fame and estimation even with *Alemanus* are without exception, and do with a loud and consenting Voice proclaim that Faith, Piety, Prudence, Justice, Clemency, Bountyness, and all other Heroical and Princely Virtues were resplendent in him: Many of these being Ecclesiastical, we may produce them in a more proper place, where are to be considered the Calumnies of *Baronius* against this Emperour; for upon several accounts there to be mentioned, those of that party labour with all their strength to blast his memory, and make him appear odious to Posterity. Yet their Pope *Gregory* and others, in whose days the same Interest and Reasons which now prevail were unknown, give him vast Commendations. *Gregory* often calls him a man of Pious memory, and the Legates of *Otto* of Divine memory: so doth *Constantine* the Emperour, and the whole sixth General Council, which a dozen times or more calls him a perf<sup>ep. 10.</sup> of one hundred pious or Divine memory, and most Holy *Justinian*. But here *Alemanus* excepts <sup>ep. 4.</sup> and tells you in his Notes, how in that respectfull manner of speech all Writers are wont to mention the Christian Emperours. They speak in the same terms of *A-<sup>73.</sup>* naftafius, who was a notorious Heretick. The Fathers of the sixth Council give the same respect to *Theodora*. *Andrew* the Bishop of *Ephesus* in the tenth Act of the *Chalcedonian Council*, adds to the name of *Theodosius Junior* οὐαῖος, and the Author of the Life of St. *Nilus*, to that of *Theodosius Senior* οὐαῖος, besides the *Roman Council* to *Theodosius* King of the Goths, though an Arian, gives the addition of *Santus Princeps*. The Emperours all ever are called *Sacraissimi*, and *Divinissimi*. They of themselves use these phrases *Numen Nostrum*; their Letters are called *Sacra*, *Divina Literæ*, their Court *Sacrum Palatium*, *Domus Divina*, and their very Footsteps *Sacra Vespigia*. That round kind of Ray or Diadem which Gentiles put about their Gods, and later Christians about the Heads of Saints, are to be seen also about the Heads of Emperours in their Coins, as a Prerogative not of

of Merit but of Imperial and Royal Dignity. Nay that most Holy Martyr *Dionysius of Alexandria*, as *Eusebius* tells us, gave to *Valerianus* and *Gratianus* both Pagan Princes, the very appellation of *Santissimi*. Sect. 3.

71. It must not be denied, but such terms of Respect and Honour were given to Emperours, who were wont to assume those and such like to themselves, viz. *Divinitas nostra*, & *Numen nostrum*, which though some later Authors, so much dislike and reprehend, yet our Bishop *Mountague* in consideration of their high Place and Office, (in which respect, he, who best may, hath said they are Gods,) excuseth the Customs. But will *Alemanus* say it was a thing of course also, when Councils or other prudent Persons would exhort Princes to follow the ways of Deceased Emperours, who by flattery could neither be obliged nor disengaged by downright dealing, to propound to them such base and profligate Persons as this History makes *Justinian*; or when they would commend their Emperours, to compare them with those who for all manner of Villanies could not but be odious, and seemed Devils Incarnate, (such did this Author think *Justinian* really to be,) rather than men? Now the sixth General Council to express the great Honour they had for *Constantine* the Emperour then present with them, Proclaimed him to be a new *Constantine*, a new *Theodosius*, a new *Martian*, and a new *Justinian*, willing him eternal memory, or praise under this Name. A most miserable Praise and Commendation had this been, had *Justinian* been so notorious a Villain; for then the whole General Council had not only dishonoured *Constantine*, but had wished Honour and Immortal Glory to Tyrants and the Devil himself, which kind of Praising and Praying as Dr. *Crackenthorpe* observes, is not very suitable to the Piety and Faith of that General Council. If it be said that the Council meant only in Religious matters, it's easie to answere that *Alemanus*, *Baronius* and the rest of that Party, condemn him as much in relation to Church busines, as that of the State, and most loud Complaints do they make of great Injuries offered by him to Prelates and their Popes especially, which the Author of their secret History as one concerned, now and then Inculcates and promises he would declare in particulars; but either the Confermation of his mind, or Consciousnes that he had already done too much, or want of matter was the cause that he proved not so good as his word. Had *Justinian* been so infamous in either respect, the smell of his memory must have been too strong and Rrank in the time of the sixth Council, to have made a perfume wherewith the Fathers intended to make themselves acceptable to *Constantine* there present in their Assembly.

72. But if Councils be fallible, let us come to Popes, and let *Alemanus* and *Baronius* put both sorts of Testimonies together. Pope *Agatho* one of their Canonized Saints, in his Epistle to the Emperour *Constantine Pogonatus*, to prove out of the Fathers, that two Natures are in Christ, adds; *And above all these, Justinian the Emperour of Holy memory, a zealous Defender of the true and Apostolical Faith teacheth this, whose Integrity of Faith did as much exalt the Christian Commonwealth, as by the sincerity thereof it was pleasing unto God: and whose Religious memory is esteemed by all Nations worthy of Veneration, seeing the Integrity of his Faith set out by his Imperial Edits, is spread abroad and praised in the whole World.* So *Agatho* with whom conffested and joyed the whole *Roman Synod*, consisting of one hundred twenty five Bishops, in a Synodal Letter written to the same Emperour *Constantine*, wherein they exhort him to imitate the Piety and Virtue of *Constantine*, *Theodosius*, of *Martian* and *Justinian* the Great, the last indeed but the most excellent of them all, whose Piety and Virtue reformed all things into better order. Thus is *Justinian* set forth in the Letters of *Agatho* and his Synod, which the sixth General Council hath approved in these words: *Peter spake by the mouth of Agatho: We all consent to the dogmatical Letters of Agatho, and to the suggestion of the Holy Synod under him, consisting of one hundred twenty five Bishops. Constantine in the name of the whole Council faith, We all with one heart and voice believe and profess, and admire the Relation of Agatho, as the Divine voice of St. Peter.* And of his Epistles *Domitius* Bishop of *Prusa* adds, *I receive and imbrace the suggestions of the most blessed Agatho, as inspired by the Holy Ghost, as uttered by the mouth of St. Peter, and written with the fingers of Agatho.* Thus by the Testimony of Pope *Agatho*, and an whole *Roman Synod*, confirmed by the sixth General Council, to be as certain and true as if St. Peter on the Holy Ghost had uttered the same; *Justinian* is declared to have been not only for Faith Orthodox, but for Virtue and Piety renowned, and held in veneration by all Nations, and praised of all the World; and to have been more excellent than even *Constantine*, *Theodosius* and *Martian*. It's an even wager those Fathers had never seen our Secret History. H. H. 73. Of

*Novo Justiniani  
eterna memoria.  
A.D. 16, 17, 18.*

*P. omnis et  
multiora vero de  
Apologetice  
sunt memoria Ju-  
stiniani Augu-  
stini, &c.*

*Exstat apud A.D.  
4. Concil. Gene-  
ral. 6.*

*Ibid. p. 21.*

*Extremi quidem  
proflammatis ta-  
men omnitione.*

*AB. 18. Serm.  
profib.*

*Et AB. 15. 8. 6.  
AB. 18. p. 93.*

*AB. 8. p. 29.*

Sect. 3. 73. Of Authors who wrote in later times Ammonius giveth him this farther testimony, that He was for Faith Orthodox, for Piety renowned, a marvellous lover of rum, lib. 3. c. 8. Equity, and therefore all things co-operated to his Good, and he governed the Empire in an happy manner. The true Paulus Diaconus saith to the same purpose, that Justinian governed the Empire in an happy sort, and was a Prince for his Faith Catholick, in his Actions upright, and just in Judgment; and therefore all things concurred to his Good. Others (that we may not be too tedious) give him large Epithets for Piety and Virtue, but Wernerus his words are to be taken notice of, who writes, that He Ann. 504. was in all things most excellent, for in him concurred three things which make a Prince truly glorious, viz. Power, by which he overcame his Enemies; Wisdom, by which he governed the World with just Laws; and a Religious Mind towards God's Worshipp, by which he glorified God, and beautified the Churches. Platine speaking of Justinian his Successour, saith, He was in nothing like to Justinian, for he was covetous, wicked, ravenous, and a Contemner both of God and Men; Whence it must follow that according to him Justinian was bountiful, just, religious, and one that had regard both to God and good Men. The Chronicon Reichbergense testifies, that He performed many things profitable to the Commonwealth, and so ended his Life. Münster writes of Justinian, that He was a just and upright Man, and in finding out matters ingenious. And in Justinian, we shall conclude with Sigenus, a man as diligent in searching out truth, and as industrious in turning over the Libraries of Italy, as the best of Justinian's Ill-willers, who ends the Story of his Life, and of the Western Empire, with this testimony of him, that He was a Man deservedly to be reckoned amongst a few, (or, that there were but few such Men) for he was a Prince renowned both for War and Peace, a famous reforer of the ancient Roman Glory, and without doubt the last as well of the Good as the Valiant Emperors of the East.

*Vix Inflator eximius, ac fine dubio bonorum finulac fortium Imperatorum Orientis extremus.*

74. And yet his Friends must not deny, but that many Faults were committed during his Government. His Dominions were so vast, that various Accidents must needs fall out, and his Reign so long, that often necessarily must they have been repeated. Those that see by the Eyes, and hear by the Ears of others, have the least ground to pretend to Infallibility. Therefore no very great wonder it is, if one go about to reconcile the passages, which at first seem to have been very dissonant, if not contradictory. He might be good himself, and yet have the fortune amongst so many various Employments as the Empire afforded, to be ill served. His inclinations might be right and just, but diverted by the importunities and pertinacity of an evil Wife, even good men, who are unfortunate in that kind, yielding often to that for quietnes sake, which, if left to themselves, they would never have practised. At such distance it's impossible to assign and mention those particular Causes and Reasons of his Actions, which might possibly be justified, were they known. And for other Authors, whose Testimonies Alemannus produceth to strengthen the Character given by this Secret History, Suidas and Eusebius, most of them wrote after, and received their Intelligence from them. Agathias doth indubiously apologize for Justinian, and affirmeth, that the decay of Discipline amongst the Scholarii, or Pretorian Bands, began before his time, in the Reign of Zenus the Iaurian. Whereas the Secret Historian talks so much of his savage Cruelty, it appears rather, that he was too merciful, from the Authentick Writings of Procopius, who affirms, that he suffered the ill Officers of his Armies to go unpunished, and relates how Artabanes and his Comlices, though they had conspired against his very Life, were dismissed without any great harm received. As for Theodora, he tells us, that she was alway inclinable to assist distressed Women. And that she was so beautifull, that no skill of Man was able to set it forth in words, nor by any Image or Resemblance to declare it. If therefore Justinian was overcome with her Beauty, and sometimes let her reign as the Mistress of his Affections, he is to be blamed, but no man will say he submitted to her humour out of malice, or for want of good Nature.

*In re gestis & virtutibus amissione dignior etiam tantum dicitur. Procop. Edific. l. i. de statua Theodora à Byzantinis posta.*

75. These things may justly move some doubt, whether indeed Procopius was Author of this Secret History. We have little forit but the Testimony of Suidas, such as it is. There is neither Name nor Title to encourage us to believe it. Ni- cephorus

cephorus indeed faith, he wrote a Retraction of some things, wherein he had too laishly commended Justinian; but this is ten times more than a Retraction, such a freighting of his Pen as makes it more crooked on the other side. Such a rude, unpolished and disorderly piece of stuff, seems rather the brat of some Sciolus, and Pretender of those times, some Corner-creeper that was very much displeased with the Emperour. Upon the account of Religion, and the three Chapters elsewhere to be spoken of, some learned and judicious Men do conclude, that Eusebius bespattered him in that manner, as we find in his History. And here we find our Writer sometimes complaining of Justinian's siding in Religion with the adverse Party, his sticking to the Council of Chalcedon, and persecuting those that were not of his Opinion. But be the Author of it Procopius, or any other, this particular Censure following must stick to the Book. Part of the matter therein contained (of the manner or contexture we have already spoken) is true, and inexcusable. Part of it is true, and may admit of Excuse. Some of it is utterly false, some of it inconsistant and contradictory, and some of it extravagant, and out of all measure ridiculous. For the first, it may be granted that Justinian was too much addicted to his Wife, and that he too much favoured the Faction of the Veneti. What in private Men may be called indulgence, in this kind, in Princes is great Injustice, when the Passions of Women come to have influence into Affairs of State. That he suffered Theodora to persecute John the Cappadocian in that manner, he is to be blamed, because possibly he did it more out of compliance with her desires, than for the merit of the Man; and yet this is the censorious Judgment of Procopius, and we must take his word for it, who though he grants the Man did deserve as much or more than he suffered, yet affirms Justinian to have had a more than ordinary kindness for him. His too much siding with the factious Veneti cannot be excused, although it was the custome of his Predecessours to addit themselves to one of the Parties. Vitellius was of the same Humour, who slew several of the common sort, because they had cursed the Venetian Faction, taking for granted that they did it in contempt of himself, and out of hope of success of some new Design. On the contrary, Caligula as much favoured the Praefati.

76. Besides, the demeanour of the Praefati was sufficiently petulant and provoking. Tumultuously and faulily they demanded Justice against Calpodius and Spatherius in the open Cirque, as appears by what Theophanes wrote concerning the Sedition called Nica, which Alemannus<sup>\*</sup> hath published out of the Vatican Library. His lavish expences of the publick Treasure both upon Buildings and the Barbarous Nations, seem deservedly to be censured. His Buildings were vast, and highly magnificent, and could not be the product of so base and ignoble a Spirit, as in Secret Historian makes his to have been, however it be very true, that great Spendards must be one way or other great Scrappers, for nothing is more deceitful than Building, wherein we see it commonly happen, and even to wise Men themselves, that the Expences at length double or treble the value of what they first designed. Indeed he left infinite Monuments, either of Piety or Magnificence, in this kind, and that first in Building new, or repairing old Churches decayed: The Church called Sophia, built by him at Constantinople, was the mirror of all Ages. Of this Procopius, so great an Historical Saint with Alemannus, for his Liberty, Veracity, and Hatred of Flattery, as an Eye-witness, testifieth, That the Magnificence thereof amazed all that saw it, and was incredible to those that saw it not. That the Height of it mounted up to Heaven, the Splendour of it was such, as if it received not light from the Sun, but had it in its self; the Roof was decked with Gold. The Pavement beset with Pearl. The Silver of the Choire alone amounted to four Myriads, and it was thought to have excelled the Temple of Solomon. Besides this, he built every where throughout the Empire so many Housess, to the Honour of the Bleffed Virgin, so stately and sumptuous, that Procopius tells you, should you but view and consider only one of them, you would think his whole Reign to have been employed in building that alone. At Constantinople he built three of this sort, one in Blachernae, formerly mentioned, another in Pege, and a third in Hierio; besides others, built in Honour of Anna, of Zoa, of St. Michael, of St. Peter, and Paul, and of Sergius, and Bacchus, (both of which, in the brightness of Gemms, excelled the Sun) of Andrew, Luke, Timothy, Acacius, Mocius, Thirfis, Theodorus, of Tecla, and Theodora, all which he raised from the very Foundations, with that at Constantinople, the Beauty and Dignity of which cannot by words be exprefsed, nor by the Eye sufficiently discovered.

77. He built like magnificent Churches also in other Cities, as at Antioch, Sebasteia, Nicopolis, Theodosia, Tzani, Justiniana, where he was born, at Ephesus, Helena, Nice,

A Character of the Secret History.

233.

*Svetonius in Vitell.*

*Lib. 59.*

*Justinian's Buildings magnificient.*

*As Churches.*

*De Edific. Justiniani. l. 1. &c. Grecas Amata. Part 4.*

*Templum hoc de- scripti veribus Paulus, Cyrus, Florus nobilissi- mis Poeta de qua videndum Agath.*

*ms. p. 61, &c.*

*ms. lib. 2.*

**Sect. 3.** *Nice, at Euthia, and one at Jerusalem, so wonderfull rich and stately, that none other might compare with it; besides, at Jericho, Mount Gerizim, Mount Sinai, at Theopolis, at Eglia, (where even to that time they had sacrificed to Jupiter Hammon and Alexander the Great,) at Boreion, Tripolis, at Carthage and Gades, or Hercules Pillars, the utmost border of the known World, in those days. We should be too tedious, if to these we added the many Xenodochies, Nofodochies, and other like Hospitals, which he not only erected, but enriched with large Revenues, being for number equal, and for Expences, it may be supposed, greater than the former, the particulars whereof the Reader may at his leisure peruse, and consider, in the Books of Procopius, written on this Subject, who, meditating on these and other Works, affirms of Justinian, That He was never weary or satiate with honouring God; quite contrary to what the Secret Historian alledgeth, that he was never satiate with tormenting, persecuting and destroying of Mankind, for which yet as it appears, he took great care in providing Hospitals and places of Refreshment for the distressed. But besides the vast expences made in their Buildings, certainly whatever the Secret History alledgeth of his starving his Wars, the recovery of those great Nations the Empire had lost, put him to infinite charge.*

**78.** For he built and repaired their ruined Cities, erected Castles, Forts and places of Munition, which he furnished with the Commodities of Water, Walls, Promontories, Havens, Bridges, Baths, goodly buildings, and other matters, serving either for the necessity or pleasure of Habitation. In Media he fortified Dara, in Persia Sisauron, in Mesopotamia Baros, in Syria Edessa and Callinicum, in Commagena Zenobia, in Armenia Martyropolis, in the other Armenia Theodorepolis, in Vide Procp. lib. 2, 3, Tzani Burguncia. He made, as Procopius tells us, all Europe inaccessible or unconquerable by Enemies. Taureum, where he was born, he exceedingly enlarged <sup>and beautified</sup>, lib. 2, 3, &c. and fortified, calling it Justiniana; the like he did to Ulpiana, which he called Justiniana secunda, and near to it built Justinopolis. He repaired all Epirus, Aetolia, Acarnania, and fortified all Greece, as he did Iberia and Eubaea, which he made absolutely inexpugnable and unconquerable, as our Author affirmeth. The like he did in Thrace, Misia, Scythia, Libya, Numidia, and at the very Gades; in the recounting of which, and other Buildings, time would fail; but they may be read in Procopius, who concludes, that *None ought to doubt, but that Julianian fortified the Roman State with Forts and strong Holds, from the East to the West, and the very utmost borders of the Empire.* In admiration of these works he calls him, *The Repairer of the World*, and adds this remarkable saying, that *There hath not been in any Age, nor among all Men, one more provident and more careful for the publick good than Julianian, unto whom nothing was difficult, no not to bridle and confine the Seas, to level the Mountains, and overcome those things which seem impossible unto Man.* Euagrius who upon the Account of the three Chapters, is rationally thought to have born him malice, sums up all thus: *It's reported of him that he reformed an hundred and fifty Cities, which were either wholly overthrown, or exceedingly decayed, and that he beautified them with such and so great Ornaments, with Houses both private and publick, with goodly Walls, fair and sumptuous Buildings and Churches, that nothing possibly could be more magnificent.*

Cities and Ca-  
stles.

Other Expenses  
not inexorable.

79. The other great Expences he made were the Gifts bestowed on the Barbarous Nations, and this the Author of the Secret History exceedingly urgeth, as a demonstration of his mad Prodigality, Cowardise and baseness of Mind. But Agathias looks upon it as a good expedient, for saving both Treasure and the Lives of his People. And whereas that Author exclaims so much against his Custome of setting them together by the Ears, and making them sufficient work at home, he seems to pretend not only to wonderful accurateness and refinement in Piety, but in Policy also, which he would have so strait laced, as no Princes or Soldiery would ever endure the like. He might have known this was no new Invention of Justinian. Tacitus, that judicious Historian, long before him, affirmed, that the best way to conquer the Germans, the Nations beyond the Rhine, was to set them at odds amongst themselves, and their quarrelling would be the preservation of the Roman Empire in its greatest difficulties. What our Corner-creeper so much inculcates of his unnatural cruelty, and a venomous or pestiferous Nature, in being the death of so many People, as well Barbarians, as his own Subjects, nay of exceeding herein all men that ever were upon the face of the Earth, raises at the first view sufficient censure and indignation. If he procured the Distraction of the Huns, was it not the destruction of those Huns who endeavoured to destroy both him and all his People, and made such Slaughters and Devastations in all his Provinces, by their frequent and constant incursions? As for the great Depopulations

Duret gentibus  
(transfranicas)  
si non amor Ro-  
manorum ac etate  
etiam fortitudine  
urgentibus Imper-  
iis fati natali  
praeferre fortuna  
maxime postquam  
hollum diffidetur  
am. lib. de M.  
German.

lations that were made in Africa and Italy by occasion of his Wars, had it been any other Prince that had made these Wars, no doubt but our Author would have in part excused him. These Provinces were lately Members of the Roman Empire, and Justinian is generally extolled and magnified for recovering them to the Body; neither could the Vandals or Goths plead any legal prescription. What he so much rails at in Justinian, he would scarcely have blamed in Alexander the Great, or Julius Caesar. If he must be accounted a common Plague, a Daemon incarnate, and a bloody Tyrant, for making such Wars, and upon such grounds and occasions as he did, what would become of the Memories of most of the warlike Princes, that have been since the World began, upon so severe a scrutiny? Because in all things he was not an accurate Saint, our Writer for this very Reason will have him a perfect Devil.

**Sect. 3.**  
*Vide Justinianum  
Alemannus in pra-  
fato initio.*

80. If the Nature of our design permitted us to examine all particulars, though the great distance of time, and want of perfect Intelligence, forces us upon great disadvantages, yet it might be easie to discover the fallencies of his Allegations, and the extreme Malice of the Writer; we shall inflance in a few. First for Amatus, whom our Author will have put to death by procurement of Justinian, only for speaking abusively of John the Patriarch; it appears evidently from others, that being an Eunuch, and so incapable of the Empire, he endeavoured to compass it for Theocritus, his familiar, and thereupon, as guilty of Treason, was executed by command of Justinus the Emperour. Some add farther, that he was a notorious Manichee, and thereupon by the Tyrian was called the Rebel against the Trinity, and by the Inhabitants of Constantinople was surnamed Zammas, from an eminent Manichee of that Name. Alemannus his Conscience would not suffer him but he must needs acknowledge so much, and he only makes a frivolous excuse, that perhaps occasion was taken from this injury offered to John to put him to death, as if some words spoken against a Bishop, which could be no Treason, could afford a more warrantable excuse for his death, than the Conspiracy of a designed Usurpation. As for Vitalianus, whom Justinian so perfidiously slew, as our Secret Hitlerian inculcates, Euagrius lays the whole matter upon Justinus, his Uncle, never mentioning Justinian in the case. But this was that Vitalianus who had endeavoured to usurp in the days of Anastasius, and therefore Euagrius tells us, he suffered punishment for the heinous offences he had unadvisedly practised against the Empire of Rome. Theophanes therefore ascribes his death to the People of Constantinople, of whom he had slain many, at such time as he rebelled against Anastasius. Here it cannot seem so impertinent to put in our Perhaps, as the Reader may judge it was for Alemannus. Perhaps he who had once a vehement thirst after Sovereignty and the Imperial Power, might relapse into his former Distemper, and Relapses, as we see, are often deadly, and always dangerous.

*Marcellinus.  
Euagrius.*

81. How malitious an Inference our Writer makes in the case of Justinian's falling in love with, and marrying Theodora, let any man judge, especially such as have been themselves subject unto that Passion. To grant she was a Woman of the Profession he makes her, yet, by the Testimony of the undoubted Procopius, she was a Woman of unparalleled Beauty and excellent Wit, which the Secret Writer cannot but confess, though, good Man, as modestly as possible. But is the extravagancy of that Passion incident to none but the worst of Natures, to the most profligate Dispositions? If a Man cannot conquer that, must he needs be the slave of all other the most brutal whatsoever? So he, like a great Philosopher, concludes, that this sufficiently declared Justinian's Mind and Disposition, without any other token. For whosoever, faith he, refuseth not so to disgrace himself, and is content to appear so odious to the World, is in the ready road to all villainy, and having got a brazen Face, ruffeth headlong into the greatest wickedness. But one would think the reflexion of the Rays of Theodora's Beauty could not have necessarily produced such an effect upon the Face of Justinian, though possibly they might have dazzled the Eyes of as virtuous a Person as the Writer, without any such malignant Influence, if what Procopius (so severe an Author) writeth of her be true, that he must have been more than a Man (perhaps Justinian, who was an incarnate Demon, might have done it,) that could either in words express her Beauty, or set it forth by any Image or Representation. The Man's Malice is as great in laying the Epitole, or Imposition, upon Justinian, as if he had been the Inventour and first Imposer of it, whereas other Emperours had used it long before, and Anastasius being once inclined by the Intreaties of Sabas to remit it, was again persuaded to continue it by Marinus, the Praefectus Praetorio. Of this we have written abundantly in our Second Part.

*Arsaces &  
Teudis.  
Hojus Amanit-  
dus erat  
qua deinde S.  
Thomae Ecclasia-  
ticæ Confessio-  
nem ac Auto-  
graphum  
C. P. & Zammas  
confirmat. Vide  
Alemannus it-  
in notis p.  
22.  
Lib. 4 c. 3.*

*And τι μετα-  
στηθείσαντα την  
μεταβολήν την  
οὐδὲν εἰπεν οὐδὲ  
τινὰ πάντα τινά  
τις δύναται πά-  
ντα τινά πάντα  
τις δύναται πά-*

*Επειδὴν τι  
τινά πάντα  
τις δύναται πά-  
ντα τινά πάντα  
τις δύναται πά-  
ντα τινά πάντα  
τις δύναται πά-*

Sect. 3. 82. The Reader is farther to understand, that in this Tribute, (which was laid upon the Neighbouring parts, when any place by reason of Depopulation or adverse Fortune, was disabled to pay its own share in the publick Taxes) Churches were also concerned. It happened about *Anastasius* his time, that the Collectours of *Palestine* wanting an hundred pounds of Gold of their wonted sum, which was to be raised of such indigent Persons, as were not able to pay it, were forced to exact it of the Inhabitants of *Jerusalem*, and the Church of the Holy Resurrection, as well as other Religious Housles was constrained to bear it's share. But in the Reign of the pious Emperour *Justin*, faith the Author, at the Interreaties of *Sabas* and others, part of the Tribute was remitted. And at length the Residue was fully forgiven, through the Intercession of *Eusebius* the Priest, by *Justinian* the Emperour now Reigning. A Notorious piece of Injustice both for our secret Writer at first, and *Suidas* his Ape from him, as *Alemanus* believeth, to insinuate, as if the *Epibole* was never practised till the Government of *Justinian*. The Writer yet in Conclusion tells us, that this sort of Imposition most prevailed in the time of *Justinian*, and so secretly must grant that he was not the Author of it, though he had said plainly, that in this Respect he was more cruel to his Subjects, than the very Barbarous Nations. *Alemanus* his Annotator sensible of the Injury, and convinced that in this particular he was rather more mercifull than the other Emperours, (as appears in what he remitted to the places of *Jerusalem*, though he had much more Religious occasion for Money than they) strives yet to mince the matter, and diminish his Reputation in point of Clemency; alledging that the *Epibole* was remitted to the Ecclesiasticks of *Jerusalem* only. And how knows he this? No Author affirms it. Only because no Writer mentions any other place or Person, to which it was remitted; therefore he worthily concludes, there was no such thing. But what if the Writings of *Cyrillus Scypopolitanus* had been lost, or he had never mentioned this particular of *Jerusalem*, would *Alemanus* thence have concluded that, because *Justinian* in general doth Inculcate the Payment of the *Epibole*, therefore he never remitted it to any place or Person whatsoever? It seems he would.

Vide Simeonem  
Metaphrastum & Cyrialem Scypopolitanum ac  
pad Alemannum in Notis, p. 128.

Lege Novell. 17

83. We shall only instance in another thing of this Nature which joyned with others, shew the falshenes and Malice of this Corner-creeper, and that is, *Justinian's neglect* of the Aqueducts, which gave occasion to the many Slaughters which were committed while the People contended about Water. He ascribes the want of Water to the decay of the Pipes, and the Covetousnes of the Emperour, or rather his Cruelty, and the delight he took in the Death and Destruction of his People. But *Theophanes* tells us another Tale, and writes exprely; that Water failed through want of Rain in the Month of *November*, and this caused Fights and Contentions about the Fountains, as also that in the same Year (*viz.* the thirty sixth of *Justinian's Reign*,) there was such scarcitie of Water, that the publick Baths were shut up, and Slaughters were committed at the Fountains. And what if we bring proof, that *Justinian* did repair those Pipes? *Athenianus* produceth it for us, and cites an *Anonymous Authour* of a *Chronicon*, who writes that he made new, or repaired *Adrian's Aqueduct*; which that Prince had made in this City, long before the Seat of the Empire was thither translated. Although he did this at the beginning of his Reign, yet the secret Historian blameth him for this Fault in general, and making no exception, but describing him as wicked both in his beginning, and afterward, cruel as wellat the first, as at the last; griping and scraping ever, betrays sufficiently both his want of Charity, and Sincerity.

**It's contradictory Assertion.**

84. Now a Taste of his Contradictory Affections ; one will suffice, and that's about *Justinian's* Intellectuals. He affirms, he was wonderfully or supernaturally foolish, and like a dull or flow Af, was easie to be led by the Bridle, moving or shaking his Ears also, as doth that kind of Animal : Yet all over his Book doth he speak of his extraordinary Sagacity and sharpnes of Wit. *Alemanno* comes in at this dead Lift, and to solve the difficulty, distinguisheth of times, and taith, he means he was fo stupid and foolish toward his latter end, as other Writers do tellise ; having in his Youth been sufficiently active and sprightly. But this will not serve his turn : The words of his Writer, who pretends to have written his History, seven years before *Justinian's* Death, give not the least Ground for this Distinction. On the contrary he speaks there in general of his Parts, and Disposition, and upon occasion of his behaviour toward the *Praefini* and *Veneti*, betwixt which Factions fell out the great Tumults, and Disorders he mentions long before his old Age. And the better to paint him out, he compares him with *Domitian*, both for his outward Features and inward Disposition. He adds, that he was both wicked and easie to be gulled, Foolish and naughty disposed, the greatest Dissembler alive, and yet exposed to the Frauds  
and  
*Hai*<sup>84</sup> *in* *the* *is*  
*des*<sup>85</sup> *in* *the* *is*  
*des*<sup>86</sup> *in* *the* *is*  
*des*<sup>87</sup> *in* *the* *is*  
*des*<sup>88</sup> *in* *the* *is*  
*des*<sup>89</sup> *in* *the* *is*  
*des*<sup>90</sup> *in* *the* *is*  
*des*<sup>91</sup> *in* *the* *is*  
*des*<sup>92</sup> *in* *the* *is*  
*des*<sup>93</sup> *in* *the* *is*  
*des*<sup>94</sup> *in* *the* *is*  
*des*<sup>95</sup> *in* *the* *is*  
*des*<sup>96</sup> *in* *the* *is*  
*des*<sup>97</sup> *in* *the* *is*  
*des*<sup>98</sup> *in* *the* *is*  
*des*<sup>99</sup> *in* *the* *is*  
*des*<sup>100</sup> *in* *the* *is*

CHAP. II. *The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire.* Justinian

and Deceits of all Men. Then again after his confused Custome, he inculcates that this was his Temper, mixed of Folly and Naughtines, being that which he knows not what Peripatetic Philosopher of old described, when he affirmed that as in the tempering of Colours, so in the Nature of man, things quite contrary might meet and be united. He affirms, that he was the most absolute Artist alive, in dissembling the Truth, concealing his Frauds, his secret Indignation, his double dealing, and his private Opinion, having Tears at command, upon any present occasion. And he had need call a Philosopher he knows not who to his Affisstance, and to mix his knows not what, Stupidity or Stolidity with Sagacity, and the highest Art of dissembling imaginable: Certainly the humour of a *Proteus*, and the Temper of an Als are no way agreeing. This Disposition of a Creature so dull, is not pliant enough for such turnings and windings, fit only for a beaten Path, and a slow dreaming Pace. But can black and white both be mixed, and yet in the same parts, the same thing continue both Black and White, to as intencie a Degré, as the Colours were before their mixture? By what Peripatetic Philosophy? It seems Stupidity and Sagacity, Sottishnes and sharpeſ of Wit both flowed in the Brain of *Justinian*, as several forts of Waters are said to do in forte Rivers, without any mingling or Communication. For a man to be very Wise and very Foolish; very Prudent and very Impudent; as to his Habit and Disposition, of very good natural parts, and very pitiful, mean, ordinary parts, half Witted like an Als, or althoſt a natural Fool; is ſuch Philofophy, as could proceed from no Brain, but one fo confounded, and immethodical, as was that of our great *Justiniano-Mafix*, or the Secret Historian.

Its Ridiculous Assertion.

85. But it seems, he never Traded with the more sublime parts of Peripatetic Philosophy; else he had better understood the nature of Intelligences. So are wont to be styled, what others call *Dæmons* or Spirits, such as our Writer thought *Justinian* the Emperour to be Incarnate. Now possibly one may have heard of a wicked, but seldom of dull and stupid Intelligences: It's to be feared, that the *Incubus* begot him not all, but *Sabbatius* had also his share in the Generation, and that one part of his Brain was to be Fathered upon one, and the other part upon the other, which caused two so contrary Qualities in his Intellectuals. Had he been Prince of the *Dæmons*, as the pretty story of the Monk, and of *Theodora*'s dream, would make him, certainly they would never have chosen such a Log to their King, if the Election had been at their Disposal. A Prodigy indeed that an Head of Air (as it seems his was, for he walkt often without any on his Shoulders) should have so much of Earthly Dregs and Droſs in it: And that a *Dæmon* who had Power to change his own Shape, and order his assumed Body as he pleased (so it seems he did his Face and Countenance) should to frame the Organs thereof, as to hinder the Operations of the understanding. And the wonder is increased if we consider his high place and calling; for surely that *Dæmon* who was condemned to sit at the Helm of the World, and enjoy the Sovereignty and Magnificence of the *Roman Empire*, could not be of any of the lower Ranks, but an Arch-*Dæmon*, as our Writers fine stories tell us, or one of *Aristotle*'s Intelligences, which turn about the Orbs, and with the Heavens give motion also to all sublunar Bodies. To be serious, Reader, although the Subject merits nothing but Laughter, and Merriment, it's evident enough, that our Writer thought him an Evil *Dæmon*, or Devil incarnate, a Fury, an Evil *Genius*, and that Plagues, Earthquakes, and Inundations he procured by some kind of supernatural Power, and Malignant Influence, judge therefore of the Extravagancy, and Consequently of the Worth, Credit and Estimation of his writing, compare it with the Authentick Books of *Procopius* and see if thou canst allow it to be his, in thy most inward and retired Thoughts. The *Afatick* and flatting style indeed, shews it composed by one that lived either near his time, or by some other, very able in the Art of Imitation, but compared with that of his other Books, demonstrates, that if it was his, he either doated for Age, or was transported with Anger, and other unfeigned Passions. There's Ground enough to suspect it the work of some Person incensed against *Justinian* upon the Account of the three Chapters, which raised him many Enemies, as we shall see when we come to handle the Ecclesiastical matters of these times. If *Procopius* was the Author of it: I shall not openly say with *Alemannus*, that methinks I see him through a Cranny writing in great Fear, startling, and looking about him at the end of every Sentence, lest any body should see him; but before that, i afford him Justice in a matter of Debt, owing him by one of her Familiars. The methinks I see her flouting him, and her self saying, Patriarch, I hear her Euinrich fingin

Sect. 3. singing out, Thou art troubled with an *Hernia*, as she had appointed them; after which he retires home in discontent, breaths nothing but Anger and Fury, and not being able to doe any thing else, takes this Course to be revenged both on her, and *Justinian* her Husband, who it's probable, did also some other way disoblige him.

*Repte Historian  
ex p. p. 69.  
Secr.*

86. Whoever was the Author of the Book, from his Malice, and the mistake either of *Suidas* or his Transcriber, another Scandal hath risen concerning *Justinian*, which must by no means be passed over in silence. As he malitiously compares him to an Afs, so he hath been reported so ignorant that he was not able to reade, that he knew not so much as his very Alphabet. Several learned Lawyers as *Alciate*, *Budaeus* and others have swallowed this down, and *Baronius* glad of such an advantage against him, without any Examination of the Truth thereof, runs away with it, and improves it to Ostentation. Such an one as *Justinian* make Laws of Faith? An *Abscedary Emperour*, an illiterate Divine; utterly unlearned, who knew not how to Reade: Who could never reade so much as the Title of the Bible, no not the very first Elements, not his Alpha Beta. He on a sudden to become a palliated Theologue? He to prescribe Laws to the Church? And so he goes on in the same strain. But that this is a most lewd Lye, appears by several particulars. First its evident, that he used constantly the Converstation of the learnedest Bishops, or Priests of his time, + Every Night sitting up late, and Discoufing with them in his Study concerning the points of Christian Religion; which Converstation could not leave him so Rude and Illiterate. Then *Liberatus* who lived about his time, and bore him no Good Will; yet hath recorded that he writ a Book against the *Acephali* or *Eutychian* Hereticks, in defence of the Council of *Chalcedon*, and that *Theodosius* seeing him so toyl himself in writing against Hereticks, told him, he shold not trouble himself with writing Books, but maintain the Faith by publishing Edicts. *Iodore* testifies, that he published certain Books concerning the Incarnation of our Lord, and made a Refract against the Synod of *Illyricum*, and the *African* Bishops, wherein he condemned the three Chapters: It would be too tedious to reckon up all the Testimonies of Writers, who speake concerning his Books written, and his Disputations in matters of Religion; and that he wrote himself, and ufed not the hands of other men, the Pontificall acknowledgement as it is cited by *Tritemius* in these words: *Justinian the Emperour a Religious man, sent unto the Apostolick see his Profession of Faith written with his own Hand, testifying his great Love to the Christian Religion.* In regard of these (it seems excellent) Writings both Pope *Agatho*, and the whole Sixth general Council, which sate in the next Age of *Justinian*, reckon him in the same Rank, as we shewed before; not onely of Ecclesiastical Writers, but of venerable Fathers, with St. *Cyril*, St. *Chrysostome* and others.

*Justinian was  
not an Alphab-  
etus.**Kalymnos ap.  
Aegypt. ad iei-  
nacionem mis-  
tis rurorum quin-  
tus non inter-  
venit etiam in  
genuis, et  
genuis non  
intervenit etiam  
in aliis corda  
v. Euseb. Prosp.**Appar. Sacr. is  
verb. Justinian.*

87. But not onely was he skilful in Theology, but in the other Arts and Sciences, which are Hand-maids to that Sovereign knowledge. *Agapetus* Deacon of the Church of *Constantinople*, and his Contemporary, affirms, That happy time to be fallen out in his days, which one of the Ancients had predicted, when either Philosophers shold be Kings, or Kings turn Philosophers: Then saith he, In respect of your Philosophy, you are esteemed worthy to Reign, and by Reigning you have not lost your Philosophy. That this was not mere flattery, other Testimonies make more than probable. As for Example, to shew that he was skilled in Musick; *Theophanes* inflanceth in a Greek Hymn, concerning the Divinity and Oeconomy of Christ, composed by him according to the Church notes, and sung at this day by the Greeks in their Service. In Architecture he was so expert, that as *Procopius* witnesseth, he himself designed and delineated the Models of many Buildings, and gave Rules and Directions to the Artificers; as in the Temple of St. *Sophia*, the Palaces in *Heraclium*, and the Haven at *Constantinople*; the Church of the *Blessed Virgin* at *Jerusalem*, the City of *Daras* and others. For his skill in the Laws, not to speak of the Compiling of the Pandects, Code and Institutions, which may be objected was done to his hand by others, he himself composed many of his Novel Constitutions. This the secret Historian sufficiently testifieth, though without any Intention of doing him the least right in this Point, affirming that such Refcripts as were to be made in Answer to any Consultation or Petition, he did not commit to the *Quæstor* as the Custome was, but composed himself; and indeed many more were composed, both by himself and others, than are now extant in our Books. That which was made at the instance of *Sabas* against the *Samaritan* (mentioned in the 1297<sup>th</sup>, as now we have them) he and *Trionian* framed at the third hour of the day, in his Palace called *Magnaura*. Indeed his style is something harsh and favouring,

*In Parans.  
Vide Alemanno  
in Notis, p. 38,  
88, 89, 90, 91.  
Vide Alemanno  
in Notis, p. 38, 90,  
91, 92, 93, 94, 95.  
C. 1297.**Do Edif. 11. +**Vide quando A-  
lemanus id per-  
bat in Notis p. 8.  
Vide Cyrilij Sy-  
ntagma p. 12.*

vouring of *Illyricum* his Country; they are full of Words and, like the other Constitutions made in their times, have not that Elegancy which abounds in the writings of the Ancient Lawyers, yet extant in the Pandects, but have a Taste of the *Astartic* flatting kind of Speech, peculiar to these Ages and Places. But although in Compiling other Laws, he ufed the help and Industry of learned Men; yet when they offered the Books to him, he saith, *Et Legimus & Recognovimus*, which the Glos explained by a *Nos ipsi*, we our selves have Read and perused them.

*Præm. ad Inſi-  
tit.*

88. Therefore *Alemanus* here forsaikes the Cause, and tells you it is a great mistake, that *Justinian* was an *Analphabetus*. That this Opinion had obtained for an hundred and twenty years, and no more, after the *Milan* Imprescion of *Suidas*, which yet was amended by *Demetrius Chalcondyles*, a man who very well deserved of the Greek Tongue. All the Vatican Copies, he saith, have *Isib*, and not *Isivias*, and indeed there are many and gross mistakes committed in Books, in confounding these Names of *Justin* and *Justinian*, as appears from *Euagrius*, the Epistles of *Caffo*, *dorus* and others. *Justin* was *Analphabetus*, and being towards his latter end grown Childish and stupid; this as well as other things might by mistake be ascribed to *Justinian* his Nephew, who for his excellent Endowments by *Theodosius* King of the *Goths*, is deservedly styled *Sapientissimus Imperator and Princeps Doltus*, and as *Alemanus* witnesseth in an Ancient *Vatican Manuscript*, there is this to be Read: *The fifth Holy Synod of Constantinople in the time of Justinian, Doctissimi Imperatoris, The most learned Emperour.* To leave this therefore, and come from his inward to his outward Lineaments: He was of Stature more Tall than ordinary, of a Ruddy and pleasanct Countenance, lookec cunningly, had large Eyes, and ufed the Razor, having a smooth Chin, as all the Pagan Emperours had till *Adrian*; who, as *Dion Caffus* saith, first began to wear a Beard, as afterward *Julian* the Apollote again broke the Cutom, and for that was jeered by the *Antiochians*, against whom he wrote a Book called *Mispogon*. Yet after *Justinian*, the Greek Emperours generally wore Beards. The secret Historian tells us, he was very like the Emperour *Domitian*, whose Status was standing in his time. But we know not how to trust him, because he makes the Wife of *Domitian* very unlike her self. He tells us, she was a good and honest Woman, that the injured or troubled no Man, and never approved the unjust Actions of her Husband, and that being mighty beloved, she was called into the Senate, and bid ask what she pleased: Whereupon the prayded the Fathers, that she might have leave to bury her Husband's body, and erect him one Crown Statue where she thought fit, which was granted her. Now the story of her Goodness, is contrary to what other Authors, both Greek and Latine, have written of her; who affirm her so good Natur'd and Honest, that she was privy to *Domitian*'s her Husband's death, as not onely *Dion Caffus*, but *Sextus Aurelius*, *Philofratus*, *Georgius*, *Synecles* and others, of both sorts have related. And as for that other passage of her gathering his pieces together, into which the enraged People had torn him, *Suetonius* making a Narration for his Funeral speaks not one word of these things; but tells us, his Body was carried out in an ordinary Biere by the *Ve-  
splices*, and buried in the *Via Latina*, by *Phyllis* his Nurse, in her own Suburb. But see the Ingenuity of the secret Author: *Domitian*, he saith, had a very good Wife that oppesd his Villanies, and yet was a cruel Tyrant: *Justinian* had a very bad Wife, which incouraged him in doing ill, nay provoked him to it; yet *Justinian* was as ill as *Domitian*, nay the cruelest Tyrant, and Monster that ever lived under the Sun.

*Vide Alem.  
Notes, p. p. 18,  
35, 37, 122,  
123, 124.  
Vide Prosp. Bell.  
Vand. l. 1. &  
Auth. His. Scr.**Vide formam Ju-  
stini, apud  
Alemanno No-  
tes, p. p. 28. 77.  
Vid. hac.*

89. When he signed any thing, he was wont onely to write the Letter I, which thereupon is called *Justinianus Apex* by *Corippus* the Poet. Yet his Uncle not able to write his own Name, as the secret History affreuth us, had four Roman Letters cut in Wood, wherewith he was wont to sign, being first moistened with that Colour, which the Emperours ufed in such Cafes. This was purple, called in our Books *Sacrum Encaustum* (at this day in Italy, *Enchiistro*) which was kept in a Standifl, in Figure representing a little Dog; from which he that had the Custody of it, and brought it still to the Prince, was said to be a *Canicula*, being ordinarily one of his most inward Councillours, and a near Kinsman. But although *Justin* signed with four Letters, as the Ancient Romans, some Names with three, otheers with two, and some with but one, as *Justinian*, yet afterwards the Eastern Emperours usually put to their whole Names; but the Letters thereof were folded in strange and secrete Knots and Implications, as appears in their ancient *Diploma*'s, like to those which our People have lately got upon their Coaches. But to make an end with *Justinian*, as it's more than time, by his Wife *Theodora* he had a Daughter, of which was born; as seems from the secret History, *Anastasius* whom his Grandmother

*C. 1.6. de diver-  
s. Refract.**Vide Alem.  
One litera. ur.  
M. T. C. diabas  
Ca. tribus ut  
Ser.*

Sect. 3. Grandmother privately married to *Jannina* the Daughter of *Belisarius*, without Consent of her Parents. He had also a base Son called *Theodosius Zirus*, born after the death of *Theodora*, if we may believe *Theophanes* a Byzantine Historian in *Photius*; and yet *Constantinus Manasses* hath written, that he neither had Sons nor Daughters, nor any to succeed him. He was born on the fifth of the Ides of *May*, in what year is uncertain, as also how long he lived, but the most probable Opinion is, that he died about eighty. His death fell out on the Ides of *November*, after he had

*Vide Alim. quia  
supra.*

What issue he had. Reigned nine and thirty Years, seven Months and thirteen Days, reckoned from the Calends of *April*, in the Consulship of *Maborius*, when he was declared *Augustus* by his Uncle, and his Colleague in the Empire. Concerning the manner of his Death, there is nothing extant in any ancient Author. Some later Writers tell a story, that he died distract; but the Ancient Historians affirm the same thing of *Justin* his Nephew, and to his Memory is ill treated amongst them, some ascribing to him the Ignorance and Dotage of *Justin* the Elder, and others the Madness of *Justin* the younger, by reason of the likenesses of their Names. But what he was in his Life, we have given an Account more large than we desired, and more out of Respect to Truth, and Impartiality than him; although *Alemannus* thinks Lawyers to be partial to his Memory. His Reign was very full of Action, and the particulars of his Wars so remarkable, that they were not to be slightly touched. For his Morals, the utmost that can be said, for or against him; the Reader hath before his Eyes, and let him make such a Judgment and pass Sentence, as he shall think most suitable to the Subject. Here with him we are to take leave of *Procopius* his Historiographer, an Account of whose Person and Writings we deferred to this place; because of the secret History said to be written by him.

An Account of Procopius. 90. *Procopius* was born at *Cæfarea* a City of *Palestine*, and came to *Constantinople*, in the days of *Anastasius* the Emperour, where he was presently taken notice of, being a Person of very good parts, general learning, and of singular Prudence. *Justin* the Elder being in great straits, by reason of the *Perfian* War, preferred him as a Councillour to *Belisarius* the General. *Suidas* styles him his Secretary, but he himself who had best reason to know his own Employment, faith he, was his Asséjour. Of what Profession he was, for he arrived at this and other places of Trust and Honour, Writers do not agree. *Blondus* and *Sabellicus* of later times, have fanfied him a Physician. But *Eugrius*, *Agathias* and *Photius* call him a Rhetour, an Oratour, or a Pledger of Causes; and indeed he was a Lawyer, Men of this Profession being usually preferred to be Councillours or Asséjoures to Generals of Armies and others of the greater sort of Magistrates. *Justinian* coming to the Government continued him in his Employment, being hardly permitted to remove from the Elbow of *Belisarius*, either in the Expeditions of *Africk* or *Italy*, so highly was he valued. No sooner was the General recall'd out of *Africk*, but he was sent to *Carthage* to *Solomon*, the then Commander in chief, to secure and settle the late Conquests. How he was particularly employed in *Perſia* and *Italy*, at *Rome*, and *Naples*, he himself tells us; though indeed very modestly and only as by the way, yet these and other Managements of Affairs purchased him such Repute in the Commonwealth, that being first made Illustrious, and then a Senator, at length having published his Histories of the Wars, he arrived at the Prefecture of the City, in the five and thirtieth Year of *Justinian's* Reign.

His works. 91. It hath been the fate of his Writings in later times, to be exposed naked and maimed to the World, though doubtless Correct enough when he first presented them to the view of *Justinian* and his Subjects, who received and Read them with extraordinary Favour and Applause. The first that committed any of them to the Pres, was *Leonardus Aretinus*, who published his History of the *Gothick* Wars, but put a Trick upon the World very much unbecoming a Learned man. For he suppressed the Greek Copy, and concealing the Author's name, set forth a Latin Translation of his own, pretending it was a Collection made by himself out of many Authors, and styled it *De bello Italico*, dedicating it to *Julianus Cæsarinus*. The Greek Copy, *Blondus Flavius* saith, was by his Industry first brought into *Italy*. But it wants some Passages, which have been since supplied, and he inveigles against some which are now found to be accurate and justifiable, and therefore was imposed on either by the old Manuscript, or by the Person that Translated it for him; and his Censure he might well have spared, seeing as he confesses himself, he was altogether Ignorant in the Greek Tongue. *Christophorus Persona* conceiving great Indignation at the Carriage of *Aretinus*, translated the History out of the Original, and did Justice to the Author in publishing his Name; but his Edition is very Lame and out of Order. After them *Raphael Volateran*

*Volateran* published in Latine, the remaining Books of the *Perfian* and *Vandal* Wars, Sect. 3. but from an imperfect Copy as *Persona*; for neither of them, though they were Library Keepers of the Vatican, made their Translations out of the Vatican Copy, which as *Alemannus* tells us, is complete in all Degrees.

92. In what years the seven Books concerning the *Perfian*, *Vandal* and *Gothick* Wars were published by the Author himself is not certain, although he tells us, they were commonly known throughout the *Roman Empire*: Yet that a good part of them were come abroad, before the two and twentieth year of *Justinian*, and the Death of *Theodora* is evident, and all of them before his six and twentieth year as he himself relates at the beginning of the eighth Book, which he wrote in the twenty seventh. But the eighth Book, or the fourth as it's called of the *Gothick* War, hath no proper Title; for in it he comprizeth whatsoever happened to the *Romans*, as well from the *Perfians* and *Vandals*, as the *Goths*; and therefore it deriveth rather the Name of a Miscellaneous or various History, as he styleth it. He *published* published it well nigh as soon as it was finished, and afterward as *Alemannus* will have it, set his mind to Writing his Secret History; which yet for what cause we know not, he deferred till the two and thirtieth year of *Justinian*, in which year he finished it (as well he might) and kept it concealed till the Death of the Emperour full seven years. But *Justinian* being much delighted with the Histories of the Wars, enjoyned him to Write another Treatise concerning the Buildings, which he did at the latter end of his Reign, and wonderfully celebrates him for his Magnificence therein; however the Secret History doth bespatter him. These are the Books of *Procopius* now extant, of which *Nicephorus* his Partition is to be blamed, and it were to be wished, we had had *Photius* his Account of them in his *Bibliotheca* concerning his Religion, and his heterodox Opinions; the Reader if he please may consult *Alemannus* in his Notes upon the Secret History, on which he hath made a very good Comment, and thereby deserved well of Postevity, be the Text what it will.

93. But see where are we now? What a Prospect doth here present it self. What a vast Empire have we beheld, what large Provinces, what Variety of Affairs relating both to Peace and War? Great Armies, great Performances, Stratagems and Variety of Accidents, by which the Grandeur and Glory of the *Roman Empire* hath been revived. Behold what a Precipice! We are descending into low, mean and narrow Tracts, and shall find the Empire but short, and our selves straitened; the farther we pass, little of Action, and less of Performance. Whatever thou wbst, the Greatness of Empire, the Glory of Majest, the Power of Arms, the Efficacy of Laws, the Renown and Splendour of the *Roman Name*, in a manner died and was buried with thee O *Justinian*.

## C H A P. III.

*From the Death of Justinian the Great, and the Promotion  
of Justin the Second, to the Death of Heraclius, when  
the Saracens began to grow terrible to the World.*

*The space of seventy five years.*

*Justin succeeds his Uncle.* **J**USTINIAN being Dead, *Justin* succeeded him, the Son of *Vigilantia* *Vigilantis nomen huius infame* *Exaltis ad John the Roman Patriarch*, in the fourteenth Indiction, the seventh of *Clotarius King of the Franks*, in the DLXV year of our Lord.

*tric vocabulum fuit. Propterea Graecorum more eam Biglanitiam vocari; sic apud Mauritium in strategis Blyxam & Braxam vixilla, vigila, vigaro. Erratos quos in Justiniani genealogia texenda commiserrant Avrilius Parvinius, Tribolumus, vide tibi in diagrammate ab oculis positis quod Alemannum in Notis, p. 67. De initio Justini vide Baron. Quis memorare posset tanta miracula pompe?*

2. His Uncle dying about midnight, he was raised out of his Bed by *Callinicus* the *Præpositus Excubitorum*, and advised to besir himself for the Imperial Diadem. Coming then to Court, he found the Senate very ready to accept him for their Prince, and took immediately the Government upon him, while in the mean time his Relations take care of the dead Body of his Predecessour. *Sophia* the Neice of *Theodora* and her successeour also in the Imperial Dignity, as the Wife of *Justin*, covers it with a very rich Cloth, wherein are imbroidered the Actions of the Deceased Emperour, and at length it's carried forth to Burial, with miraculous pomp, as *Coriippus* the Poet phraefeth it, who hath excellently described the manner thereof. But e'er the Body was Buried, *Justin* had taken the Ensigns of Majestie which he performed in a Religious manner, first making his Prayers to his Saviour, and then receiving the Benediction of *John* the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, with the Crown from his Hands. This Ceremony over, and the Acclamations made, he now seated in his Throne, makes a speech to the People, and perceiving some amongt them to make complaint of the Debts owing them by his Uncle, ordered them presently to be paid. He appeated the factious *Veneti* and *Prajni* with a courageous Message, bidding the *Mandator* (who was the Emperour's Officer in the Cirque, as the *Quæstor* was in the Senate,) tell the *Veneti* that *Justinian* as to them was Dead, and the *Prajni* that as to them he still lived, which having received, they became quiet and so remained afterward. But to please the People in general, he promised to restore the Consulship, and accordingly when the first of January came, he took upon him that Title, and gave a donative to them according to the ancient custome, going to Church there to worship Almighty God after the Christian manner, as the Pagan Consuls were wont to ascend into the Capitol.

He appeals the fations of the Cirque. Takes the Consulship. **3.** Such was the beginning of *Justin*, who so seemed to have esblished himself, that he feared not the Incurfions of the Barbarous Nations. Not long after his entrance upon the Consulship, he gave audience to the Ambassadours of *Gaganus* King of the *Avari*, who came to demand the Penfion formerly paid them by *Justinian*, to purchase the quiet of his Provinces; but *Justin* flatly refused to pay them any, and sent them home as empty as they came, threatening to chafite their Infolence with War, if they presumed to offer any violence to his Subjects. This perhaps he might be more bold to say, because *Photius* hath it in his *Bibliotheca* from *Theophanes* an Historian of *Constantinople*, that the *Turks* a people inhabiting the parts lying upon the *Tanais* toward the East, (of old called *Masfages*, but by the *Persians* in their own Language *Chermichicona*) sent their Ambassadours to him with Presents, desiring him that he would not patronife the *Avari* their greatest Enemies. What succels this Courage and Confidence of *Justin* had we shall see hereafter. His beginning was very good, had he but continued in the same course of Virtue, but he presently began to fall off into a voluptuous sort of Life, and to

*Pontificum sumus plenis que statu vermissus*  
*Afflantem lecique parentem*  
*Ezorans Do- mini facias di- ademata regali*  
*Augustinus facie caput, for- mique coronam impone opis,*  
*Etc.*  
*Theophanes Vide Alem.*

*Vide Corippum.*

maintain and nourish the fire of his Lust and brutish appetite, scraped money together in any unlawfull manner whatsoeuer, selling and making money of all things, and without respect to that God he had at first pretended so much to honour, exposing to sale the Church preferments, even to the vilest sort of the People. And he presently gave the world a notable sign of his intemperate mind, in publishing in his very first year several Constitutions concerning Marriage. By one he repealed the penal Laws of *Justinian* made against unlawfull Marriages, refusing to separate such as had contracted them. This bears date on the first of *January*; But a worse followed the next *September*, which made it lawfull to break any Marriages, the consent of the Parties first obtained.

4. "In this Constitution he begins with a commendation of Marriage, as a venerable thing in respect of the procreation of Children, without which all Countries and Cities must at length turn Desolate, and all Commonwealths come to nothing. Therefore he wifhes it were always so fortunate, that without just cause it need never be dissolved. But forasmuch as amongst such multitudes of people, it's impossible but that some times vehement and irreconcileable differences must arife, he thinks fit to find out a remedy for this Distemper, especially in such a case where the hatred betwixt Man and Wife are so great, that there is no means to be found for a Reconciliation. Now the ancient Laws permitted such to be divorced, provided it were done by consent of both Parties. And many such Laws there were, such a dissolution of Matrimony was also faid to be made *bona gratia* in the vulgar Tongue. But afterward that most Sacred Prince his Father, (who in Piety and Wisedom excelled all Princes that ever Reigned,) out of his own benign and constant temper and inclination, and a sense of the miserable and paffilanituous condition of others, made a Law that forbade Marriage to be dissolved though by consent, which he wifhes hereby might remain in it's force and vigour. But many he faith had addressed themselves to him, and signified a great hatred and aversion they had to the matrimonial bands wherewith they were naturally incumbred, and (which is worse and ought feriously to be lamented,) great Bickerings, Quarrels, and Strifes, had already arisen as both Parties complained in way of Accusation, and therefore defred their Marriages might be nullled, although they could not alledge any Caues or Reasons allowable in Law for so doing. He tells us, he had sometimes lovingly admonished, and sometimes threatened, endeavouring to compose these differences, and end these diffractiuns, in an amicable way, not suddenly condescending to what they desired. But he nothing profited thereby, it being a thing exceeding difficult, to reconcile such as have conceived an inveterate hatred; for the breaches grew still wider, and some proceeded from Quarrels to Conspiracies, and at length it came to poysonings and other mischievous devices; so that sometimes it happened, that Children which ought to be Pledges of mutual Love, could not reduce them to a good understanding.

5. "Forasmuch therefore, he faith, as these things are not at all convenient for the times wherein he Reigned, he betakes himself to this present Constitution, whereby he decrees and ordains that it be lawfull, as formerly it was, to dissolve Marriages by consent, and Repeals what formerly his Father by his Sanction had ordained against such as so solemnized them. For if mutual affection causeth Matrimony, with good reaon the contrary Inclination by mutual consent disalloweth it; provided this be declared by bills of Divorce sent for the same purpose. Provided also that what by other Laws, especially by the sacred Constitutions of his Father, had been ordained concerning free Marriages, and the caues by which it was permitted to dissolve Matrimony, as also concerning them, who without any caue separated themselves, and the penalties inflicted upon them, by virtue of this present Constitution, retain their full effect, power and virtue. Then follows his Epilogue, whereby he enjoys that, what by this Law he had declared and published, should after the wonted manner be exposed to the view of the people in the City of *Constantinople*, and he dates it on the eighteenth of the Calends of October. Now the Reader must know, that formerly this Constitution was taken for *Justinian's* being crowded amongst his Novels, but late Interpreters have discovered the mistake, and *Baronius* being in a very good mood, tells you he is wronged; forasmuch as *Justin* testifieth that the contrary to it had been decreed by *Justinian*. He tells you that you may nothing doubt hereof, you have the edition of *Julianus the Antecessor*, wherein this Constitution being recited is ascribed to *Justin* and not to his Uncle. And this he was obliged to say, to vindicate *Justinian* from the Calumnies which some have fastned upon him.

6. How-

*Exagius l. 2. c.*

*Justin. Novel.  
Conf. 3. apud  
Julian.*

*Apud Novel. Ju-  
stinian. 140.  
tit. 23.*

*Hoc constitutio-  
nem extat in Conf.  
Justinianum non  
est in Conf. Julianam  
de matrimonio  
I. 8. c. de  
Republik.  
Reductio. Jus  
Vetus I. 60. 61.  
62. D. de donat.  
inter vir. Nov. 22.  
c. 4. abrogata.  
Nov. 17. c. 10.*

*Bona gratia di-  
vidit matrimoniū  
difficit, quies-  
cetibus velenis  
tibet conjugis.  
Bona gratia idem  
est apud Terram  
lib. de Mone-  
mia, amicis se-  
ratione videtur.  
Sed ex bona gra-  
tia Matrimonium  
difficit ali-  
quando, et si-  
cundum sive  
interdum finit  
justa causa in hic.*

*Fure veteri inter-  
volentes graviss.  
de causa permis-  
sum repudium.*

*Sed vide C. de  
Repud. I. 8.*

*Ad Ann. 566.  
num. XI.*

He turns Cruel.

6. However *Justin* pleased the ordinary people by this new Law concerning Marriages, he disgusted all sober Persons by his bloody Actions the year following, putting to Death several men of extraordinary Eminency. The principal of these was *Justin* his Kinsman, of whom being employed much in the Wars we have often heretofore made mention. *Euagrius* writes, that *Justin* the Emperour being <sup>Lib. 5. c. 1. 2.</sup> tangled with two contrary Vices, Foolhardines and Cowardise, first commanded *Justinis* his Kinsman to come to his presence, a man of great Honour and Estimation, both for his great Abilities in War, and other rare accomplishments of his Person, who then resided about the River *Danubius*, to restrain the Incursions of the *Abari*. These *Abari* he tells us were a People of *Syria*, and part of those called *Anaxibia*, inhabiting the Regions beyond *Caucasus*, but being driven out of their Country by the *Turks* their Neighbours, and variously infested by them, they came first to *Bosphorus*, and thence quitting the Coasts of the *Euxine Sea*, (inhabited by Barbarians, though the Cities and strong Holds were in the hands of the *Romans*.) they held freight on their Voyage, and subdued all Barbarous Nations before them till they came to the *Danube*, whence they sent Ambassadors to *Justinian* the Emperour. Hence now was *Justin* recalled to reap the benefit of the Agreement, as was pretended, made formerly betwixt him and *Justin* now Emperour; for seeming both to be of equal fame, and as well the one as the other, capable of the Empire, after long debates had about the Imperial Power, they covenanted betwixt themselves, that whetheroever of them were Crowned Emperour, should make the other the second Person in Honour, and though second in respect of the Emperour, yet he should be first in respect of all others. At first therefore that *Justin* who was preferred to the Empire, embraced the other with counterfeit kindnes, but by little and little forged Crimes against him, took from him his Guard and Train, commanded him to keep his House, and at length ordered him to be hurried away to *Alexandria*, where about midnight he was cruelly Murthered in his Bed, and received this recompence for the love he bore to the Commonwealth, and the notable Service he had done in the Wars. And yet by this were not the Fury and Rage of the Emperour and his Wife mitigated, but they must see his Head after it was cut from his Shoulders, and kick it with their Feet in an insulting and scornful manner.

Murthered *Justin*

his Kinsman.

Purs to Death  
*Addaeus* and  
*Aetherius*.The Lombards  
invade Italy.The Original of  
them.

7. Not long after *Justin* called to Judgment *Addaeus* and *Aetherius* two Senators, and in great place and esteem with *Justinian*, accusing them both of most heinous Crimes. And *Aetherius* confessed he had designed to Poyson the Emperour, and that *Addaeus* was of his Council herein, and conficuous to all his Purposes. But with solemn and dreadfull Oaths, *Addaeus* protested he was altogether Innocent, yet both of them lost their Heads. *Addaeus* at his Execution confessed freely, that though he was not guilty of that Crime for which he was Condemned in the least, yet he had deserved that punishment from the just hand of Almighty God, who both fees and punishes wicked persons; For he had by Inchantments made away *Theodosius*, Prefect of the Palace. Whether these things were so *Euagrius* is not able to say, but affirms that both these were wicked Persons, for *Addaeus* was a Sodomite, and *Aetherius* deviled all sorts of Calumnies againtt Innocent men, and under colour of serving the Emperour in his Office of Prefect of his Court, spoiled both the Living and Dead in the Reign of *Justinian*. So went matters at *Constantinople*, while all things were thought to be in repose in the Western parts, and especially in *Italy*, where the *Goths* and *Franks* had been lately defeated, so that no danger at all seemed to threaten that Country. But a great Noife was presently heard of Barbarians, that again were crowding and rushing into it, filling all places with terror and amazement, and putting to silence all other motions, as great Thunders and Concussions are wont to suppress lesser sounds. These were the *Lombards* who were now making their expedition into *Italy*; upon what Inducments, and in what manner we come to shew after that we have first made some short Observations concerning the Original of this People, which grew afterward so considerable in *Italy*, and the name and fame of which is not extinct at this very day, their name sticking to their Country.

8. As for their Original then, it may without much difficulty be gathered out of ancient Writers, that the *Vandals*, *Ostrogoths*, *Weltrogoths*, the *Gepidae*, and *Lombards*, all owe their descent to the Island or rather Peninsula of *Scania*. As also that the *Goths* properly so called, and the *Gepidae* and *Vandals* were of the same Go-thick stock, and that the *Longbards*, or *Lombards*, or *Longbeards*, (for none doubts but that from the length of their Beards they had their Name,) were descended from the *Gepidae*. These *Gepidae* were so called, because when the *Goths* made an expedition trahit.

*Plinio dicitur*  
*Scandinaviam*,  
*Ptolemae Scandi-*  
*navia, formata*,  
*Siue Pro-*  
*ince Thule. Coni-*  
*nit parrem Nor-*  
*wegia ex Danie-*  
*lia. Geput Germanis:*  
*It qui moram*  
*expedition trahit.*

expedition out of *Scania* in three Ships, they sailed slower than the rest, and staid in an Island of the River *Vistula*. Yet from their roving and wandering abroad were they also named *Winili*, the same as to signification of the word with *Wandal*, a diverse pronunciation of the same word, which usually happeneth in proeys of time making it be taken for several. These *Winili* or *Langobards* being grown in the Island to such a multitude, that it could not maintain and nourish them all, divided themselves into three parts, onewhereof, on which the Lot should fall, must seek themselves out new Habitations. Forced therefore to quit their Native Countrey, they chose two Brothers for their Captains *Ibor* and *Ago*, the Sons of one *Gambara*, a Woman very eminent for her Wisedom, and came into a place called *Scoringa*, where they remained for some years. At this time it happened, that the *Vandals* infested all the Countries adjoyning, and puffed up with their success, sent to the *Winili* requiring them either to pay Tribute, or instantly prepare themselves for War. *Ibor* and *Ago* the two Captains, by the advice of their Mother, returned answer they would fight rather than live in Servitude, considering that although their followers were not many in number, yet active and courageous, being as themselves in the flower of their Age. Acted by this natural heat and vigour and a consideration of their liberty they fought so stoutly, that they obtained a Victory over the *Vandals*; but being sorely distresed with Famine, they resolved to quit *Scoringa*, and find out some better Seat.

9. Making then for *Maurunga*, the *Affipiti* denied them passage through their Territories, at which being much troubled, and fearing their small Numbers would not be able to make good the Attempt, they betook themselves to a Strategem, and raised a rumour amongst their Enemies that they had amongst them, *Cynocephali* or men with Heads like to Dogs, who fed on Man's blood, and when an Enemy was wanting, on their own. To strike a greater terror into the *Affipiti*, they enlarge their Camp, and kindle many fires, which with the other report so terrified them, that they had not the Courage to Ingage; but having one amongst them of great esteem for strength and Courage, offered him to fight with any one of the *Lombards* whom they should pick out; if their Champion overcame, the Passage should be denied, but if the *Lombard* should be Victor, then should it be granted free and without molestation. When the *Lombards* considered who to chuse, a certain Slave offered himself, desiring that in case he overcome, the ignominy of Slavery might be taken away both from him and his Family, which granted, he fought and overcame his Adverary. Then did the *Lombards* pass into *Maurunga*, where to increase the number of Warriors they manumitted many Slaves, and making no long stay there, they proceeded to *Gotland*, where having staid alfo some time, they possessed themselves of *Anthabet*, *Batabis* and *Zurgabda* for some years, which *Paul* conjectureth to be names of certain Towns or Places. In this mean time Died *Ibor* and *Ago*, who first brought them out of *Scandinavia*, and had governed them till now.

10. They being Dead, the *Lombards* resolved to have no more Captains, but a King to govern them after the manner of other Nations. They made choice therefore of *Agelmund* the Son of *Ago*, who exercised this Office three and thirty years. At this time it happened that a certain Strumpet was delivered of seven Boys, which she cast into a Fishpond, and thither by chance in his way came King *Agelmund*, who spying the Children stopt his Horse, and stirring them with his Spear, it fortuned that one of them took fast hold of it with his hand. The King amazed therat, foretold he would be a more than ordinary man, and commanded him to be taken up and delivered unto a Nurse, calling him *Lamiffo*, from *Lama*, which in their Language signified a Fishpool. When this *Lamiffo* was grown up, they reported that the *Amazons* forbade the *Lombards* to pass a certain River, whereupon it was agreed, that the most valiant amongst them should fight with him in the Water swimming, on condition that if the *Amazon* overcame *Lamiffo*, the *Lombards* should withdraw, but if he got the better, they must then have free passage. He fought with her and got the Victory, as the fable went, and the *Lombards* passing the River, still made farther progres, till growing secure through their constant Succes, the *Bulgares* fell upon them by Night, and wounding many killed some, amongst whom fell *Agelmund* their King, and his only Daughter was taken Prisoner. Yet the *Lombards* taking Courage chose *Lamiffo* for their King, who being a stout and active young man, thirsted after nothing so much as to revenge the Death of his Predecessour, but at the first encounter, his men were worsted and beaten disgracefully to their Camp.

*Vide Gratii Pro-*  
*legion, in Histor.*  
*Gub. Vandali &*  
*Langobardorum.*

*Pauli Warnefridi*  
*Langobardorum*  
*filius Dic. aus*  
*forensibus de*  
*Ufficio Langobard.*  
*ho. 1. c. 1. 2;*  
*&c.*

They pass into  
*Maurunga*.

They chuse a King to govern them after the manner of other Nations. They made choice therefore of *Agelmund* the Son of *Ago*, who exercised this Office three and thirty years. At this time it happened that a certain Strumpet was delivered of seven Boys, which she cast into a Fishpond, and thither by chance in his way came King *Agelmund*, who spying the Children stopt his Horse, and stirring them with his Spear, it fortuned that one of them took fast hold of it with his hand. The King amazed therat, foretold he would be a more than ordinary man, and commanded him to be taken up and delivered unto a Nurse, calling him *Lamiffo*, from *Lama*, which in their Language signified a Fishpool. When this *Lamiffo* was grown up, they reported that the *Amazons* forbade the *Lombards* to pass a certain River, whereupon it was agreed, that the most valiant amongst them should fight with him in the Water swimming, on condition that if the *Amazon* overcame *Lamiffo*, the *Lombards* should withdraw, but if he got the better, they must then have free passage.

*Lamiffo quasi*  
*Lama sibi Pif-*  
*cine filius.*

After him *La-*  
*miffo*.

Then Others.

They pass into  
Rugiland.They inhabit  
Champion  
Countries.War with the  
Herculi.Rodulphus their  
King slain.After him they  
refuse to have  
any more Kings.

11. *Lamisso* exceedingly concerned at their flight, testified his resentment there-of both by words and gesture, putting them in mind of the Infamy they contracted by not revenging the Death of their King, and the Captivity of his Daughter designed by them for his Wife, and partly by threats, and partly by good Language and rewards, he so wrought upon them that they fell violently upon the *Bulgares*, and after a most bloody Contest, gave them a great Overthrow, which done, they bestowed a Royal Funeral on the King's body, and being enriched with Plunder, became more hardy and resolute to endure the labours of War. After *Lamisso's* Death, *Lechu* Reigned almost forty years, and then his Son *Hildehoc* who was followed by *Gudehoc*. In those days there was War betwixt *Odoachar*, (so *Paul the Historian* calls him,) who Reigned some years in *Italy*, and *Feletheus* or *Ferna* King of the *Rugi* inhabiting then on the other side of the *Danube*, which separated those Coasts from the borders of *Noricum*. *Feletheus* and his Wife *Gifa* not being reclaimed from their wicked Courses, by all that *Severinus* a Religious Person, having a Monastery in their Dominions, could say unto them, *Odoachar* mustered up all his Forces consisting of *Turcilingi*, *Heruli* and such *Rugi* as he had already brought under his Dominion, besides the people of *Italy*, and came into *Rugiland* where he destroyed both *Feletheus* and his followers, which done, he returned into *Italy*, carrying with him in triumph great numbers of Captives. The *Lombards*, as no Land is lost for want of Heirs, then came into *Rugiland*, and finding it a fertile Country, made their stay there for certain years.

12. In the mean time their King *Gudehoc* dies, to whom succeeds *Claffo* his Son, and after him Reigned his Son *Tato* the seventh King in order. The *Lombards* also now departed out of *Rugiland*, and inhabited in open Champions in the Barbarous Language called *Feld*, where making their abode for three years, a Quarrel and War arose betwixt *Tato*, and *Rodulphus* King of the *Heruli*. The Brother of this *Rodulphus* being sent upon an Embassy, for procurement of Peace and a good understanding, as he returned home again, chanced to pass by the House of *Rumetruda* the King's Daughter, who seeing a great train and equipage, asked who it was that passed by, and receiving for answer that it was the Brother of *Rodulphus*, invited him to drink a glass of Wine. In he came, but being a man low of Stature, and of a mean Presence, she derided him, which not able to bear, he returned her, as biting Language, and this so netted her, that dissembling her malice, and inviting him to sit down with his Head to a Window, the thence caused him to be killed with Lances. His Brother *Rodulphus* at the News grew very impatient, and denouncing War to *Tato*, their Armies faced each other in the open Field. *Rodulphus* orders his men to be ready for Battel, but sits at Play in his Tent despising his Enemies, and being confident in the strength of his own Souldiers, who of late had been very Victorious, and either that they might be more Nimble, or out of contempt of Danger, were wont to fight without any other covering than only something tied about their privy Members. One of his Attendants he commanded to climb a Tree near at hand, and as soon as he saw the *Lombards* run, to tell him, threatening to cut off his Head if he brought him News of the flight of the *Heruli*. The Fellow therefore out of fear, though he saw them give ground, durst not let the King know so much, but ever as he asked him what he law, answered that the *Heruli* did gallantly demean themselves, and concealed their fortune till such time as they were absolutely routed; and he cried out woe be to thee O miserable *Herulia*, against whom Almighty God is incensed, or to this purpose. At these words the King startled, demanded of his Watchman if his *Heruli* fled, to which he replied 'tis not I, but thou O King that sayest it. Confounded hereat, he and his Courtiers knew not what course to take, and the *Lombards* coming upon them made great slaughter, killing King *Rodulphus* amongst the rest.

13. The *Heruli* were so distracted through fear, or from some higher cause, that they took the green fields for water, and stretching out their Armes and Bodies to swim, were miserably cut in pieces by the perfusing Enemy. The victorious *Lombards* then divided the Plunder, and *Tato* for his share took the Standard of *Rodulphus*, called *Bandum*, with the Helmet he was wont to wear in Battel. The Valour of the *Heruli* became extinct, together with *Rodulphus*, after whom they refused to have any more Kings. But the *Lombards* on the contrary took such courage, that increasing their Armies by the several Nations they had subdued, they fought after all occasions of Trophies and Glory. But not long after the Triumph *Tato* was slain by *Wacho*, the Son of his Brother *Zuchilo*. *Hildichus*, the Son of *Tato*, endeavoured to revenge his death, but was beaten out of the Countrey, and fled to the *Gepidae*, amongst whom he spent the remainder of his days, and sowed seeds

*Gudehoc*, bonum  
*Latitudine*, *Gifa* in voc. *Alem.*  
*Gifa*, *Giro* Con-  
siderata ex *Gisel-*  
*bertus*, *Comitum*  
capitum in vo-  
cab. *Alem.* *Gi-*  
*selbert*, *Giselber-*  
*Giselbertus*, *Gisel-*  
*bertus*, *Inde Con-*  
*tra*, *Gilbert*,  
*Ruge-lan* *birtusa*  
terra non bade  
*Rough & Ru-*  
*gird pro Ruge.*

*Bandum* vexil-  
lum à *Binden*  
vincire. *Binden*  
Angl. to Bind.

seeds of Dissentions betwixt the two now different Nations. At the same time (a) *Wa-*  
(a) *Wachob*, who subdued the *Suevi*, and made them subject to his Commands. He had three *vis ebor*, Wives; the first (*I*) *Ranicunda*, Daughter of the King of the *Turingi*, after which he con-  
married *Ausfrigosa*, the Daughter of the King of the *Gepidae*, which brought him two Daughters, viz. (*c*) *Wilegarda*, married to *Theodorebert* King of the *Franks*, (*b*) *Ranigunda*,  
and (*d*) *Walderada*, Wife to *Ciswald*, another King of that Nation, who having no tie,  
kindness for her, bestowed her on *Garipald*, one of his Subjects. *Wachob's* third (*e*) *Wilegarda*,  
Wife was *Salunga*, the Daughter of the King of the *Heruli*, and on her he begat his *Sapientia* col-  
Son (*f*) *Waltari*, who succeeded him in his Kingdom. All these were called (*f*) *Le-teria*,  
thing, by which name were signified such as descended of a noble Race.

(d) *Wal-rade*,  
bené confidens, in  
voc. *Alm.* *Wa-*  
*teria*, & *Soni* *mihi* *causa* *Waldrada*. (e) *Wald-bar*, *Nemoris Dominus*. (f) *Erbeling*, *Edeling Nobilis Saxon.*

14. *Waltari* reigned seven years, and then gave place to *Audoin*, the ninth King *Aud-oin*, *Veru-*  
in order, who, not long after, led the *Lombards* into *Pannonia*. Now the grudges *inveniens*, in voc.  
formerly conceived betwixt the *Gepide* and them broke out into an open War. Both *Aud-oin*,  
sides fighting stoutly, and it being uncertain to which the Victory would incline,  
it happened in a fight, that *Alboin*, the Son of *Audoin*, met *Turifmodus*, the Son of *Albo-in*, *omnia*  
*Turifmodus*, and striking him from his Horse with his Sword, presently slew him, *Turis-modus*, ferse  
which the *Gepidae* perceiving, their King's Son, who had been the great fomenter animo  
of the differences, being now dead, took them to their heels. The victorious *Lom-Torri-mund*, *fe-*  
*bards*, when they returned home, defred their King that he would admit his Son *xix ore*,  
*Alboin* to dine with him, who had been the procurer of so great a victory. But he  
answered, that he could not violate the Customs of his Nation, which did not ad-  
mit the King's Son to eat with him, except he first received Arms from some  
foreign King. Hereupon *Alboin* takes along with him onely forty young Men, and  
goes straight to *Turifmodus*, whose Son he had lately slain, and tells him the reason  
of his coming. He kindly receives and admires him to his Table, placing him on  
his Right Hand, where his late Son was wont to sit. Yet when he considered  
with himself whose place that had been, and called to mind the death of his Son,  
he could not contain himself, but deeply sighing, said, that seat he loved well, but  
he could not well brook the Person that now possessed it. Hereupon his other Son  
being present, began to affront the *Lombards*, saying, they were like Mares that  
had white Feet, because their Legs were bound about with white bands, or fillets.  
One of them bad him go along with them to the place called *Asfeld*, and there he  
should feel how these Mares could kick, where his Brothers bones were scattered as  
were wont to be those of some vile Carriage-beast. This provoked the *Gepidae* ex-  
ceedingly, and the *Lombards* laid their hands on their Swords, which the King per-  
ceiving, leapt from the Table, and putting himself betwixt them, rebuked his own  
Son and Servants, threatening severely to punish him that should first strike a stroke,  
and affirming it were a Conquest not at all pleasing to Almighty God, to kill one's  
Enemy in his own House. The fray being appealed, they went on with their  
Dinner, and *Turifmodus* taking the Arms of his late Son *Turifmodus*, bestowed them on  
*Alboin*, and dismissed him in safety. *Alboin* coming to his Father, was now ad-  
mitted to his Table, where he told all that had passed in the Court of *Turifmodus*, to  
the admiration of all those that heard it, who commended much *Alboin* for his  
Courage, and extolled the generosity of the King.

15. At this time, saith *Paulus Diaconus*, *Justinian* governed the *Roman Empire* in *Romanum Imperium*  
an happy manner, being in War prosperous, and wonderfull in Civil Affairs. For *regibus*, *qui &*  
by *Belsarius*, a Patrician, he overcame the *Perfians*, and utterly destroyed the Na-*ri* *profecti* *ef-*  
*fectio* of the *Vandals*, having taken Prisoner *Gelimer*, their King, and restored all *for* *er in causa*  
*Africca*, after a separation of ninety and six years, to the *Roman Empire*. By the *caelibus minifi-*  
*cus exitus*. means of the same *Belsarius* he overthrew the *Goths in Italy*, taking also Prisoner  
*Witibius* their King. After this he restrained the *Mores*, who made Incursions into  
*Africca*, and with incredible dexterity using the service of *John the Exconfut*, de-  
feated their King *Attila*. Other Nations he also mastered by War, and deservedly  
obtained the several Surnames of *Alamanicus*, *Gothicus*, *Francicus*, *Germanicus*, *An-*  
*ticus*, *Alanicus*, *Wandalicus* and *Africanus*. He adds, that he admirably contrac-  
ted the *Roman Laws*, which were formerly too prolix and disagreeing. For all the  
Constitutions of Princes, contained formerly in many Volumes, he contracted into  
twelve Books, which joined together, he commanded to be called by the name of  
*Codes Justinianus*. Farther he reduced into fifty Books of Digests or Pandects the  
Laws of all Magistrates, which anciently made up near two thousand Volumes. He  
composed four Books of Institutions. New Laws also he enacted, which he called  
K k Novels.

Novels. This same Prince also built a Church in *Constantinople* to Christ the Lord, who is the Wisdom of his Father, which in Greek he named *ΑΓΙΑΝΣΩΦΙΑΝ*, or *Holy Wisdom*, a work which so far excells all other Buildings, that in the whole world its like is not to be found. For this Prince was in Faith Catholic, in his works upright, just in Judgments, and therefore all things concurred for good. In his time lived *Cæsarius*, a man famous at *Rome*, as well for secular as divine knowledge, who, amongst other things excellently written, hath in an eminent manner opened the Mysteries of the Psalms. He was first Consul, then a Senator, and at last a Monk. At this time also *Dionysius*, an Abbat, by a wonderful kind of reasoning, composed the *Paschal Calculus* at *Rome*, and at *Constantinople* *Priscian* of *Cæsarea* searched to the bottom of the Art of Grammar. *Arator* also, a Subdeacon of the Church of *Rome*, an admirable Poet, wrote the Acts of the Apostles in Hexameter Verse.

16. After this and another digression concerning St. *Bennet*, *Paul*, our Historian, returns to King *Audoin*, whose Wife *Rodelinda* brought him his Son *Alboin* a Man every way accomplisht for warlike Enterprizes. Having succeeded his Father with the universal content and approbation of his People, *Chlotarius*, King of the Franks, bestowed on him in Marriage his Daughter *Chlotisunda*, by whom he had only one Daughter, *Alphilda* by name. In the mean time dyes *Turiferdus*, King of the *Gepidae*, whose Successour *Gunimundus*, desiring to revenge old Injuries, renewed the War. *Alboin*, to strengthen himself, contracted a perpetual League and Amity with that People, which formerly being called *Hunnes*, came afterward to be known by the Name of *Avares*, which they received from one of their Kings. By virtue of this Confederacy, when the War was begun, the *Avares* invaded the Territories of the *Gepidae*, which News coming to the Ears of *Gunimundus*, he was exceedingly perplexed, but thought fit first to engage the *Lombards*, whom having once defeated, he could easily drive away the other. But in a bloody Battel he was slain, with almost all his Followers. *Alboin* killed him with his own Hand, and of his Skull made him a Cup to drink in, called in the Language of the *Lombards*, *Schala*, and *Patera*, by such as spake the Latine Tongue. Yet his Daughter *Rohmunda*, whom, together with an infinite multitude of all ages and conditions, he took captive, he married, his former Wife, *Chlotisunda*, being dead. The *Lombards* grew rich, the booty was so great, but the Nation of the *Gepidae* was so diminished, that thenceforth they had no King, but such as escaped were either subject to the *Lombards*, or Slaves, in effect, to the *Hunnes*, who possessed their Country. As for *Alboin*, he became exceeding famous, both amongst the Nation of the *Batavarii*, the *Saxons*, and others that spake the same Language; his Prowess and Virtue being celebrated in their Poems. And many reported, even to the time of *Paulus Diaconus*, that the chieftest sorts of Weapons were invented by him.

17. The Fame of the victorious *Lombards* flying now every where, *Narſes*, the *Paulus Diaconus* Imperial Chartulary, who had the charge of *Italy*, and was to ingage in War *de gratia Lang.* with the *Goths*, sent to *Alboin*, desiring his Affiſtence, being as King of the *Lombards*, already his Confederate. He ſent him a band of choice Men, who paſſing into *Italy* by the *Adriatick Gulf*, did him ſervice in his Wars, which being diſiſhed, they returned home richly rewarded; And fo long as the *Lombards* inhabited *Pannonia*, they gave affiſtence to the *Roman* Emperor, upon all occasions. But *Narſes*, after all his Services, was envided for his Wealth and Authority, by ſome great ones, who ſent to complain of him to *Justin*, now Emperor, and *Sophia*, his Wife, alledging, that the *Romans* had better have ſerved the *Goths*, than the *Greeks*, under the *Eunuch*, who held them in no better a condition than that of Slavery, their moft pious Prince being altogether ignorant of their Sufferings. They deſired in concluſion, that he would deliver them out of his hands, or elſe they would put both the City of *Rome*, and themſelves, into the Hands of other Nations. *Narſes*, when he underſtood it, anwered only in ſhort. *If I have ill treated the Romans, let me be ill treated my ſelf*. But the Emperor was fo much moved againſt him, that he ſent *Longinus* into *Italy*, to take his place; and now he knows not how to diſpoſe of himſelf, for ſtanding in great fear of *Sophia*, the Emprefs, he dares not return to *Conſtantinople*. Being an Eunuch, ſhe had biſten them put him into a *Gynecaecum*, and make him diſtribute to the Women that ſpun their Portions of Wool, which, when he heard, it's reported that he faid, it would ſpin ſuch a Thread as ſhould find her work as long as ſhe lived, and moved both by difdain and fear, he fends preſently to the *Lombards*, inviting them to forſake the poor and beggarly Country of *Pannonia*, and come into *Italy*, a fertile ſoil, which abounded with all things.

Sends assistance  
to Nurses,

Who is envied,  
and *Longinus*  
sent to take his  
place.

who is envied, alledging, that the *Romans* had better have served the *Goths*, than the *Greeks*, under this *Eunuch*, who held them in no better a condition than that of Slavery, their most pious Prince being altogether ignorant of their Sufferings. They defred in conclusion, that he would deliver them out of his hands, or else they would put both the City of *Rome*, and themselves, into the Hands of other Nations. *Narles*, when he understood it, answered only in short. If I have ill treated the *Romans*, let me be ill treated myself. But the Emperor was so much moved against him, that he sent *Longinus* into *Italy*, to take his place; and now he knows not how to dispose of himself, for standing in great fear of *Sophia*, the Empress, he dares not return to *Constantinople*. Being an *Eunuch*, she had bidden them put him into a *Gyneceum*, and make him distributio to the Women that spun their Portions of Wool, which, when he heard, it's reported that he said, he would spin such a Thread as shoud find her work as long as she lived, and moved both by didain and fear, he fends pretlyn to the *Lombards*, inviting them to forfeit the poor and beggarly Country of *Pannonia*, and come into *Italy*, a fertile foil, which abounded with all things.

Erat enim hic  
incepto fide Ca-  
tholicus, in qe-  
ribus rectius, in  
adieciis iustius,  
ideoq; et omnia  
concurrebant in  
bonum.

### **CHAP. III.**    *The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire.*    Justin II.

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things. And he sent them several of the best Fruits the Country afforded, as Baits to draw them on.

<sup>18</sup> This is the Account that *Paulus Diaconus* gives us of the Mótives which

Some do not  
believe this report  
of Paulus Diaconus.  
18. This is the Account that *Paulus Diaconus* gives us of the Motives which brought the *Lombards* first to invade Italy. But there are some that doubt much the truth thereof, and conceive it no absurd thing to question a Report made by one that lived at such a distance from this Invasion, as did our Writer. And they produce another, that both lived and wrote at the very time this Invasion happened.

produce another, that both lived and wrote at the very time this invasion happened, *viz.* *Corippus*, a Grammarian of Africk, from whom it appears, that *Narses* was lib. 2.  
*Constantino*, where he was highly esteemed by *Justin*, at whose Installment he was present, and attended him when he gave Audience to the Ambassadors sent from the *Avaras*. If he was then at *Constantinople*, it cannot be imagined he should be about the same time in *Italy*, and call in the *Lombards*, who in the year following broke into that Country. Neither can it be pleaded on the part of *Asperius*, that he was then in *Asia*, because *Asperius* was born in *Aspendrum*, *Per-*

other side, that though he was then at *Constantinople*, yet the Emperour might send him back into *Italy*, with the same Power and Employment as formerly, because all Authours agree, that after his Return *Longinus* was sent to succeed him. But upon what account, or by what Motives soever induced, into *Italy* they came, and made there such Devastations, and brought such Miseries upon the People, (which had scarcely had time to take a little breath, since the *Gothick Wars*) that

the great mischiefs they wrought, were to be ushered in with dreadful Prodigies. For in the night time were seen in the Air, to the Northward, Armies of Men, and Spears of Fire, glittering, as it were, with the colour of Man's Blood, which ever long was to be shed in such abundance.

19. *Alboin* resolving to invade *Italy*, sent to the *Saxons*, his old Friends, and confederates for aid, offering them their share in the Conquest for their pains, with which Proposals they closed, and sent him above twenty thousand Men, with their Wives and Children. Besides the *Saxons* he strengthened himself also by the aids of several other Nations, as the *Gepide*, *Bulgari*, *Sarmatae*, *Pannonicani*, *Suevians*, *Other Nations*

joined with them. and of several other Nations, as the *Poles*, *Bogars*, *Saxons*, *Wessexians*, &c. but all others, all which had afterwards Lands assigned them in the Country. Moreover he had contracted a strict Alliance with the *Hunnes*, to whom he left *Pannonia*, with this condition, that in case the *Lombards* should return, they should return enter and enjoy their former Seats. And being also joined in League and Alliance with the *Franks*, his Interest became the more considerable; for he was not only the Son-in-Law of *Cloarius*, whose Daughter *Chlothofinda* he had married, but thereby near allied also to four Kings of the same Nation. Animated by his own natural Courage, and these Affiliences, he removes from *Pannonia*, with all his *Lombards*, their Wives, Children, and all they had, to possess *Italy*, (which he had already devoured in hope and expectation.) After forty two years stay in *Pannonia*, in the Month of *April*, just after *Easter*, which fell out that Year on the first day of that Month, in the first Indiction, in the third Year of the Emperour *Justin* the younger, the Ninth of *John* the Roman Patriarch, and the five hundredth and sixt eighth year of our Lord. Why *Baronius* should write, that *this was done after the Alboinus had seized on Pannonia, and there staid forty two years, who also came with his People out of the Island of Scandinavia*, (seeing he was, as *Paulus Diaconus* counts the tenth King that reigned over the *Lombards*, after the death of *Ibor* and *Ago*, the Captains that led them out of that Island, and not he, but *Audoin*, his Father, brought them into *Pannonia*.) let others enquire.

20. Alboin having with his Army, and promiscuous multitude, arrived at the Borders, went up into an high Mountain adjacent, to take a prospect of Italy. The Hill was from this occasion called *Mons Regis*, on which many Buffes were bred, reaching as far as Pannonia, which abounded with that sort of Beasts. Having without any opposition entered *Venetia*, the first Province of Italy, and come to the bounds of the *Foro Julian* City, or Castle rather, he began to consider whom he could trust with these Territories, and at last conferred the charge on *Gisulphus*, his Nephew, a man very fit for such an Employment, who served him now as his *Strategus*, or Master of his Horse, in the Language of the *Lombards* called *Mar-hais*. Yet he refused to accept of the charge, till he granted him such *Faras*, Generations of Families of the *Lombards*, as he should chuse, which being done, he became Captain of them; and obtained also a number of Mares of an excellent breed. The Year fell in Winter such a vast quantity of Snow in the Plain, as was wont to be on the *Alpes* themselves; and the following Summer afforded such plenty of things, as no Age could parallel, if we believe our Historian. In the same Year died *Narves* the Eunuch, as some write, though concerning the place, manner and time of his Death, there are different Relations. The Latin Writers say, he re-

*Albin* prefers  
*Gisulfe* his King.

could Gifel-uhph, Com-  
this Ne- tum adjuv.  
s Stra-  
is. Yet Mar-hiaStrator,  
ions or qui imperat Equi-  
the me tate meliores Co-  
l. This generis, pabii, pro Mar-  
to fall enia, & verbo Fa-  
of all ren, quod est pof-  
the Year gredi; pof Christia-  
mer and nianus dic-  
the re- tia in Parocchia,  
ned Far-hor, no-  
etiamnum a Se-  
faring Man.

ned from *Naples* to *Rome*, and repenting what he had done about the *Lombards*, died there, and that his body being put into a *Coffin of Lead*, was, together with all his Wealth, carried to *Constantinople*. But the Greek Authors will not allow him to have laid at *Naples*, but to have returned to *Constantinople*, and there to have raised magnificent Buildings. *Cedrenus* writes, that being most dear to the Emperour, he built an *Houſe* called by his own Name, besides a *Mansion* for the *Cathari*. The *Historia Miscella* relates, that in his Houſe he caused to be made a great Cistern, and having therin deposited many thouſand Centenaries of Gold and Silver, killed all that knew of it, one old Man excepted, to whom he recommended the Treasure, receiving from him an Oath of Secrecy. If ſo, he muſt have lived ſeveral years after the Invasion of *Italy*.

21. And that we give credit rather to the Greek than the Latin Writers, in this point, the Testimony of *Corippus*, lately mentioned, doth perſuade us. Besides, *Anastasius* writes how *Narses* died at the same time as died *John the Roman* Bi. *Vide Barnivius ad Ann. 552.* shop, and it's certain that *John* lived four years after this, and in the Letters of *Paulus* *ad Ann. 552.* *John* is mentioned made of the Conſulſhip of *Narses*, which he bore with *Justin*, being now Conſul the fifth time, whereas in this Year, wherein they will have him to have died, *Justin* was Conſul only the ſecond time. Then who can once imagine, that the Body of ſo grand a Malefactour, as the Betrayer of *Italy*, ſhould be carried to *Constantinople*, and have honourable Burial, which ought rather to have been hung on a Gibbet, or caſt to Dogs, or in ſome other ignominious fort to have been treated? The Latin Writers ſeem therefore to have been but ill inſtruſed in this particular, and neither had the Greek Authors full intelligence, as to circumſtances, when they ſpeak of his great Piety and Charitie, and yet mention another thing wherein he cannot be excused from excessive Covetouſneſs and Cruelty. This is his hiding the Treasure where it could do no good, and killing thoſe that were privy to the hiding. *Procopius*, *Agathias*, *Eugrius*, and others, give him large Commendations, and had ſuch a thing been committed after the Glory obtained by his former Actions, *Eugrius* would probably have mentioned it, or at leaſt not so largely commended him. But whereas this Author brings down his Narrations as low as *Mauritius* the Emperour, and yet makes no mention of *Narses* his death; ſome ſuſpect he was ſtill alive when he wrote his History.

Whether the name  
of *Narses*,

22. And that which much strengthens this ſuſpicion, is, that there was one *Narses* in the time of *Mauritius*, a Patriarion, in Dignity, and renowned for his Counſels and Actions, relating as well to Peace as War, General of the Army alſo, and very remarkable for his Piety. If it was one and the fame Perſon, he muſt have lived thirty years longer, which if any count improbable, let them conſider whether this doth not carry a greater ſhew of Improbability, that almoſt at the fame time there ſhould be two of the fame Name, Order, Dignity and Piety, and both of them renowned for their Victories, both Generals of the Imperial Armies, and yet no remark hereupon made by any Historian, no diſtinction at all, either by *Major* and *Minor*, *Senior* and *Junior*, or the *First* and *Last*. This *Narses* that lived in the time of *Mauritius*, who overthrew *Baramis*, that uſurped the Kingdom of *Persia*, and reſtoled *Chosroes* the younger, loſt his Life under the Tyrant *Phocas*, as we may ſee hereafter. Let us leave *Narses* therefore, either in his Grave, or elſewhere, and attend the Motions of *Alboin* into *Italy*, who being come as far as the River *Alpis*, was met by *Felix*, the Bishop of *Tarntum*, to whom he granted, as he was moſt bountiſh, all that belonged to his Church, and confirmed by his *Pragmatica* what he deſired. He took *Vincentia*, *Verona*, and the reſt of the Cities of *Venetia*, *Padua*, *Mantua* and *Monteflīce* only excepted. Here *Paul* tells you, that by *Venetia* he means not only thoſe few Islands, then called in the plural number *Venetia*, at this day *Venice*, but that Country which reached as far as from the Borders of *Pannonia* to the River *Addua*. He proves this to be *Venetia*, from ancient Hiftorians, who affirm *Pergamus* to be a City of *Venetia*. The Lake *Benacus* is alſo called *Lacus Venetiarum*, out of which iſtueſt the River *Mintius*. In Greek he faith, *Eueni*, to which the Latines add one Letter, ſignifieth *Laudable*. To *Venetia* was alſo joyned *Hifria*, (ſo named from the River *Hifſer*), which he affiſmeth from the *Roman* History, to have been in old time larger than it was in his days,) and both theſe were accounted for one Province. Of *Venetia Aquileia* was anciently the Head, but in *Paul* his time *Forum-Julli* was advanced to that Honour, being ſo called, because *Julius Caesar* there appointed a Mart, or *Forum Negotiationis*, as our Author words it.

*Alboin takes fe-  
veral Towns in  
*Venetia**

### 23. Alboin

23. *Alboin* having invaded *Liguria*, entred *Milan*, at the beginning of the third Indiction, on the third of the Nones of *September*, in the time of *Honoratus* the Archbiſhop. Then took he hiſtall the Midland Cities, but thoſe upon the Sea flood out, and *Ticinum*, or *Pavia*, refiſted his violence three years. In the mean time he over-runs all as far as *Tuscia*, *Rome* and *Ravenna* excepted, beſides certain Caſtles, ſearcd on the Sea ſhore. There was not any courage or strength now left in the *Romans*, to make any effectual reiſtance, multitudes having periſhed by the Plague in the time of *Narses*, and after that Year of Plenty a grievous Famine having invaded and opprefſed all *Italy*. At length *Pavia*, after it had ſtood out three Years, and ſome Months, yielded to *Alboin* and his *Lombards*. The King making his entry at *St. John's Gate*, at the Eastern part of the City, his Horſe fell under him in the middle of the Gate, and by ſpurring and beating could not be raifed, which being taken notice of by one of his Followers, he advised him to break that cruel Vow he had made, and then he ſhould enter the City, which was inhabited by a truly Christian People. He had vowed to put all the People to death, becauſe of their Itubbornenes in holding out fo long, but now breaking his Vow, and promiſing Indempnity to the Inhabitants, his Horſe preſently aroie, and then paſſing on to his Lodging, he kept his word, the People flocking to him in the Palace buil by King *Theuderick*. In *Italy* *Alboin* reigned three Years and five Months, and then was ſlain by the Treachery of his Wife upon this occaſion. Being very merry, as he was feaſting at *Verona*, he commanded Wine to be given her in the Cup made of the Skull of *Cunimund*, her Father, as with whom he commanded her to drink merily. That this may not ſeem imposſible, *Paul* religiouſly profeſſeth, that he himſelf had ſeen the very Cup.

24. *Rofemunda* at this was wonderfully incenſed, and preſently conſulted how to revenge her Father's Death, with *Helnicibis*, the King's Armour-bearer, or *Schilfarius*, por, as the *Lombards* called him. He perſuaded her to take into her Council *Pereſeo*, a moſt valiant Man, who refuſing utterly to conſent to the Murther of his Prince, the knowing he was wont to lie with one that belonged to her Wardrobe, placed her ſelf in her Bed, received and lay with him, when he not at all ſuſpected such a matter. But the Queen demanding of him, before he aroie, if he knew her Name, he affirmed ſhe was his Sweet-heart; ſhe told him he was miſtaken, that ſhe was *Rofemunda* her ſelf, and that he had now done ſuch a deed, that he muſt either kill *Alboin*, or expeſt to be killed by him. He conſented then to join in the Murther, to facilitate which, as the King lay aſleep on his Bed at noon, his Wife bound his Horſe to a ſtall in his Scabbard, that it could not be drawn. Then was *Pereſeo* brought in, and *Alboin* awakened by the noife, after he had in vain attempted to draw his Sword, which lay at his Beads-head, defended himſelf valiantly with a Footſtole for ſome time, but was at length overpoerced and ſlain by the wicked device of a Woman, whom many Armies had not been able to defroy. His Body, with great Lamentations of the *Lombards*, was buried under a certain pair of Stairs near to the Palace. He was tall of Stature and every way fitte for Warlike Actions. In our days, ſaih *Paul*, *Giferberi*, Duke of *Verona*, opened his Grave, and taking away his Sword, and all his other Ornaments, after his uſual Vanity, boated to ſilly People, that he had ſeen *Alboin*.

25. *Alboin* being dead, *Helnicibis* attempted to make himſelf King, but the *Lombards* oppoſed it to ſuſh a degree, that they endeauoured to call him to account for the death of the deceased. *Rofemunda* perceiving no good was to be done, ſent to *Longinus*, the Governor, or Exarch, of *Ravenna*, defiring him with all ſpeed to diſpatch away a Ship to fetch them, which he readily did, and they two being now Husband and Wife, fled away by night, taking along with them *Alſuinda*, the King's Daughter, and all the Treasure of the *Lombards*. *Longinus* having got them to *Ravenna*, perſuaded her to kill *Helnicibis*, and take himſelf to her Husband, which ſhe, without any great heſitation, conſented to doe, out of a deſire of beeing Lady of that City, and gave a Cup of Poifon to him when he came out of the Bath. Having drunk it almoſt off, he perceived what it was, and then drawing his Sword, compelled her to pledge him with the reſt, which having done, by the moſt juſt Judgment of God, both theſe Murtherers received the Reward of their Vilany at the lame moment. They being dead, *Longinus* ſent *Alſuinda*, with the Treasure, to *Constantinople*, whither ſome ſay *Pereſeo* was alſo ſent, having accompa nied *Helnicibis* and *Rofemunda* to *Ravenna*. But the *Lombards*, into the place of *Alboin*, elected one *Cleph*, a Man of great Nobility, who having ſlain many of the chiefest *Romans*, and banished others, was, after he had reigned a Year and fix Months, with *Moffana*, his Wife, killed by a Boy of his own Family.

*Cleph, idem ac  
Claph.*  
*Moffana, Modo  
conſanguinei, idem.*  
*Dioſtibis dif-  
funt, ut Weller,  
Water, & milie  
alia.*

26. After

The Country  
shared.

*Justin the Emperour taken  
with a Venige.*

*Thereupon the  
People op-  
preised.*

*A Reformation.*

*The Avares de-  
feated.*

*Defeat the Ro-  
mans.*

26. After his Death *Paulus Diaconus* tells us, that the *Lombards* for ten years were without a King, and were only governed by their Leaders, of whom every one enjoyed his own City. In particular, *Zabari* made himself Master of *Pavia*; *Waillari* of *Bergamum*, *Alachis* of *Brixia*, *Euin* of *Trent*, and *Gisulfus* of *Forum Julii*, besides thirty others, whereof each held his peculiar Town. Having thus feasted themselves at their Pleasure, they destroyed the *Roman* Nobility, or those that remained they made Tributaries, exacting a third part of their Revenues. They pulled down Churches, killed the Priests, demolished the Cities, and destroyed the People all over, those parts which *Alboin* had taken excepted, and in seven years time in a manner subdued all *Italy*. Yet did they not take the City of *Rome*, though they entered the Suburbs, and demolished several Monuments of the Martyrs, carrying away their Relicks; and they raised a great Persecution against Pious and Religious Persons. But thus was the *Roman* Empire rent in the West, and those Limbs again torn from its Body, after the former Wounds seemed to be quite healed up. And in the East, it was in little better Condition, where the Head being crazy and out of Order, the inferior Members could be less secure, and in a Capacity to defend themselves. For *Justin* the Emperour was taken with a *Verigo*, and such a distemper in his Brain that he could not stir abroad, nor receive any Addressee; which advantage some of the Great ones taking, fell with violence upon the ordinary fort, and spoiled them of all they had. As soon as he recovered and went to Church, the distressed People followed him with Cries and Lamentations. Hereupon he summoned such as had been Criminals before him, and admonished them to forbear such Practices, but they were so far from making Reparation for what they had already done, that they oppressed the poor People worse than formerly. Then called he the Senate together, and more sharply reprehended them, telling them, it only became the Nature of Fishes, for the greater and stronger to devour those of a lesser size; if he were their Lawfull Emperour, he Commanded them to yield obedience to his Orders, and if they refused, bade them chuse themselves a new Prince whereforever they pleased.

27. At this one Nobleman amongst the rest stands up, defires him but to make him Prefect of the City, and all should speedily be amended, provided he would Command him to deal impartially, and give him free Acces upon all occasions. This is readily granted, and the next day he fits in Judgment. A certain Widow comes and complains that a Great man had spoiled her of all she had. He sends her a Summons to appear by the Woman; but she finds her only back well beaten, and deals little better by an Officer, dispatched afterward on the same Errand. While the Prefect fits expecting his coming, the Man is invited to Dinner by the Emperour, which the Prefect hearing, goes also to Court and demands of *Justin*, whether he did continue of the same mind and resolution, as when he first made him Prefect of the City; seeing he entertained at his Table guilty Persons. The Emperour answers, he would sooner quit his Throne than be guilty of such a Crime, and thereupon the Prefect takes away his Gueft, and carries him into the Court called *Arca*, where hearing the whole matter betwixt him and the Widow, and perceiving how greatly he had injured her, he caufed him to be beaten, and then having his Head shaven, to be set naked upon an Aſ and so carried through the midst of the City, haying decreed his whole Estate unto the Woman. This Example so wrought upon all others, that a thorough Reformation was made, and within thirty days no more Complaints were heard of this Nature, which the Prefect making known to the Emperour, he rewarded him with the Dignity of a Patrician, and the Government of the City during Life. This year which was the third of *Justin*, was not only signalized with this notable piece of Justice, but with as eminent Acts of Charity performed by *Sophia* the Emprefs. For summoning in such *Cedrenus*.

28. As a reward for these good Deeds, the following Year *Justin* had a great Victory over the *Avares*, who were defeated by *Tiberius*, (the Comes *Excubitorum* at present, but afterward Emperour) and forced submissively to beg Peace. *Vitio Tunnensis in Chron. Corp.* But as he was not constant to the ways of Mercy and Goodnes, to his Prosperity forsook him again, and as the Proverb is, an Enemy though he flies, may again rally and renew the Charge. For five years after in the ninth of his Reign, when all *Italy* in a manner was lost to the *Lombards*, these *Avares*, or *Abari*, as the fame Author tells us, came as far as the *Danube*, and to be even with them defeated the *Romans*. It seems that *Tiberius* was again dispatched against them, *Eugenius*, lib. 5. but his men would not now as much as look the Barbarians in the Face, and he <sup>“</sup>112 wonderfully

*Zabari, Lorica  
indutus Glaf.  
Zada Lorica  
scutibus & Zab-  
ari Legion.  
Ago, omnino  
fortis.  
Euin alter Eui  
aqua.*

wonderfully escaped being taken Prisoner, having by following the rash and heady Advice of *Justin*, indangered the whole Commonwealth of *Rome*, at least it's greatest Honour and Reputation. But besides this defeat received from the *Avares*, the *Perfians* the old Enemies of the Empire recollected themselves, and were up again upon a Quarrel, which at first proceeded from Religion. The People inhabiting *Perfamenta* or *Armenia* the Great (which *Philip* the Succefour of *Gordianus* had delivered up to *Sapor*) being Christians were grievously persecuted for their Religion and Conscience by the *Perfians*. This caused them to fende to *Justin* the Emperour privately, defiring they might turn Subjects to the Empire, and serve God without any let or hindrance. He accepted of their Petition, and Articles being sworn betwix them, they (contrary sure to Religion and Conscience) flew their own Princes, and put themselves into the hands of *Justin*, which Example was followed by their Neighbours, who with *Vardan* their Captain professed their Service and obedience to the *Roman* Empire.

29. *Chosroes* presently received the Alarm, and Charged the Emperour with the Clandestine and injurious Proceedings. *Justin* answered positively, that the Date of the League was expired, and that it became not the Profefours of Christianity to reject such as suffered for their Conscience, and fled to them in the time of War: Yet made he no Preparation for what he must needs conclude would follow, wallowing in his wonted Sensualities and Delights. He fent indeed *Martianus* his Captain into the East, but without Soldiers, Arms, or any provisions for War; and he came into *Mēopotamia* not without manifest danger to the State, picking up only a few naked Fellows, of which number some were Tributary Pioneers, and Waggondrivers. An inconfiderable party of *Perfians* yet he chanced to defeat before the rest could be in readines, and besieged *Nisibis*, the Gates of which the Inhabitants would not shut, reviling the stout *Roman* Army, and esteeming of them no otherwife, than as if they had been set there to keep sheep. But by this time *Chosroes* was furnished for a Battel, and bringing his General *Aduarmanes*, as *Eugenius* calls him, or *Artabanus*, as we reade him in *Cedrenus*, on his way as far as the other side of *Euphrates*, which was within his own Dominions; fent him into the Marches of the *Roman* Empire, and Commanded him to seize on the Town of *Circusium*, which situate in the farthest parts of the *Roman* Dominions was fortified with strong Walls, and more than that with the two Rivers *Euphrates*, and *Abras* standing as it were in an Island. He himself with another Army passed over *Tigris*, and made straight for *Nisibis*; while *Justin* pleased himself with idle Reports, that *Chosroes* was either already dead, or mortally sick, and was so incensed against *Martianus* for prolonging the siege, that he fent to reproach him, and to require him with all speed, to bring the Keys of the City to his Preſence.

30. Becoming exceedingly Ridiculous to all men, for these extravagant Conceits: *Gregory* Bishop of *Antioch* wrote the whole State of Affairs to him, both how impossible it was with such a handfull of inconfiderable Men to take such a City, and that *Chosroes* had with all expedition invaded those Countries. But he, drown'd in the filth of his wonted Luxury, gave no heed to *Gregory*'s Letters, thinking that only to be true, which his own fickle Brain had conceived, and like other intemperate and Riotous Persons, unwilling to believe any thing that would dislub them in their Pleasures. He wrote back to the Bishop and rejected his Letters for false Reports: If they were true, he affirmed the *Perfians* shoud not win the City, and raise the siege before his Power came, and in case they should win it, they shoud yet be met with eer they left the Country. Afterward he fent one *Acacius*, a proud and disdainfull Man to *Martianus* who meeting him on the Confines according to his Commission, deprived him of all Martial Dignity unknown to the Army. The Officers after the watch was over, understanding that their Captain was Caſheired, cast away their Arms, stole into Corners, and quitted the Siege to the great Laughter of all Men. *Aduarmanes* in the mean time passing by *Circusium* with a great Army of *Perfians*, and Barbarians called *Scenite*, waited all the *Roman* Territories with Fire and Sword, without any Mercy or Compassion. Castles and Towers he took without any opposition, both because the *Romans* had none to Head them, and *Chosroes* had as it were besieged all such Souliders as lay about *Dara*. His men alſo ſet upon *Antioch*, but beyond all Expectation were repulfed, when very few remained in the City. For the Bifhop flying away with the Holy Treasure, the City was in a manner left desolate, the greater part of the Wall lying flat with the Ground, and the People as in ſuch Cafes falling into Diſorder and Tumult; ſo that there was none that either devifed Engines to repell the Enemy, or was much diſpoſed to refiſt him any other way.

31. However

*Eugenius*, lib. 5.  
c. 7, 8, 9. &c.

*Heracles burns  
and Apamia.*

*Chosroes takes  
Nisibis.*

*Thereupon Ju-  
stin falls di-  
stracted.*

*A True made  
with him for  
three years.*

*Justin makes Ti-  
berius his Col-  
league.*

*An excellent  
Prince.*

31. However the design of *Aduarmanes* against *Antioch* not taking, he burnt the City *Heraclea*, afterward called *Gagrica*, and marched to *Apamia* built by *Seleucus* the Son of *Nicanor*; a City sometime flourishing, but now through the Injury of time fallen to decay. Having received it upon Articles, he burnt it also contrary to Agreement, plundered it, and destroyed all, which done he used the Countrey adjacent in the same fort, and carried away with him the Bishop and the Governor. Having done very much mischief in his passage, he returned to his King, who as yet had not taken the City he besieged. Now joyning their Powers, they made a very considerable Army, and quite discouraged those within, although the City was very well fortified, so that it was taken by Force in the Winter season after above a five Months siege, some said through the Carelessness, others through the Treachery of the Governor. Many he put to the Sword, many he took Prisoners, and having fortified the place which stood exceedingly convenient for him returned home. *Justin* was now at length convinced; and perceiving, that indeed his Dominions were invaded in such a fort, took it more heavily than his Constitution could bear, and fell distractred, so as he had no Sense or apprehension of any busines. *Tiberius* therefore a *Thracian* born, one that was in greatest Authority about him, and had made a fruitless Journey against the *Avaras*, undertook the management of publick Affairs. By his Advice, that what had been lost by rashness and folly, might be redeemed through subtlety. *Trajan*, a man of great Esteem for his Age and Wisedom, was sent Ambassador to *Chosroes*, it if he gave him that Title.

32. For, his Embassy was not from the Person of the Emperour, nor in the Name of the Commonwealth of *Rome*; but only a Message from *Sophia* the Empress. She wrote Letters to *Chosroes*, wherein she lamented the wofull plight of her Husband, and the lamentable Estate of the Empire, now wanting an Head, and she insisted that it stood not with his Honour, to triumph over a silly Woman, to insult over an Emperour that was sick and Bed-rid, and invade a State utterly destitute of defence and Succour; that he in times past being sick, had not only the like Humanity she now asked shewn unto him, but the best Physicians which the *Roman Empire* could afford, sent to ease him of his Grief. Good nature so wrought with *Chosroes*, upon Consideration of these particulars, that although he had determined speedily to invade the *Roman Dominions*, yet he made a Truce for three years, respecting the Eastern Countries, and consented that *Armenia* should enjoy the benefit of it. This accord was made in the tenth year of *Justin* his Reign, who in his thirteenth, through the Advice of *Sophia* his Wife, took *Tiberius* to be his Colleague in the Empire. *Euagrius* tells us, that at the Promotion he uttered *Ubi supra, c. 13.* such Words, as no History whatsoever can Parallel; God of his mercy granting him so much time, as might suffice both to confess his own sins, and declare such things as were for the benefit of the Commonwealth. *John* the Bishop with his Company, the Princes and Magistrates, and all the *Praetorian* Souldiers being now assembled in the open Hall, where of old such Solemnities were usually celebrated, *Justin* invested *Tiberius* with the Imperial Robe and Cloak, saying to him aloud as followeth: *Let not the Splendour of this Garment lead them into mistakes, neither be thou deceived with the Glorious show of such things as are subject to the Senses, wherewith I being intangled, have brought my self into grievous Miseries. But in Governing the Empire by great Moderation and mildness of Spirit, redress what I have Foolishly committed.* Then, pointing to the Magistrates with his Finger. *Thou must by no means, saith he, be ruled by these Men, for they are they that have brought me into this sad Condition, wherein thou seest me.* These with other such like words he uttered, which struck all the Assembly with great wonder and Admiration, and drew from the Auditory abundance of Tears.

33. *Tiberius* was a man of a wonderfull goodly Stature, and of a Prefence altogether composed unto Majestie. His mind was as richly adorned with mildnes and Courtefe, which allured all Men at the very first Address to love him. For he esteemed to be Riches, which sufficed every man to give not onely for necessity, but also for plenty and abundance. He was of Opinion, that not only such as wanted were to receive Relief; but that it became the Emperour of *Rome* to be Munificent, and he took that Gold to be Counterfeit, which was gathered with the Tears and Lamentations of the Subject. Moved by these Considerations, he remitted one whole years Tribute, and such Lands as *Aduarmanes* had loaded with heavy Taxes, he restored to Liberty, and made full Reparation to those that had suffered the losse; moreover such Exactions as had been made by former Princes, (for which they used to deliver, and as it were sell the People to their Officers, to be

abused at their Pleasure,) he forgave and by Laws forbade, all such Practices for the time to come. Having well bestowed such Moneys, as had been ill gotten, and ordered his maters at home as true Prudence, and the Duty of his place required, against the expiring of the Truce with *Perfia*, he made all Preparations possible for War. He made great Levies on both sides the *Alpes*, and about the *Rhine*; lifted in his Army, many *Massagetes*, and several other *Scythian* Nations out of *Peonia*, *Mysia*, *Ilyricum* and *Iauria*, and having got together near an hundred and fifty Troops of choice Horse every way well appointed, he gave the Foile to *Chosroes*, who immediately after the winning of *Dara* in Summer, had over-run *Armenia*, and marched toward *Cesarea* the Metropolis of *Cappadocia*. *Chosroes* was so puffed up with his Succes, and the natural haughtines of his Humour, that he refused to give Audience to the Emperour's Ambassadours, but disdainfully bade them follow him to *Cesarea*, and there he would hear what they had to say. But when he saw the *Roman Army* (commanded by *Justinian* the Brother of *Justin*, that was so basely murdered at *Alexandria*) shining all in Armour; when he perceived the Trumpets sound to Battel, the Armies ready to joyn, and the Clamour of the Souldiers which pierced the very Skies: Lastly, when he beheld such a Body of Horse, as before none of the Emperours had so much as thought of, he was utterly astonished and surprized at such an unexpected sight, fought heavily, and would not Charge.

34. Suspecting his strength, he betook himself to Craft, and indeavoured to spend time; but *Curs* a *Scythian*, who led the Right-wing of the *Roman Forces*, fell upon him with such violence, that the *Perians* gave Ground, and great Execution was done upon them. He set upon the Rere, where their Baggage and all their Preparations for War lay, took all the King's Treasure and Jewels, all his Ammunition, great sums of Money, and drove away the Beasts with the burthens on their Backs; wherein lay the Fire which *Chosroes* adored for his God. All this while the King stiret not, so fearfull he was to ingage with *Curs*, and only some Skirmishes followed till Night came on, and then he caused a mighty Fire to be kindled; and the *Roman Army* being divided, he set upon that Party which lay toward the North, which giving back upon the surprize, he went forward, and took *Meletina* a City forsaken by its Inhabitants, which having set on Fire, he purposed to cross the River *Euphrates*. The *Roman Armies* uniting and following him cloe in the Rere, in great fear he mounted an Elephant, and so passed the River; but the greater part of his Army in Swimming and conveying themselves over, was drowned in the deep Water. Hearing of this misfortune, he got him away with all speed, with all the Company he had left, and returned into the East, where as yet the League was of Force, and none could assault him. *Justinian* after this over-ran the Borders of *Perfia*, where he continued all Winter without any disturbance, and about the latter end of June returned back without any los of Men, but with great Reputation. *Chosroes* being exceedingly discouraged, and out of measure discontented at this Succes, languished under the change of his Fortune, and swallowed up in the Gulph of displeasure, died after a lamentable fort, leaving a Law behind him, that the King of *Perfia* should never after that day take Arms against the *Romans*; which was an everlasting Monument of his flight and overthrow. Thus much *Euagrius*; from whose Speech concerning the League yet in Force in the East, it appears that this his Invasion was made prently after the taking of *Dara*, and not after the expiring of the Triennial Cessation, as *Baronius* imagined. His despising the Truce, and yet expecting security from it, discourses to us that insolent and faithles Humour, of which *Procopius* accuseth him, to whose Character of the Man, and this Relation of *Euagrius*, we must add some things observable out of *Agathias*, who lived also at this time whereof we Write.

35. This Author makes him Superior to all Kings that ever Reigned in *Perfia*, for Succes and Felicity of Government, not excepting *Cyrus*, or *Darius Hys-  
pasius*, nor that *Xerxes*, who, as he words it, rode on Horseback over Seas, and  
failed over Mountains. But as great as he was in his Life, he had a miserable and  
inglorious Death, most contrary to the Splendour of his Reign. For making his  
abode at that time about the *Carduchian* Mountains, he retired into a Village of the  
*Thamani*, convenient to refresh himself in after his Labours in the heat of Summer.

*Agath. Hist. l. 4.  
Ωὐδὲ μὴ Σιρ-  
ιανὸς ἐπί-  
στρεψεν τὸ πέ-  
ραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ  
Μαυρίου Παύλιον ἢ Τίβεριον Κωνσταντίνου Ρήγην τοῦ Λογισμοῦ Οριενταλίου προστεταγμένος. Ήτο, sic interprater Vulcamen.  
Mauricius Pauli filius ē Tiberio Constantini Romanorum Regis filio Legionibus Orientalibus ut preeftus iussus ē Perfia; non enim Tiberius fuit Regis vel Imp. Romani. Thrac fuit, atque Agathias non scriptis Tiberio sive Tiberiuſo, sed Tiberio Kōnstantino. Tiberio enim Cog-  
itauit etiam Conſtantinū, aucte id vulgare Principibus affluerat nonne alterius qui rerum gloria claruit, vide infra parag. 47.*

The manner of his Death.

where making some stay, it happened, that *Mauricius* the Son of *Paul*, who by *Tiberius Constantine* the Emperor was set over the Armies of the East, made sudden irruption into the Country of *Araxes*, which joyned to the Territories where he lay, and proceeded so far, that he passed the River *Zirina*, plundering and wasting all places with Fire and Sword. He went on in this terrible manner, so far till *Chosroes* himself saw the Flame, who never having beheld such a Spectacle, was with fear and shame together confounded, so as he could make neither opposition nor defence, but by immoderate Grief, falling into Desperation from the Anguish of his Mind, contracted a grievous and incurable Disease, and being in a Litter speedily conveyed to his Palaces of *Selucia* and *Ctesiphon*; not long after this Reces, or flight rather, ended his days : Concerning the false Report raised of his great Learning, the Reader if he please may consult this Author, who shews the Ground and occasion of the mistake in a Digression not proper for us to insert. But we must observe, that either *Agathius* or his Transcriber was mistaken, in joyning the fifth year of *Chosroes*, with the twenty eighth of *Justinian*, as if he had begun his Reign in the twenty third of that Emperour, seeing that he Reigned eight and forty years. For if *cabades* died, and *Chosroes* made a League with *Justinian* in this fifth year; then could he not begin his Reign in the five and twentieth; and forasmuch as it is plain that he died in the Reign of *Tiberius*, had he begun to Reign in the twenty third of *Justinian*, and Reigned eight and forty years, he must have reached the Government of *Mauricius*, which things cannot hold together ; we conclude therefore with *Baronius*, that he began his Reign in the fifth year of *Justinian*, and ended it in the second of *Tiberius*, though not just after the defeat given him by *Justinian*, but after *Mauricius* was sent into the Eastern parts (for as we said, the expedition of *Justinian* was made before the end of the Triennial Truce, and must be cast back two or three years) in the fourteenth year of *Justin*, A.D. 579.

36. The year following being the third of *Tiberius*, about Noon happened such an *Eugaeis lib. 5* Earthquake at *Antioch*, and *Daphne* adjoyning to it, that all *Daphne* with the Force <sup>c. 17</sup> thereof fell to the Ground, and many both publick and private Buildings within the City were much shaken and dis-joined. There happened also both at *Antioch* and *Constantinople*, as *Eugaeis* relates, other Calamities which require a long Discourse, and caused great Tumults and Sedition ; but arising, as he saith, from Godly Zeal, and being of Ecclesiastical concernment, we shall with him defer their Prosecution at this time, and return into *Italy* to see how the *Lombards* there behave themselves. And here we could complain of the Injury of time which hath deprived us of the Monuments of their Actions, having little left us, but what *Paul* has written of this Subject, who not handling it with that Accurateness as *Procopius* doth that of the *Goths*, hath passed by many things of great Concernment ; for he was not an Eye witness, but lived two hundred years after in the days of *Charles the Great*. But from the History of *Gregory the Bishop of Tours*, he tells us, that after the Captains had cantonized the Country, some of them invaded *Gall*, which waging and rasing, they defeated and slew *Amatus* the Patriarch, the Subject of *Guntram* King of the *Franks*, who oppoised them with an Army, and having made great Slaughter of the *Burgundians*, returned into *Italy* enriched with inestimable Booty. This encouraged them to make a second Attempt, and they pierced as far as *Musicae Calmes*, near to the City *Ebrodunum*; but there they were met with and encompassed by *Emius*, called also *Mummulus*, who with a party of *Burgundians* fell upon them, and killing many took the rest Prisoners, whom by his Kings order he distributed here and there all, except some that escaped into *Italy* with the News.

37. The *Lombards*, as we said before, besides other sorts of People, brought some *Saxons* with them into *Italy* ; it being accorded betwixt them, that the *Saxons* should have lands assigned after the Conquest. But they could not well agree together ; it seems the *Saxons* would not trusle under the *Lombards*, and the *Lombards* would not permit, that they should be a Body Independent, and distinct from themselves ; therefore they resolved to return to their own Country, by the way of *Gall*. In their first Attempt, they were sore distressed by *Mummulus*, who killing a great number of them, and taking many Prisoners forced them back into *Italy*. Yet for all this, they returned with their Wives and Children, and all they had, purposing by the leave and assistance of King *Sigibert*, to return home, and for this purpose they divided themselves into two Parties ; whereof one took the way of *Nicæa*, and the other passed on by *Ebrodunum* the very same way they had retreated. They maintained themselves by Corn that was now Ripe in the Fields, some Cattel also they took, and did not altogether abstain from rifling and burning the

the Towns. When they were come to the *Rhone*, *Mummulus* again meets them with a great Force, but permits them with Money to purchase their passage, and so at length they came to *Sigibert* ; cheating the People in their way by Counterfeit Gold, and returned to their former Seats, which they now found seized by the *Suani*, and other sorts of People. In great Indignation they fall upon them, and will drive those Intruders out. They offered them first the third part of the Country ; affirming there was room enough for them all, and after, when this would not be accepted, the half, nay two parts of three. Nay rather than Quarrel, they would give them both their Lands and all their Cattel ; but the *Saxons* would not be satisfied with any thing but fighting, and they agreed before hand, how the Wives of the *Suani* should be distributed. But see how they reckoned without their Host. They lost twenty thousand Men in one Battel, and the *Suani*, remained Victours, missing but four hundred and eighty of their number. Six thousand of those *Saxons* that remained, bound themselves by a vow never to cut their Hair nor Beards, till they should be revenged upon the *Suani* : But all would not doe ; they were again defeated, and at last content to sit down and be quiet.

38. But to return to the *Lombards*, three of their Captains, *Amo*, *Zaban* and *Rhodanus* following the example of the *Saxons*, made also an Irruption into *Gall*. *Amo* taking the Road of *Ebrodunum*, came as far as *Machovilla*, a Town bestowed upon *Mummulus* by his Prince, and there pitched his Camp. *Zaban* by another way came to *Valentia*, and *Rhodanus* set upon *Gratianopolis*, or *Grenoble*. *Amo* wasted the Province of *Arles*, as far as the City of *Marcellis* ; and his two other Friends were not les bulie in plundering, wafting and burning all places wherever they came. *Mummulus* having Intelligence of their motions, first fell upon *Rhodanus* busie in the Siege of *Gratianopolis*, and killing many of his Men, drove him up into the tops of the Mountains wounded, as he was, with a Lance. Thence with five hundred men through unknown Tracts he passed to *Zaban*, who then besieged the City *Valentia*, and gave him an Account of all that had happened. They joined their Forces together and wasted the Country as far as *Ebrodunum*, where *Mummulus* met with them, and by a notable defeat restrained their farther Raipes. Then did *Zaban* and *Rhodanus* return into *Italy*, and came to *Secufum* ; which City *Sifinius* the *Magister Militum* held for the Emperour. Hither *Mummulus* sent a Youth with Letters, signifying he would be with him speedily, which *Zaban* and *Rhodanus* understanding departed without any more to doe, to their own Cities. *Amo* informed of what had happened with all his Booty, took the way again for *Italy*, but being stopped by the great Snows that fell, was forced to leave a great part of it behind, and passing the *Alpes* with much difficulty at last got home.

39. To be even with the *Lombards*, not long after, the *Franks* invaded their Borders, and took by surrendre a Fort called *Anagni* something above *Trent*, which being looked on as a great affront by *Ragilo*, or rather *Raliga* a Comes of the *Lombards*, he wasted all the Territories about it, and in his return with his Booty, was encountered by *Charannibis*, a Captain of the *Franks*, who slew him with many of his followers, and passing to *Trent*, rifled and wasted all places about it. On his back came *Euin* the Captain, or Duke, if so you will call him, of *Trent*, and in the place called *Salurnis* in way of Retaliation, cut him off with all his Men, and recovered the Booty ; which done, and having expelled the *Franks* from all his Territories ; he married afterward the Daughter of *Garibaldu*, King of the *Balearis*. About this time, that we may now return and visit the Eastern parts, died *Justin* the Emperour, after he had Reigned sixteen years nine Months and an half. Being near his end, he called *Tiberius* his Colleague to him, and in the Presence of the Senate, and *Eutychius* the Patriarch gave him this Advice that follows.

40. "Behold, saith he, God Almighty thy Benefactour bestowed this Habit on thee, and not I. Honour also thy Mother (meaning *Sophia* the Empress) for merly thy Lady, for thou knowest thou was first her Servant, and then her Son. "Rejoice not in Bloud, have nothing to doe with Murther, neither render Evil for Evil, left thou imitate me in the Evil of Malice. For I being a Man, have offended and am a guilty Person, and have received according to my defects ; but stand in Judgment with those, who have so rewarded me at the Tribunal : Seat of Christ. Let not the Habit thou wearst puff thee up. Have as great a Care of all committed to thy Charge, as of thine own Concernments. Consider what thou wast, and what thou art like to be. Avoid pride, and thou shalt not sin. Thou knowest well what I have been, and what I am. All these are thy Cedrenus for His Misfortune. Children

How matters went in Italy.

And the *Franks* into Italy.

*Justin* the Emperour dies.

His Advice to *Tiberius*.

" Children, as well as Servants. Thou knowest I have conferred this Honour upon thee, out of Respect to those, that are as near and dear to me as my Bowels. " When thou feest them, conceive that thou beholdest the very Commonwealth. " Take a special Care of the Army : Admit into it neither effeminate nor impudent Men ; neither ever regard those that say, the Emperors who Reigned before thee, were such and such. These things I give thee in Charge, and having dearly experienced the Truth and Conveniency of them, advise thee to act accordingly. Such as are Rich let them enjoy their Wealth, and such as are poor Receive lieve. Then the Patriarch going to Prayers, all the Company concluded with Amen ; and Caesar falling at the Emperors Feet said unto him, " I am at your Disposal, both Life and all I have : To which the Emperour replied ; That God who made Heaven and Earth, put into thy Heart, what I have forgotten, and proceeding in Words to this purpose, he drew abundance of Tears from all the Assembly. Not long after, his Disease returned upon him with violence, and he died. His Body was deposited in the Heraeum of Justinian, in a Proconnesian Coffin, and by him was afterwards laid his Wife Sophia. Paulus Diaconus gives us his Character in short thus : He was addicted to all sort of Covetousness, a despiser of the Poor, and a spoiler of the Senatours ; so greedy of Wealth, that he caused Iron Chests to be made, wherein to bestow the Coin he had ravenously scraped together. This man despising the command of God was deprived of Reason, and fell mad. Yet if he made such sober and pious Discourses, both at the Promotion of Tiberius, and at the time of his Death ; what general Character forever is given him by these Writers, we must think he had his *Lucida Intervalla*, not only as to his Intellectuals, but his Morals too.

41. *Tiberius* now after his Death was, according to the Custome, to go in State to the Shews of the *Circus*, and there many expected his coming, who were of the Faction of Justinian, the supposed Nephew of Justinian, with intention to doe him a mischief. But he went from Church to Church, and passed still through Sacred places, where having performed his Devotions, he sent for the Bishop of the City with the Purple, Crowned with a Diadem, and Seated on the imperial Throne ; he was confirmed in the Government with great applause. The Factionists then, who expected his coming to the *Circus*, hearing what was already done, stole away, and after a few days Justinian himself, came and cast himself at the Emperour's Feet, bringing with him as a Present fifteen Centenaries, and he, according to his wonted patience, received and commanded him to attend him in the Palace. Thus he escaped this danger in the *Circus*, but not long after, was intangled in greater Difficulties created him by Sophia the Widow Empress, who forgetting her Engagements formerly made to him, attempted to promote Justinian to the Throne, while he according to the Custome of the Emperours, was to pass thirty days in the Country, at the time of Vintage. He having timely notice, returned with all speed to *Constantinople*, took her and all her Treasures Custody, leaving her only so much, as would supply her wants. He removed her Attendants, and placed others about her, whom he could trust ; Charging them that the other should never come in her Presence. He sorely rebuked Justinian, and that was all, for he shewed he had great kindness for him, promising to marry his own Daughter to his Son, and that his Son should marry Justinian's Daughter ; although these cross Matches never took Effect.

42. Why Sophia the Empress should be thus changed in her Esteem and kindness for Tiberius, other Historians supply us with some Womanish reasons. She took it heinously, that at his Coronation he named Empress his Wife Anastasia, whereas she imagined he had no Wife at all, but intended to marry him after her Husband's death, and for that purpose procured him to succeed him. Thus frustrated of her Expectations in a great Huff and disdain, she quitted the Court, and went to live by her self in the Palace called by her Name. The Latin Writers tell us a story how Tiberius for his Piety, and especially his Charity to the poor, had the Treasure of Narces discovered to him by the old Man, that was Confidio to the hiding of it ; but it's much suspected, because the Greek Historians speak nothing of any such Matter. However, such was his Reputation abroad, that Ambassadors were sent to Court him from several Princes, and amongst others, from Chilperick the King of the Franks, to whom Tiberius sent several Presents, amongst which were remarkable, some Medals weighing pounds a piece, having the Emperour's Image with this Inscription about it ; *Tiberii Constantini, Perpetui Augusti*, and on the reverse a Chariot with four Horses, and a Driver with these Words, *Gloria*

*Mauricius made General.* *Gloria Romanorum.* As for Justinian it's certain, he was put out of Command. (*Euseb. Lib. 5. c. 19.*) grius faith, because he had not such Success, as formerly against the Barbarians, but we know the Throne brooks no Rival.) and Mauricius was made General of the East, who by Birth and Name was of old Rome, but because of his Ancestours and Parents, he owned Aribisus a City of Cappadocia for his Country.

*His Character.* 43. Mauricius was, as Eugrius sets him forth, a very wise Man, very diligent and exact in busines, of a firm and constant mind, and of a very good Life and Conversation. He so bridled his fleshly Lusts, that he not only abstained from such things as provoked to Lust and Sensuality, but even from necessities themselves. He would not lend any Ear to stories, nor hearken to every Man's tale. He stopped his Ears not with Wax (as the Poet hath it) but with reason, which he used as a Key to open and shut them as there was occasion. Ignorance the Mother of boldnes, he banished far from him, knowing that in rashnes there is Peril, and in Advivement and Deliberation great Security. Fortitude and Prudence bore in him such sway, that all busineses he accommodated to time and place, and so restrained his Appetite, that in all things he never exceeded Moderation ; such being his Disposition, with great success he made War in foreign Countries. He took both Cities and Castles, such as stood most convenient for the Persians, and so great Booty, that with Captives he filled Isles, Towns and Countries that had lain a long time desolate and not inhabited, causing the Land to be tilled and brought into order. Of these men he had numbers sufficient to make up Armies, which fought stoutly against other Nations, and furnished all Families with Slaves. He waged War with the cheifest of the Persians, as Tamochosroes and Aduarmannes who brought great Armies into the Field ; but after what manner, and how prosperously, faith our Author, let others relate, or we in another work perhaps may shew, because in this present Volume we promised to treat of other matters. But neither he nor any other performed this part of service to Posterity, or if they did, some unlucky accident hath deprived us of the fruits of their Endeavours.

44. Therefore what we our selves have not, we cannot give, and the Reader must be satisfied, though we do not relate all actions with the same clearnes and enumeration of Particulars. For as where we have matter, we ought as fully to inform him as the nature of this Design will bear, so on the other side, we do not pretend to write Romances ; But thus much Eugrius tells us, he will now say, that Tamochosroes was defeated not through the valour of the Roman Soldiers, but by the onely Piety of their Captain and his Faith in God, and as also that Aduarmannes was overthrown by plain force of Arms, and after a great slaughter of his men put to flight, and that this was done not only when Alamundarus Captain of the Scenite had betrayed Mauricius, by not coming over Euphrates, and fighting against those Scenite that were of the contrary Faction, but also when Theodoric who commanded the Scythians durst not venture within Bow-shot, but fairly took him to his heels, and with his men ran away. What Eugrius here relates in short, some assign to the third year of Tiberius precisely, yet doubtless it took up several years in acting.

45. The next year was the last of Tiberius the Emperour, who died in August, after he had Reigned four years alone, and as much with Justin, a month only excepted. An excellent Person, and worthy of a longer Reign, the Empire flourishing under his Government. *Gregory of Tours* assures us, he left the People in Tears (*Hist. Franc. l. 6.*) and Lamentations because of his Departure, for he was mighty good, very Charitable, just and wary in Judgment, despising no man, but bearing every one good will, being loving to, and extremely beloved by all men. To his Title and Dignity of Emperour succeeded Mauricius, who had three years before been created Caesar very solemnly, and adorned with a Diadem. At the solemnity, as Nicephorus Writs, was present John the Patriarch, and another John, a Rhetour or Oratour, made a short speech to Mauricius in the Emperour's name. " He exhorted him from his Government, to raise a beautiful Monument to his Predecessour, to adorn his Sepulchre with his Vertues, and not frustrate the expectations of those who were committed to his Trust, neither to forget his own Morals, nor quit the wonted generosity of his Spirit. See thou restrain, faith he, by force of reason that Insolency to which power is subject, and by the Arts of Philosophy wisely steer the Vessel of thine Authority. For Empire is an high and lofty thing, putting up such as are exalted, and obliterating what was formerly well conceived and intended. Because thou art in Fortune, do not therefore think thou art in Wisdom advanced above all others. Endeavour to procure the love of thy Subjects, rather than to keep them in fear and awe, and esteem downright dealing better

*Tiberius escapes a Danger.*

*Secures Sophia the Empress.*

*Gregor. Tourn. lib. 5. c. 30.  
Paulus Diacon. con. de gest. Lib. 1. 3. c. 12.  
Euseb. Lib. 5. c. 12. ad ur. Pagan. con. off. ac. Profili.*

*Tiberius Dies.*

*Mauricius succeeds.*

*Vide Baron.*

" better than flattery and dissimulation ; for Power will hardly admit of Admonition and Reprof. Let Justice be ever before thine Eyes, as that which is able to reward all our Actions.

46. " Let the study of Philosophy move thee to account of this Purple, no otherwise than as of the vilest Rags, and to imagine that the Crown wherewith thy Brows are circled, differs nothing from the Pebbles that lie on the Sea-shore. The sad colour of the Purple seems to hint unto Princes, that moderation of mind which they ought carefully to retain in their prosperous Estate, that they be not too much exalted or be proud in these Mourning Weeds of Monarchy ; for the Sceptre tells them not, that they exercise any immoderate power, but rather undergo a splendid servitude. Restrain thine Anger by humanity and mercy, and all arrogance by fear. For Nature to Bees hath assigned their Leaders, and armed their Kings with a sting, as a natural faculty to prick him forward that will not do his Duty, but this sting is not Tyrannical but Just, and accommodated to the general utility, and the common good ; let us imitate them herein, for reason it self cannot suggest to us better Councils. These things speak I to thee as thy Parent, and for a witness of mine Intentions, thou shalt have Authority free from all prejudice and Corruption, which rewards Virtue and punishes and refrains whatsoever is contrary to it. This Oration of the Emperour was followed by the tears of the Spectatours, and he adorned *Cæsar* with the Crown and purple Robe, and great Acclamations were made, testifying the satisfaction of the People in what was done, and their acknowledgment of the merits of him whom they saw preferred, but especially of the Wisedom and forecast of their Emperour. Thus was *Mauricius* inaugurated *Cæsar*, but enjoyed not the title of Emperour till the Death of *Tiberius*, which fell out in the fourth Indiction, the eighth year of *Childebert* King of the *Franks*, the ninth of *Pelagius* the Second, the *Roman* Bishop, and the five hundred eighty sixth of our Lord, as is commonly computed, but rather in the DLXXXII.

47. *Eugarius* tells us, that when *Tiberius* was ready to yield up the Ghoft, he assigned to *Mauricius* his Daughter *Augusta* in Marriage, with the Empire for her Dowry, and Proclaiming him Emperour, bestowed on them also his own Names ; for *Mauricius* he called *Tiberius*, and *Augusta* he named *Constantina*. *Mauricius* being settled in his Throne, made great preparations for Celebration of his Marriage, whereat were present his own Father and Mother a circumstance which, if our Authors observe right, never happened to any Emperour before. He affirms that a more Royal and Magnificent shew never had been formerly made ; and whereas *Plutarch* wrote, that both Valour and Fortune joyned in advancing the grandeur of *Rome*, he is bold to say, that true Piety and Felicity so concurred in *Mauricius*, that Piety suffered Felicity to be joyned with her, and would not permit her to be baffled or overthrown. The Emperour not only adorned his Head with the Crown, and his Body with Purple, but his mind also with pretious Ornaments. For in a manner, he was the onely Emperour who ever commanded himself, who banishing from his mind all popular Perturbations (so he words it,) and setting the Dominion of Aristocracy in the Seat of Reason, made himself a perfect Pattern of Virtus for his Subjects to imitate. And our Author professes his faith not this to flatter him, seeing he could not possibly know what he now wrote, but merely constrained by that evidence which the real effects of his prosperous Government carried with them, being absolutely the blessings of Almighty God. He adds, that this Emperour was above all others merciful, not permitting those to be put to Death that had well deserved it, as *Alamundarus* Captain of the *Scenite* in *Arabia*, who had betrayed him, but was for punishment only banished into *Sicily*. Moreover *Naamanes* his Son who had done infinite mischief to the Empire, who had wasted the two *Phoenicia's*, and *Palestine* he kept only in free custody when all men desir'd his Head, inflicting on him no other punishment. And the like clemency he inflicted in infinite other perfons.

*Eugarius* his  
high Commendation  
of him.

48. One *John a Thracian*, he made General of his Forces in the East, who some times did well, but otherwhiles ill, and deserved no great Commendation. Into his place then he chose *Philippicus* who had married his Sister. He made great spoil in the *Perian* Dominions, and killed many of their great men : The Souldiers also he brought to exact Discipline from Riot and Pleasure, making them practise sobriety and temperance. He was succeeded by one *Priscus* a man so supercilious, that none must speak with him except upon some very weighty matter, being conceited that the less familiarity he used, the easilier should he compass his Desings, and the Souldiers would more stand in awe, and with more readines obey him.

On

The Army Ma-  
times.

The Persians ut-  
terly defeated.

The Abaris in-  
fested Thrace.

The Mutiny ap-  
pealed.

Aninch shaken  
with an Earth-  
quake.

On a time having set himself into as severe and haughty a posture as he could, with high and disdainful looks, and arrogant gestures, he made them a speech of the patience and perils they were to undergo in War, concerning the neatness of their Armour, and of the Rewards they were to receive for their Travel and Service. They heard his impudent discourse with great Indignation, fell into a Mutiny, and running to his Tent, robbed him of all his Treasure, and had certainly killed him, had he not speedily taken Horse and fled to *Edessa*. Yet this City they besieged, commanding *Priscus* to be delivered up to them, and when the Citizens refused to doe it, they laid hold on *Germanus* a Captain in *Phœnicia*, and proclaimed him their General and Emperour besides. He refusing to comply with their feditious humour, they threatened to kill him ; when threats would not doe, they proceeded to whip him and to tear his body, which torments forced him to yield, and with an Oath to promise his compliance with them. All other Officers they displaced, and put others in their room, and behaved themselves in their Quarters with all Infolency, and without any regard to the Laws. *Mauricius* having notice of this Mutiny, sent *Philippicus* to reduce them into order, but him they rejected, and threatened with Death and Destruction those who propounded to listen to his advice. The Barbarians took heart at these disorders in the *Roman* Army, and in vice. The Barbarians invaded the Province adjoyning. Yet *Germanus* opposed the *Persians* with such success, that if *Eugarius* be to be credited, there was not one of them left to bring home the news of their Defeat.

49. But the *Abarian* *Avares* came twice as far as the long Wall, and wasting the Country before them, took *Singedon*, *Anchialus*, and all *Hellada* with other Cities and Castles, the *Romans* having a great Army lying in the East to no purpose. The Emperour then sent *Andreas* the Captain of his Guards, to perwade them to return to Obedience, and take again such Officers as had commanded them before, but they giving no ear to what he said, at length he pitched upon *Gregory* the Bishop of *Antioch*, the fittest man alive to be employed in this busyness. For he was both a prudent man, and had got a mighty interest in the Souldiers by his great bounty to many of them, both in Meat, Drink and Apparel, which knowing, he sent to the chiefe of them, and procured them to give him a meeting at *Litaris*, a Town three hundred furlongs distant from *Antioch*. Being met, he fell down on his Knees before them, and with gentle rhetorick, inforced by many Prayers and tears so wrought upon them, that all their minds on a sudden were changed, and they went out to deliberate with themselves what was to be done. Being after a while returned, they told him they would yield to his request, and then he named *Philippicus* whom they should ask for their Captain. They told him they could not petition for him, because they and the whole Army had made an Oath never to doe it, to which he replied, that the Priest hath power to bind and loose in Heaven and in Earth, and recited to them the saying of Christ to this purpose out of the Goffel. They were perwaded herein also to consent unto him, and then he fell to his Prayers to appease the wrath of Almighty God, and distributed to them the Immaculate Body of Christ, it being then Maunday-Thurday, or the day before the Passion. The number of them was two thousand, yet he entertained them all that night, Couches being made them on the Gras, and the next day returned home, permitting them to assemble where they pleased. *Philippicus* who then resided at *Tarsus in Cilicia*, he informed how things stood, and advised him to repair to *Constantinople*, whither he sent an account also of his Transactions with the Army, and what they had resolvd concerning *Philippicus*. Shortly after, *Philippicus* came to *Antioch*, and the Souldiers meeting him, desired the Christians to intercede to him in their behalf. They fell at his Feet, and he giving them his Hand, told them, all old Offences were forgiven, which said, they received his Orders and followed him in the Wars.

50. While this Mutiny of the Armies threatned with Ruine the State of the Empire in the East, the City of *Antioch* was again sore distred by an Earthquake, in the fix hundred thirty and seventh year after it was so called, and the sixty first year after that Earthquake which had last happened. *Eugarius* tells us this story, that when as he himself had on the last day of *September*, taken to Wife a Virgin of tender years, and the City therefore kept Holy-day, and flock'd to his House with great pomp and solemnity ; about the third hour of the Night came such an Earthquake, as with great violence shook the whole City. It so disjoined the Foundations, that all the Buildings about the Church tumbled to the Ground, the Hemispherical Roof which *Euphranius* had made of Bay-Trees excepted, which had been so shaken with the Earthquake, both in the time of *Justin* and afterward, that

Sixty thousand  
Persons perth.

that it leaned much to the North, and had thrust out of their place the mighty great Beams which fell with marvellous noise, but now again the Roof shrank to its own place, and stood as it had done before, without bowing to either side. The Buildings of St. *Mario* Church were quite overthrown, all but one middle Porch that was miraculously preserved. The places of *Ostracina* and *Psepicum*, and all the parts called *Brisia* were also ruined, with other Churches and the publick Baths. The people perished confusedly together about threescore thousand persons, as was conjectured by the Bread which was spent in the City. But the Bishop was wonderfully preserved, with those alone of his Family that were near to him, though the whole Lodging he was in fell to the Ground; for when the Earthquake the second time shook the place, and as it were opened the Room, they lifted him up with all speed, and by a Rope let him down to the Ground. God Almighty mixed mercy with his Justice in this respect, that no hurt by fire followed, though in Kitchens, Baths, and other places there were many kindled, as well for publick as private uses. In this Earthquake died many Noble and famous Persons, but the Emperour supplied money for the repairing of the City. Thus *Eugrius* of the Earthquake, who had too great cause to remember it from a notable circumstance.

51. Not long after that the Souldiers returned to obedience, *Sittas* one of the Senators of *Martyropolis* took advantage at the absence of the Garrison, and betrayed the City to the *Perians*. *Philippicus* upon notice marched thither, but wanting necessaries for a Siege, after some vain attempts made to regain the place, the Army drew off, and could not be persuaded by *Gregory* the Bishop, whom the Emperour again employed, to return, because they wanted Engins. Care therefore was taken by fortifying the adjacent Castles, to intercept all succours that should come from the *Perians*, and the Souldiers were disposed of into their Winter Quarters. The year following yet the *Perians* sent a supply, and *Philippicus* engaging with this party had the better, so many escaped into the Town, as sufficed to reinforce the Garrison which was their chief design. The *Romans* then perceiving there was no winning of the Town by plain force, went and built a Fort upon the top of an Hill at sever furlongs distance, there to prepare Engins and make all things ready for a Siege, and not long after was *Comentius* a *Thracian* Born, sent to succeed *Philippicus* in the command of the Army. He though with danger to his own Person had prosperous success against the *Perians*, of whom such as were left alive, having lost all their Captains ran away to *Nisibis*, and fearing to return to their King who had threatened them with Death, except they brought their Captains home in safety, began to enter into Conspiracy against his Life. In the mean time *Comentius* having besieged *Martyropolis*, left there the greatest part of his Forces, and with the rest went and took a Castle called *Ochas*, which stood upon the farther Bank overagainst *Martyropolis* on a steep Rock, whence he had a prospect of the whole City. This being taken in, the *Perians* despaired of holding *Martyropolis* any longer.

52. The present King of *Perfa* was *Hormisda*, who had succeeded his Father *Chosroes* according to his appointment. And he succeeded him in his Vices as well as his Kingdom, though not in his long and prosperous Fortunes. *Eugrius* calls him the most wicked and unjust of all others; for he not only robbed his Subjects of their Goods, but plagued them with sundry kinds of Deaths. *Theophanes* to what *Eugrius* hath written concerning the Conspiracy against this King's *Vide Baron*. Life, adds, that *Barmes* his General having had ill success against the *Romans*, after the King had in disgrace sent him the Habit of a Woman was deprived of his command. Inraged hereat, he Conspires against him, stirring up the Souldiers by counterfeit Letters, and draws to his Party *Ferracbanes*, whom *Hormisda* had lately put into his place, with *Bindou* a Noble *Perian* newly delivered out of Prison, who suddenly entering the Court, pulled the King down from his Throne, snatched the Diadem from his Head and committed him to Custody. After this the Nobility commanding *Hormisda* to be brought out of Prison, sawed in pieces one of his Sons and his Wife before his Eyes, then deprived him of his Eyes, and thrust him into a Dungeon. Yet *Chosroes* his Son treated him very civilly, and gave him a large allowance of Diet, which kindness he so little acknowledged, that he tramped all under his Feet that he sent him. This enraged *Chosroes* so much, that forgetting all obligations of Nature, he commanded him with Cudgels to be beaten to Death.

53. This unnatural action of *Chosroes* sore troubled the *Perians*, and procured their hatred against him, which was increased by his putting several Noblemen to Death,

Death, on suspicion that they sided with *Barmes* who usurped, which caused the Souldiers to revolt from him, and take the Party of *Barmes*. Being now forsaken by all men he fled for his Life, in great doubt whether he should betake himself to the Christians or the *Turks*, in which humour he alighted from his Horse, and laying the Reins on his Neck, resolved to follow him whithersoever he should go, and so he brought him to the borders of the *Roman Empire*. This account we have from *Theophanes*. *Eugrius* relates that *Hormisda* being killed by the *Perians* for his Wickedness, and *Chosroes* his Son being Crowned his Successour, *Barmes* took Arms against him. *Chosroes* with a small Army intended to Ingage him, but perceiving his men fell away from him, he fled to *Circassium* after he had called upon the God of the Christians, that his Horse should carry him to a most convenient Place. Being arrived there with his Wife, two young Children and certain Noble men of *Perfa*, he sent and craved favour of *Mauricius* the Emperour, who, after mature deliberation of the matter, considering how fickle and infatible all humane things are, accepted of his suit, and instead of a banished Man, made him his Guest, instead of a forrowfull Fugitive, his loving Son, and bestowed on him divers things in a Royal and munificent manner, the Empress shewing the like bounty to his Wife, and their Sons to the Children he had brought along with him. Moreover *Mauricius* affisted him with his whole Force in the recovery of his Kingdom, sending a Captain with him, to conduct the Army whithersoever he should desire. He supplied him with an incredible sum of Money, and thus furnished he was brought out of the *Roman Dominions* as far as *Martyropolis*, where *Sittas* the Traitor was delivered into his Hands, and being stoned by the Citizens, was hanged on the Gallows. The City of *Dara* was also given up to him, the *Perians* being privily stoln away, and the *Romans* having in one battel quite defeated *Barmes*, who fled away alone with great infamy. Then was *Chosroes* restored to his Kingdom, this bloudless victory being obtained, as *Theophanes* writes, by the conduct of *Narses*, whom *Mauricius* sent General of the *Roman Army*.

54. This same year that *Chosroes* was restored, being the Eighth of the Reign of *Mauricius*, after the Army returned out of the East, the Emperour himself, in the beginning of the Spring, led it down to *Anchialus*, to oppose the *Abaris*, who, as the Rumour went, were resolved to waste the Country of *Thrace*, and all as far as *Nicoporus*, *lib. 18. c. 18. Vide Baron*. As that City. At their demand he had sent them a golden Table, and many Talents of Money, to purchase Peace, but this not taking effect, he passed to *Perinthus*, then called *Heraclea*, being forcibly distressed by Tempests, and having made *Priscus* General of the Forces in *Europe*, after great los received from the Barbarians, he returned again to *Constantinople*. The *Abaris* and *Slavini* having crossed the *Danube*, under conduct of *Chaganus*, an *Hunne*, over-ran *Thrace*, came at length as far as *Heraclea*, and by strategem took *Didymoticum*. The violence of these Barbarous Nations the Emperour restrained, as our Historian observes, by his admirable Art and Policy. He rigged up his Navy, and made as though he intended to invade their Territories, the report whereof struck them with great fear, and in a great perplexity they returned home. After their departure he put strong Garrisons into the places lying upon the *Danube*, to hinder their passage for the time to come, and *Priscus* returned to *Constantinople*, where he was called to account about the Plunder, and put out of his Command, which was conferred on *Peter*, the Emperour's Brother. But he, in the discharge of his Office, did nothing answer *Mauricius* his expectation, and therefore he soon again deprived him, and restored *Priscus* to his former Place and Dignity. To this *Priscus* is extant a Letter written by *Gregory the Great*, then Bishop of *Rome*, wherein he congratulates his Restoration, and gives him very good Advice.

55. Thus restored to his place *Priscus* returns to the *Danube*, to watch the motions of *Chaganus*, whom finding resolved to make another Incursion, he sends one *Theodorus*, a Physician, to him, to persuade him to embrace Peace and a good Understanding with the Emperour. He finds him excessive proud, and full of arrogant Conceits and Expreffions, using this amongst the rest: *That they should find he would make himself Lord and Master of all Nations*. *Theodorus* takes him down by an old story, how *Sesostris*, King of *Egypt*, having subdued several Kings and Kingdoms, caused himself to be drawn in a Chariot by four of those unfortunate Princes, whereof one, as he was yoked and drew in the Chariot, would still look back, and keep his Eyes fixed upon one of the Wheels. *Sesostris* taking notice of this his constant course, would needs know what remarkable thing there could be on which he could gaze so long together. He told him it was the Wheel, which being so unstable, as in a perpetual succession to elevate and deprest its several parts,

Peace bought of  
Chaganus their  
Leader.

Paul and other  
Historians differ.

The Scelvi in-  
vade the East.

Defeated by  
Priscus.

Mauricius being  
sick, distributes  
the Provinces to  
his Children.

Which came to  
nothing.

Thanks for his  
Recovery.

was a perfect resemblance of the Vanity and Inconstancy of all things incident to humane Life; which Saying *Sofotris* so seriously weighed, that he would be no more drawn in his Chariot by those Kings. *Chaganus* smiled at the story, and knowing his meaning, signified to *Theodorus*, that he was not averse to Peace, which *Priscus* purchased, and the Barbarian drew off his Forces from the *Roman* Territories. This Year, which was the eighth of his Reign, *Mauricius* caused his Son *Theodosius* to be crowned by *John* the Patriarch on *Easter-day*, and took him to be his Collegue in the Empire, being a Child about five years old.

56. *Paul*, the Historian of the *Lombards*, and other Writers, differ concerning the time of the Death of *Mauricius*, as joyned with other matters, they placing several things before it, which he sets after at a good distance. That the *Scelvi*, or *Sclevini*, some time before his death, invaded *Hiftria*, *Paul* affirmeth; but this was in conjunction with the *Lombards* and *Avaras*. Afterward, about the latter end of *Phocas*, as he tells us, their King *Cacanus*, or *Gaganus*, with an innumerable multitude, invaded the Borders of *Venetia*, but *Baronius* placeth that expedition of the *Scelvi*, and this of *Cacanus*, in the same year. *Gregory the Great*, in an Epistle to *Maximus*, Bishop of *Salona*, laments that by the way of *Iffria* the *Scelvi* had already entered *Italy*; but nothing doth he say concerning *Gaganus* his Invasion of *Venetia*, which *Paul* placeth in the Reign of *Abdallodus*, and a good space after the death of that Bishop. But whatever waife or destruction soever the *Scelvi*, or *Sclevini*, made in the Western Parts, the disturbance they wrought in the East was great, where they put *Mauricius* into great Fear and Care. In his eleventh Year they rose up in great multitudes, to cross the *Danube*, of which he having notice, sent away *Priscus*, with all the *Roman* Nobility, to restrain them. Their Captain hereat affrighted, sent to *Priscus* to expostulate and complain, that the Emperour first made War upon his Neighbours. He answered, he had no Commission to make War, but only to restrain the frequent Invasions of the *Scelvi*; yet perceiving that they carried it cummally, and that *Ardagetus* was sending abroad multitudes to forage, at midnight he silently passed the River, and fell upon him when he expected nothing les, cut off many of his Men, and forced him to desert them, and hide himself before such time as he could mount, which done, the Country wasted, and many Prisoners taken *Priscus* returned in triumph to *Constantinople*, where he was received with extraordinary great joy.

57. Three or four years after this Victory was obtained against the *Scelvi*, *Mauricius* fell desperately sick, and, as one leaving this World, disposed of his Empire with the Eastern Provinces; and to *Tiberius*, his second Son, *Rome*, with *Italy*, and the Islands of the *Tyrrhenian Sea*. The other Provinces he distributed to the rest of his Sons, who being very young, he made *Domitianus*, his Kinsman, the Bishop of *Melita*, a man very diligent and fit for busines, their Tutor or Guardian. But this Disposition came to nothing, the great Disposer of all Empires and Dominions having otherwise ordained concerning *Mauricius* and his Sons, as we shall shortly find. But the year following his Recovery, to testifie his gratitude to his Maker and Restorer, as we have ground in charity to judge, he sent to *Rome* thirty pounds of Gold to be distributed to the poor of that City, with Gowns to be given to the Souldiers as a military Donative, for all which *Gregory* the Bishop gives him humble Thanks in a Letter full of Duty and Observance to him his Prince. The Messenger by whom these things were sent was *Julianus Scribo*, who entring upon his Office in *Italy*, opprefsed the poor People more than did the very Barbarous Nations that invaded their Country, having been beaten from *Constantinople* by the multitude for violence offered to the *Patriarch* of that City, at such time as the *Sclevini* were on their march thitherward, wasting and destroying all things in their passage. For that after the defeat given them by *Priscus*, they yet returned, and in several years following harassed *Illyricum* and *Dalmatia*, with other Provinces, is too clear and evident.

58. But amongst the other Barbarians the Emperour rightly judged, that more than an ordinary strict Eye was to be had to the motions of *Chaganus* or *Chaganus*, King of the *Avaras*, and therefore *Priscus* was ordered to lie at *Smedopolis*, and observe his Actions, who had taken up his quarters in the City of *Sirmium*. The Feast of *Easter* was now come, but the *Roman* Army was ready to be starved, no provisions being to be had in the Country adjacent. *Chaganus* understanding so much, signifies to *Priscus*, that if he would send his Waggons to fetch it, he would give him what was requisite to the celebration of that high Festival, with such cheerfulness as became the Christian Profession. *Priscus* sent him forty Waggons with

The Avaras  
waste Thrace.

Seized with the  
Pestilence.

*Mauricius* incurs  
the hatred of his  
Souldiers.

They of Constan-  
tine also fall  
into a sedition.

*Triginta iug. E-  
tricis aut. gen.  
confamulus mens  
Bis. deinde Scriv-  
bo. Scardubius  
eugenius. &c. dicit  
fideliter ergo.*  
*Llib. 8. Ep. 2.  
Indit. 3. Vide  
Bar.*

*Priscus notably  
defeats the A-  
varas.*

with such Presents as he could make, and received Provisions sufficient for the time of the Festival, during which all Acts of Hostility ceased; and without the least fear or Inconvenience they convered together. But the Feast being over, the Barbarians separated themselves, and wasted the Country of *Thrace* at their pleasure, revelling and feasting splendidly one another. They at *Constantinople* were so much affrighted, that they consulted about quitting *Europe*, and removving to *Chalcedon*, and other places in *Anatolia*. The Emperour made as good preparations for defence as he could. Having fortified the Wall, he put the ordinary iort into posture of defending the City, and at the request of the Senate sent one *Armato* on an Embassy to *Chaganus*, with rich presents, and gentle words, to sweeten the humour of the Barbarian, but the Ambassadour chanced to come in a very ill time, when a great Pestilence had seized on the *Avaras*, and in especial manner had afflicted the Family of *Chaganus*, who lost no fewer than seven Sons in one day, and now in anguish of mind, being ready to depart home, defred God to judge betwixt himself, the Ambassadour, and his Master, and offered to release his Captives for a very small matter to be paid him for every head.

59. The Emperour refused to pay the Money. *Chaganus* thereupon fell the halt in his price, but when *Mauricius* refused to give this also, he put all the Prisoners to the Sword, and imposing a Tax of fifty thousand *Aurei* more upon the *Roman* Territories, went his way. The Emperour, by his carriage in this busines, exceedingly lost himself, and provoked the Fury and Indignation of the Souldiers, whom he otherwife also incensed, if we give credit to what is related by *Zonaras*. For owing several Companies of them ill will upon the account of some seditions attempts, when he sent them against *Chaganus*, he gave secret Instructions to *Commentiolus*, their General, to betray them, and expose them to such danger as they must necessarily incurry, which taking effect, it seems that such as escaped the Sword, and had the fortune to be taken Prisoners out of the same inveterate malice formerly conceived against them, he refused to ranseme. The Army mutinies, and sends certain Deputies to accuse *Commentiolus* of treachery, amongst whom appears one *Phocas*, who having Audience of the Emperour in his Prefence Chamber, urged the matter with vehemence, and demeaned himself with that sauciness and disrespect that he was beaten by the Courtiers that stood by. And the Petition of the Army was rejected, *Commentiolus* kept still in his Command, and the Deputies dismissed without succes, wherewith the Citizens of *Constantinople* now began to be concerned, and assembled in a tumultuous manner, and cast stones at *Mauricius*, who making a search after those that were principally guilty of the Riot, punished them according to their desert, but unfeasably, as now the tides flood; for both Army and People began to be weary of his Government, and such Plots were laid, as at length accomplished the utter ruine both of him and all his Family.

60. In the mean time the *Avaras* being clear of the Pestilence, and sensible of the advantages they had upon the *Roman* Empire, betook themselves to their former practices of wasting the Borders, and *Chaganus* delivers to four of his Sons so many Bands of Men, with orders to keep strict watch upon the banks of the *Danube*. Yet the *Romans* got over in Boats, and *Priscus*, who was again employed in this expedition, ingaging with the King's Sons in a Battel, which lasted from morning to night, destroyed four thousand of the Barbarians, with the los of no more than three hundred of his own Men. Three days after this, getting advantage of the ground, he drove those that survived the former battel into the Fens, where many of them perished in the Water, and amongst them the Sons of *Chaganus*, who now himself coming against the *Romans*, with a great power of Men, *Priscus* gives him battel, and adds a fresh Victory to his former Successe. To pursue the course of Fortune while she continued in this good humour, he sent four thousand Men over the River *Tisiss*, to watch their opportunity, and by a sudden onset to doe some notable fear against the Barbarians in thole parts, who, utterly ignorant of what had lately passed, were in the greatest security imaginable, and passed away the time in Feasts and Merriments. Falling suddenly upon them, they slew about thirty thousand of the *Gepides*, and others, and returned to *Priscus*, enriched with much booty. *Chaganus* troubled at these things, resolves to try his fortune with *Priscus* another time, and coming to the *Danube*, again ingaged with him; but Fortune still proved unkind, and he had the worst in battel, many of his Men being slain, and many drowned in the River. Three thousand and two hundred *Avaras* were taken Prisoners, besides two thousand Barbarians of other Nations. *Chaganus* sent to *Mauricius* to desire a restitution of Captives, and surprized him so, that not

*Cedrenus in Am-*  
*19. Mauricius.*

having yet received the news of so great a Victory, and ignorant what multitudes he had in his Hands, he ordered the Prisoners to be dismissed.

61. Thus it was clear day with these Provinces, when at *Constantinople* a dismal Darkness and Tempest was gathering over the Head of *Mauricius*, while he celebrated the Nuptials of his Son *Theodosius*, with the Daughter of *Germannus*, a Patriarch. As the breeding of ill weather is perceived by some, who from the repugnancy of their Temper and Constitutions, can prognosticate the effects of that change, which they find already made in the Elements; so out of some antipathy, or from other secret Causes, the approach of this dreadfull storm was both apprehended by the Emperour, and others. *Surius* tells of a religious Man, to whom it was revealed what manner of death *Mauricius* should die, after that a Lamp which perpetually burned in the Church, went out of it self, and though many times lighted, yet could not be kept in by any endeavours the Monks could use. Another Monk holding a drawn Sword in his hand, went as far as from the *Forum* to the Brazen Gate, crying out all the way, that the Emperour should die by that fort of Weapon. It was by others told *Mauricius*, that he should fall by the Hand of one whose name began with *Pb*, which made him suspect *Philippicus*, his Sisters Husband, who with all Oaths and Protestations imaginable, disavowed all Plots and Conspiracies whatsoever. These things made him look about him, and reflect upon the passages of his Life, which doing, he found himself much in fault, as to the Redemption of the Captives, which he had refused, and all things confidered, he defird rather to receive his punishment in this World, than in that to come, for which purpose he sent to all Patriarchs, to all Monasteries, and to *Jerusalem*, to desire the Prayers of devout persons. Prayers being accordingly made in his behalf in all places, one night he dreamed, that he stood before the Image of our Saviour, erected at the brazen Gate of the Palace, where a great number of Captives accused him: That a voice proceeded from the Image, which commanded him to be apprehended, which being done by the Officers attending, it was demanded of him whether he would be punifihed in this or another Life. He answered, he had much rather in this Life, than that which was to come, receive what he had deserved, and presently it was decreed, that he, his Wife, his Children, and his whole Family, should be given up into the Hands of *Phocas*, a Souldier.

62. As soon as he awaked he sent for *Philippicus*, who knowing the Emperour's jealousies, feared he might possibly never return alive, and therefore received first the holy Communion, and then went to Court, leaving his Wife at home, weeping in Sackcloth and Ashes. The Emperour, when he saw him, commanded him that waited to withdraw, and falling at his Feet, besought him to forgive him, telling him he had done him great injury, in suspecting that he had plotted against his Life, whereas now he plainly perceived he was innocent. He desired him to tell him if he knew any *Phecas*, a Souldier in the Army, which he said he did, and that it was he who being fent about the busynesses of *Commentius*, had demeaned himself so faulcily in his presence. He asked what was the Temper of the Man. He said he was timorous, and yet of a fierce Nature. If he be a Coward, faith he, he is a Murtherer, and then told *Philippicus* the whole story of his Dream. Now this very same night appears a Comet in the Air, such as from the shape of a Sword they called *Xiphius*. And as *Cedrenus* writes, *Magistrianus*, whom he had employed in this affair, returning from holy Men, brought him word that God had accepted of his Repentance, that he would save his Soul, and place him, and all his Family, amongst the Saints; but he must lose the Empire with great Infamy and Damage. *Mauricius* having received the Message, glorified God exceedingly.

63. Matters thus standing, he sent orders to his Brother *Peter*, who commanded the Army, to pass over the *Danube*, and take up their Winter Quarters in the Enemies Country. The Soulards would not endure to hear of any such thing, but fell into a mutiny, and lifting aloft *Phocas*, the Centurion, upon a Target, with lucky Acclamations saluted him Emperour. This as soon as *Peter* perceived, he withdrew, and returning to *Constantinople*, acquainted *Mauricius* with what had passed. The Tidings of the promotion of a new Emperour came to the City almost as soon as his Intelligence to the Court, and as the multitude is ever greedy of change, and weary even of the best things, thereupon they fell into great tumults and disorders. *Mauricius* perceiving here he could not be safe, takes Ship at midnight, with his Wife and Children, and by Tempest was driven to St. *Austromonus*, being at the same time feized with great pains of the Gout. He had lent before his Son *Theodosius* to *Cybrius*, to put him in mind of the good Offices he had done him, and in this time of his extremity, to desire that he might receive the like kindness.

**Things porten-  
ding the Ruine  
of Mauritius.**

Tom. 2. die 22.  
April. Vide B. II.

CHAP. III. *The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire.* Mauricius. 269

The *Praefati* joy  
with him.

He is Crowned.

kindness. But as soon as it was known in the City that he was gone, the Tumults increased, and the multitude reviled him in the *Forum*. When word was brought that *Phocas* drew near to *Constantinople*, those of the Faction of the *Praefati* went out to meet him, Congratulated with the Tyrant his Promotion; and invited him to take Possession of the *Heddomus*, or the Palace so called. Here *Cyrilius* the Patriarch, and the Senatours made their Addresses, and the Bishop having received from him a Confession of his Faith, with a Promise to preserve the Peace of the Church, Crowned him with the imperial Diadem, and thus was he declared Emperor in the Church of St. *John Baptist*, to the great detriment of the Roman State, as was afterward found by the Innumerable mischiefs that followed. Two days after, in an Imperial Chariot he Rode to the Court, and on the fifth day he set a Crown on the Head of *Leontia*, or *Leonto* his Wife, and named her *Augusta* in a great Assembly.

64. As the Custom was, he must now go to the *Circus* to be present at the publick Shews, and there the *Praefati* and *Veneti* not forgetting their old wont fall a Quarrelling. *Phocas* sends some of his Guard to quiet them, who deal roughly with a Tribune of the *Venetian* Faction; more turbulent it seems than the rest, which his Friends not enduring cryed out Tumultuously to the Tyrant, that he should rethink himself, that *Mauricius* was not yet dead, and they threatened to send for him and make him Umpire in the present Controversie. This startled *Phocas*, and put him into such a fit of Anger and Jealousie, that he resolved, that with the Life of *Mauricius* he would no more be reproached. He caused him therefore to be brought to *Chaledon*, to the Haven of *Eupropius*, where first he commanded his five Sons to be slain before his Face, with which Spectacle he was no otherwife affected, than that with great Courage and Submission to the Will of God, he said, *Just are thou O Lord, and righteous in all thy Judgments*. And so far was he from any murmurring, or impatience at the sad Estate, wherein he now stood, that when the Nurse bid one of his youngest Sons, that his Family might not altogether perish, and placed one of her own in his stead, the Good man would not suffer this kind Fraud of hers to take Succes, but discouered it, and then willingly submitted his own Neck to the Executioner. Their heads were cast on a heap in the Field near the Tribunal, where they lay till they putrified, and then the Tyrant gave leave they shoulde be buried with their Bodies. Such a lamentable end had *Mauricius* after he had Reigned sixteen years three Months and odd Days; in the Month of November, the fifth Indiction, the thirteenth of *Gregory the Roman* Bishop, A.D. DCII.

Peter his Brother was *Mauricius*, being thus dispatched, Peter his brother was put to Death. So was *Commentius*, with *George* the Son of *Philippicus*, and *Præsentinus* the great Bonfom Friend and Councillour of Peter. But the Jealousie and Cruelty of the Tyrant were not confined to *Constantinople*, and the places adjacent; there was one yet alive, who for all this might spoil the best of his sport, and hinder him from his designs in Asia. So he sent *Nicholas* the Bishop of *Tarsus* to the People was much more

And *Theodosius*,  
*Mauricus* his  
Son, enjoying the Fruts of his Villaines, whose Title to the Purple was much more ancient than that of his. This was *Theodosius*, whom his Father had sent to beg aid of *Chosroes*, but as Tyrants have long Armes, he reached him e'er he came to the Confines of the Empire, and ordered him to be put to Death, which was Executed at a place called *Leucala* not far distant from *Nicæa*, where he was surprized. The Youth desired the Favour, that e'er he died he might partake of the Holy Mysteries, which being granted, he took a stome from the Ground and therewith having three times struck his Breast, he prayed and said, *Lord Jesus, thou knowest I never injured any Man, but however deal with me as thou pleasest, and Glorifie thy Power*; which said, his Head was presently cut off, though others reported, that being sent by his Father with Letters to *Chosroes*, he miscarried some other way. However, it happened that trouble arose to the Tyrant from that very thing whereon he founded his greatest Security, for what way soever *Theodosius* miscarried, the incertainty of the manner, brought the matter it self into Suspicion and as is usual in such Cases, those whose Interest it was to have him alive, gave out, that some other Person was killed for him. And though *Phocas* fent according to the Cusomme to *Chosroes*, to acquaint him with his promotion, and by good Words and fair Pretences, to draw him to an owning, and Patronage of his Causse and Person; yet the Messenger was so unwelcome, (*Cilini* by Name, who had with his own hands murdered *Mauricus*) and much more his Message, that the Barbarian moved with a Sense of Gratitude and Honour, renounced Friendship with the Tyrant, and denounced that War which shortly after involved the Empire in innumerable Miseries.

The Souldier  
salute Phoca  
Emperore.

*Cedrenus*, Zona-

*And Theodosius  
Mauricius his  
Son.*

**Chefroes de-  
nounces War  
against the Tyr-  
rant.**

Gregory Bishop  
of Rome, flatters him and his  
Wife.

66. But in the mean time, viz. in the Month of *April*, were the Images of *Phocas* and his Wife, as the manner was, brought to *Rome*, where the People rejoicing in Changes, and incensed by the illegal and violent Courses of the late Emperour's Ministers in *Italy*, received them with lucky Acclamations; and *Gregory* the Bishop commanded them to be laid up in the Oratory of *St. Cælius* the Martyr within the Palace, not the *Laterane*, but another standing betwixt the *Via Appia* and *Lata- tina*. This done the Bishop Writes a Congratulatory Letter to the Tyrant, begin- ning with "Glory to God on high, who as it is written changeth times, and tran- slates Kingdoms to whom he pleaseth, by whose incomprehensible Dispensation it comes to pass, that various are the Conditions of humane Life, and sometimes "for the Punishment of the sins of many, one Man is raised up, through the hard- ness of whose Heart, the Necks of his Subjects are burthened with the Yoke of Tribulation, as we, faith he, have in our affliction long experienced. But some- times when it pleaseth our merciful God, to comfort and refresh the Hearts of many that are sorrowfull, in like manner he promoteth one to the Sovereign Power, through whose Bowels of Mercy he infuseth the Grace of his Exul- tation, or rejoicing in the Hearts of all; by the abundance of which Exultation, faith he, we believe we shall speedily be strengthened, who rejoice "that the Benignity of your Piety, is raised to the imperial Sovereignty. Let the Heavens and Earth rejoice and all your People hitherto exceedingly afflicted be Exhilarated by your benign Actions. Then he prays that he may have good Success against his Enemies; that the Commonwealth may enjoy under him hap- py times, the Depredations even of Peace, which had been made upon various Pretexts, being now removed: That Deceits and Cheats used about Testaments, and violent Exactions of Donations might cease; that every one might have the Possession of his own-well gotten Goods secured unto him, and each one enjoy "his Liberty, this being the real difference, that ought to be found betwixt Kings "of other Nations, and *Roman* Emperours, that they are Lords of so many Slaves "and these not of such, but of free Persons. Thus he, or to this purpose, word- eth his Letter, which being answered by *Phocas*, *Gregory* sends another, wherein he again rejoyneth, and giveth God thanks that the Yoke of sadness being remo- ved, they had now arrived at the times of Liberty, under this benign and Pious Emperour. Another of the same strain he wrote to *Leontius* the like Pious Em- prey with Words, if not Clawing them, yet exceedingly reflecting upon *Mauricius*: But what sort of Persons this *Phocas* and *Leontius* were, let us now see by particu- lars, so far as in these obscure times we can receive light from the Historians that are still extant.

*Phocas* his Char- acter.

67. *Phocas* was a Man of mean Stature, deformed, of a terrible Aspect, had *Cedrenus* ad Red hair, his Eye-brows met, shaved his Beard, and had a Scar on his Cheek, *Phoc. Ann. 1.* which when he was angry grew of a blackish Colour. He was given both to Wine and Women, was bloudy and sowe, fierce in Speech, free from all Com- passion, furious in his Disposition, and an Heretick. He was not unequally Yoked, having a Wife of the same Humour and Inclination, and therefore under them Mankind could not thrive, but was overwhelmed as with a Deluge of Miseries. For innumerable multitudes both of Men and Beasts, perished partly by Plague, and partly by Famine, and the Winters were so severe, that the Seas were frozen, and the Fish died. He endeavoured to please the People by celebrating the *Circenfan* Games; but the multitude now in cold Bloud began to think what a Change they had made, and though they had formerly approved the Treafon, yet now hating the Traitor, they would not be cajoled by him. Having, during the Solemnity of these Games, toward the Evening drank abundance of Wine, and delaying to return to the *Circus*, the multitude commanded him to come forth, bidding him rise up, and when he came not yet at their Call, they cryed out, *Hast thou again drunk Wine? Hast thou again left thy Senes?* Hereat he was so enraged, that causing many to be laid hold on, some he dis-membred, and others he put to Death. But the Rabble cast Fire into the Castle where the Prisoners were kept, whereby in the Tumult they all escaped. He to provide against all seditious At- tempts, built an Arcenal near to the Palace of *Magnaura*; and to try his Skill, if by fair means he could get the Love of the People, going as in Triumph to a publick Feast, he cast much Money amongst them. But he gained nothing.

The People re-  
vile him.

68. For such dreadfull Miseries happened shortly after, in the Provinces, as by Sympathy cast the City into great Tumults and Disorders. *Chefroes* sent a great Army to invade the *Roman* Territories, being solicited to doe it by *Narces*; who upon the Murther of *Mauricius* revolted, and seizing on *Edessa*, sent to the *Persian* for

for Succours. *Phocas* hearing of the Invasion, makes *Domentiolas*, or *Domitius* his Brother, *Magister Militum*, and sends *Germanus* against *Narces*; whereas the *Ahres* threatened to renew their Rapines and Devastations upon his Subjects, he adds something to the Tribute, formerly paid to *Chaganus*, hoping so to quiet him: His great Force there he employs against the *Persian*, but coming to Battel *Germanus* receives a Wound, whereof he dies an eleven days after, and *Leontius* who succeeded, having also ill Succes; *Phocas* was so enraged against him, that he caused him to be led in Chains in an ignominious manner. Matters thus ill succeeding against the *Persians*, when Force would not prevail, *Phocas* betook himself to Craft, and left no means unattempted to draw off *Narces* from his Confederacy, and by many reiterated Promises backed with Oaths, persuaded him at last to forlake the Caufe and Camp of the Barbarians, and to return to his own Country. But having got him into his hands without any regard to Oaths or Promises, he burnt him alive, to the great distaste, and discontent of the *Roman* People, to which he was most dear for his many good Services, and to the great Satisfaction of the *Persians*; who not only bore him ill Will, for his late forsaking of them, but feared him for his great Abilities in War, with the effects whereof they had so smarted, that with the Terror of his Name as a sufficient Scar-crow, they were usually wont to fright their Children. The *Persians* however resolved to proceed; and this year took in *Daras*, moreover all *Mesopotamia*, and *Syria* they over-ran and wasted, returning home with incredible booty.

69. *Phocas* having now possessed the Throne for the space of four years, thought to establish it more by making Alliances with the Nobility. To *Priscus* a Patritian, and the *comes Excubitorum*; he gave his Daughter *Domitia* in Marriage, which being solemnized in the Palace of *Marina* for the greater Grace, he appointed a Game, or Exercize with Horses to be held. But the sport was all spoiled, and their Mirth ended with Sorrow. For the People it seems falting the Bridegroom, and Bride with the Titles of Emperor and Empress; the *Demarchi*, of both the *Venetian* and *Præfian* Factions, placed their Images at the four Columns by order of the *Menstros* (or *Delineatores* as they were called) being those that had the Charge of managing the Solemnity. The *Demarchi* (*Theophanes* and *Pambulus* by name) he sends for, and commands them first to be stripped, and then beheaded. *Priscus* trembled to think, what a Case he was in, and though without any Fault of his, incurred the Displeasure of the Tyrant; who yet pardoned the multitude upon their Petition. But being now put into a fit of Fear and Jealousie; it happened, that one *Patrenia* coming to wait on *Constantina* the Relict of the Emperour *Mauricius*, revealed the Intelligence that passed betwixt that distressed Lady and *Germanus*, and what hopes they nourished, that her Son *Theodosius* was yet living. The Tyrant causeth *Constantina* to be tortured, who confesseth in her pains, that *Romanus* a Patritian was of the Conspiracy. *Romanus* by the same means was brought to discouer others; as *Theodosius* Prefect of the East, who was put to Death, *Hel- pidius*, who had his Feet first cut off, and was afterward burnt alive. *Constantina* with her three Daughters, was put to Death in the same place, where her Husband had been formerly murthered. *Germanus* also, and his Son were sent after them, together with *Juba*, *Zixa* a Patritian, *Theodosius* and several others.

70. These discoveries increased the Rage and Jealousie of the Tyrant, to such a Degree that like a Wild Beast he raged, and fell upon all that he found in his way. Many he cast into Prison, upon flight and idle Suspicions, and so crowded the Gaol (which having been made rather too little in *Constantine's* time, had never since been enlarged) that for want of room, with the Noisomeness of the place several of them perished, which so affected a certain noble Matron, that she gave freely an House of hers adjoyning for enlarging the Prison. While *Phocas* thus rageth at home against the Nobility, *Chefroes* in the East passeth *Euphrates*, and makes Havock of the poor People in those Provinces, wa- gling without controll all *Syria*, *Palestine* and *Phenicia*. And as well the Rage of the one, as Fury of the other continued the year following. For the *Persian* Army, if we credit *Theophanes*, though *Cedrenus* placeth it in the year following, made another Invasion, and defeating such Forces as were sent to oppose them, passed through *Galatia* and *Paphlagonia*, as far as *Chalcedon*, doing all things that Enemies are wont to doe in such Cases. *Phocas* in the mean time, as if he could stop the flux of Bloud in the Provinces, by a kind of Revulsion, and opening the Veins of those about *Constantinople*, proceeds in his Murthers of the Nobility, a great Mortality at the same time Conspiring with him, and *Chefroes* together, to rid the World of poor Mortals. After the slaughter of such as were related to *Mauricius*; he

he put to Death *Commentiolus* the Governor of *Thrace*, and many others, and with this constant course of Cruelty so wearied *Phocas* his Son-in-Law, that he resolved to wave all the interest he had in him, with all his hopes and pretensions, and hearing that in *Africk* a Conspiracy was hatching, sent to *Heraclius* the Patriarch, who now governed that Province, desiring him to dispatch away with all speed his Son *Heraclius*, and *Nicetas* the Son of *Gregoras* his Lieutenant, with a sufficient Army against the Tyrant.

71. The Tyrant ignorant of these Transactions to purue his own maxims, makes choice of such as he thought as cruel as himself for his prime Ministers. For this purpose he creates one *Bonosus Comes* of the East, a furious and rugged man, whom he lends to restrain the violence of the *Perfians*, but as he was on his way, he was recalled to extinguish the flames of a Rebellion, which now broke out at *Antioch*,

The Jews rise again at Antioch.  
Chastized.

where the Jews rose up against the Christians. They slew *Anastasius* the Patriarch, which done, they cut off his privy members, and put them into his Mouth, and then dragged his dead Body through the Streets. They killed and burnt many of the Citizens, and proceeded still in their fury till the news being brought to *Phocas*, Christum iijus  
Coptanum apellat Credens.

he ordered *Bonosus* and *Chotus* the *Magister Militum* to chastise them, which they did to purpose, being not able to prevail by fair means, putting many of them to the Sword, and dismembering many whom they then banished the City. Thus was this sedition suppressed at *Antioch*, about the time that disorders of greater consequence happened at *Constantinople*, where the Heartburnings of the People against the Tyrant though for some time smothered, yet so increased as to break out into a greater flame. As he was present at the Shews in the *Circus*, the *Præfani* could not hold but upbraided him with his Drunkenness, telling him that he had again drunk in *Gabala*, which was a very large fort of Cup, and that he had again lost his sense and understanding. In great wrath he caused *Cojmas* an Officer to apprehend many of them, of whom some he beheaded, others were dismembered, and some put into sacks and thrown into the Sea. The *Præfani* hereat enraged, as much as he, gathered together, set fire to the *Prætorium*, Court, and several Offices with the Prisons, out of which they let go such as lay in Chains. The Tyrant hereupon in great wrath, caused the *Præfani* to be disarmed.

72. This year, which was the seventh of his Reign, happened so sharp a Winter, that the Seas were frozen about *Constantinople*, and now the Tyrant's own Court began to wax too hot for him, where every day Conspiracies being hatch'd, for ridding the World of so great a Plague. *Theodorus Cappadocianus*, the *Præfetus Praetorio*, *Helpidius* the Captain of his Artillery, and several others deiv'd how they might kill him in the *Hippodrome*, but the Conspiracy was revealed by *Anastasius* the *comes Largitionum*, and when upon examination it was found, that they had resolved to make *Theodorus* Emperor, he put them all to Death, *Anastasius* as well as others. But things could not long stand in this Condition, though he escaped this danger, yet being now set against all men, and all men against him, the controversie must shortly be decided. *Heraclius* is saluted Emperor in *Africk*, and comes with a great Fleet and Army raised in these Southern parts toward *Constantinople*, while *Nicetas* marches with a great Land Army by the way of *Alexandria* and *Pentapolis*. *Heraclius* had made a contract with *Eudocia* the Daughter of *Rogatus* an *Africanus*, and he was now at *Constantinople* with *Epiphania* his Mother, which being told to *Phocas*, he caused them to be apprehended, and shut up in a Monastery. But *Heraclius* holds on his course and comes to *Abidus*, which being perceived by *Domentius* the Brother of the Tyrant, who had appointed him to keep the long Walls, he fled with the News of his approach to *Constantinople*. Having at *Abidus* kindly received such Noblemen as had been exiled by *Phocas*, *Heraclius* pursued his Voyage to *Heraclea* and so to *Constantinople*, where in the Haven of *Sophia*, he engaged in Battel with the Tyrant and had the better. *Phocas* being defeated fled to the Court, which being observed by one *Photinus*, whose Wife he had Ravished, with a party of Souldiers he broke in to him, drag'd him ignominiously from his Throne, pull'd the Imperial Robe over his Ears, and putting on him a black Veil, led him in Fetters to *Heraclius*, who after he had asked him, If he had not bravely Governed, and he had answered, It was his part to doe better, commanded first his Hands and Feet, then his Arms and privy Members to be cut off, and at last his Head. What was left of his Trunk, the *Lutum Sanguineum macraturum*.

Heraclius comes out of Africk & gains him.  
*Phocas* put to Death.

In the fourth year of *Boniface* the Fourth, the *Roman Bishop*, the thirteenth Indiction, A. D. DCX.

Heraclius succeeds.  
His Character.

73. *Zonaras* writes that the Brothers and Relations of *Phocas* were also put to Death, and that *Heraclius* being Crowned by *Sergius* the Patriarch the same day, set the Crown on the Head of *Fabia*, whose name was changed into *Eudocia*, and that he consummated the Marriage formerly contracted. *Heraclius* was as to his Countrey a *Cappadocian*, descended of a Noble and opulent Family, active and valiant, of a middle Stature, large Breasted, had sparkling and grayish Eyes, a white Complexion, yellow Hair, and a large broad Beard, but immediately upon his promotion, he both cut his Hair and shaved his Beard, as was the custome of Emperours. This year had been very happy in such a change, but that the *Perfians* turned the Joy thence conceived by those of the Eastern parts into mourning, for invading *Syria*, they took *Apamea* and *Edeffa*, and came as far as *Antioch*; the *Romans* opposing them with so ill success, that in a manner the whole Party perished in the Attempt, very few escaping to carry the News of the Defeat to their Friends and Relations. The *Scythians* also and *Abaris* invaded *Europe*, which things made the new Emperour very solicitous what to doe. For the Legions were quite wasted and gone, very few being found in the Muster Rolls, infomuch that of those many thousands which Rebelled against that good Prince *Mauricius*, and saluted *Phocas* their Emperour, by a remarkable Providence, no more than two Soldiers were remaining. But *Heraclius* making as good preparations as the weak Estate of the Empire would permit, made *Crispus* General, and sent him into *Cappadocia*, which the following year the *Perfians* invaded, as well as *Armenia*, and after great waste and destruction of all things, got *Casarea* into their Hands, which done, they roved up and down at their pleasure; but the *Roman* Forces being not able to make Head against them, at least not any considerable opposition. While these things minister'd matter of sorrow at *Constantinople*, some diversion was given to the Court by the Birth of a young Prince, *Heraclius* the younger, who was afterward called *Constantine Junior*, of which the Empress was brought to Bed on the third of May. She had before this brought a Daughter named *Epiphania*, and not long after the Birth of her Son Died, an unlucky accident happening at her Funeral. As she was carried with Royal Pomp through the *Forum*, a Girl of some Barbarous Nation unwittingly and by accident spate upon the Herse, for which the poor Creature was laid hold on and cruelly Burnt, making thus a lamentable presentation to the Deceased Empress.

74. This act of Cruelty was not left unrevenged in the East, where one mischief still followed at the heels of another, though the *Perfians*, glutted with blood and burthened with booty, thought fit to give rest both to themselves and the places subject to their Invasions. But the *Saracens* as it were to play their Game, while they were weary and looked on, made Incursions into *Syria*, which they miserably wasted with Fire and Sword. *Heraclius* to secure in his Family the succession of a tottering and uncertain Empire, creates his Daughter *Augusta* or Empress, and within a year following gives a Diadem to *Heraclius* his Son, whom he surnamed *Constantine*, and caused to be Crowned in like manner by *Sergius* the Patriarch. Having thus given them a Title, he resolved to uphold it as well as he could, and made as good preparations as he might for an expedition against the *Perfians*. But they prevented him, being now fresh and fit for new Slaughters, for they took *Damascus*, and carried away captive a great multitude of People. Hereupon he sends to *Chosroes* to perswade him to admit of moderate Councils, to put a stop to that constant issue of blood which he made, and satisfy himself with an Annual Tribute. But he dismissed the Ambassadors with a denial, without any reasons given for his Resolution, hoping now to make himself Master of the *Roman Empire*. He sent a great Army into *Syria* under the command of *Rafmizus*, which having feiz'd on the Passages of *Jordan*, wasted *Palestine* and took the City of *Jerusalem*. Here they committed such outrageous acts, as the horrour of them could not be expressed. About ninety thousand Christians they took and sold many to the *Jews*, who out of their inveterate hatred to their Religion, refused to treat them as by the universal consent of Nations. Captives were wont to be dealt with, but inventing all sorts of Torments, put them to most cruel Deaths. *Zacharias* the Patriarch was carried away into *Perisia*, with some wood it's said belonging to the Cross of Christ, and vast Plunder. And this is all the account we have concerning this lamentable accident, Historians having given us but a touch of that which deserved more largely to have been related.

75. In the mean time *Heraclius* being now a Widower, Marries *Martina* his own Neice by his Brother, and caused her to be Crowned by *Sergius*, for which incestuous Act he is much blamed by Writers, and severely punished as they

The Persians  
overran all  
Egypt and Africa.

they observe. She brings him a Son who is also called *Constantine*, at such time as the *Perfians* overran all *Egypt* and *Africa* as far as *Carthage*, which having attempted to no purpose with their usual Booty and innumerable Prisoners they return home. At this time most lamentable was the condition of such as fled from the danger to *Alexandria*, where there were no provisions for so great a multitude, neither had the *Nile* overflowed according to the custome; but by the care and liberality of *John* the Patriarch they were much relieved. Certainly this was a miserable Age, and the condition of the *Roman Empire* was most calamitous, the Barbarous Nations roving up and down at their pleasure, and *Heraclius* seeming so incapable of any effectual resistence, that he appeared as a man utterly dejected and out of hope. This kindled the heat of Ambition in some mens Breasts, who seeing him so unable to defend the *Roman Dominions*, and perceiving all was in danger, resolved to get a share to themselves, rather than suffer all to be lost to the Barbarous Nations. In *Italy*, *John*, the Gouvernor of the City of *Naples*, rebels and kills *John* the Exarch of *Ravenna*, into whose place was sent from *Constantinople* when his Death was there heard of, one *Eleutherius* who killed the Tyrant, and restored Peace to those Quarters about *Ravenna*. But being warm in his Seat, he began out of such considerations as we lately mentioned, to entertain ambitious thoughts of setting up for himself, having the greater Incouragement, because the Territories subject to his command lay at such a distance from the Emperour, who not being able to defend the Eastern Provinces, how could it be expected that he should protect *Italy*, into the Bowels of which the *Lombards* had also infinuated themselves: while he contrives in his Head, by what means he may best bring about his purpose, *Italy*, as seldom having time to breathe betwixt one Calamity and another, is sorely shaken with Earthquakes, and afflicted with a dismal Plague of Leprosie.

76. *Heraclius* in the mean time, as if he had been seized with some lethargick Indisposition, and could fright the Enemies of the Empire by glorious names, neglects his preparations for War, and instead of triumphs of the Field, makes choice of Domestick shews and solemnities. All his endeavours he bends to the promoting of his Children, in the seventh year of his Reign, conferring the Honour of Consul on *Heraclius Constantinus* his eldest Son, who bestowed on *Constantine* the younger, his Brother by *Martina*, the Title of *Cæsar*. Desirous to be at peace, he sends now the second time to *Chosroes* offering to purchase it though upon very hard terms, but the Barbarian the more he submitted the more insulted, and utterly forgetting as well the good offices he had received from the *Romans* in his late condition, as the vicissitude of humane Life, aroſe to that height of Arrogancy, as to require the Emperour and his Subjects, if they would be at quiet to renounce their Crucified Saviour, and with him adore the Sun for their God. Yet this Embassy or some other motive had this effect, that the *Perfians* stirred not the following year, which, notwithstanding was full of trouble, or fuller than the preceding. For the *Avaras* now again invaded *Thrace*, whom to divert or send back, *Heraclius* dispatched away his Ambassadors. *Chaganus* their Leader promises Peace, whereupon the Emperour with all his train, goes and meets him as far as the long Walls, and with gentle words labours to perswade him to continue in so good a mind, when suddenly the Barbarian contemning the Agreement, and the Oaths wherewith he had sealed them, falls upon *Heraclius* who escaping narrowly to *Constantinople*, lost all his Baggage which he was forced to leave behind with some of his men. *Chaganus* having under shew of Peace and Amity, taken and plundered many Towns in *Thrace*, and enriched himself and followers by such perfidious practices returned home.

The Persian  
wonderfully in-  
folent.

The King of  
the Avaras per-  
fidious.

*Heraclius* re-  
solves to be  
active.

77. The year following, the *Perfians* knowing how easie a Game they had to play, for their exercise and diversion as well as enrichment, made another Invasion and took *Anycra* a City of *Galatia*. He must have been prodigiously stupid, whom so many affronts could not move to Indignation, excessively negligent and bad natured, whom so many Cries and Lamentations of multitudes spoiled of their Friends and Goods, and others led into Captivity, could not affect, and poor spited rite example, that could hear every day of this Town lost, and the other Province wasted without being exceedingly concerned, and in pain, till an effectual course could be taken, both for repelling the Injury, and prevention of the like for the time to come. Whatever was the matter that *Heraclius* hitherto had seemed to be asleep, yet now he rouzed himself and his Animosity and Resolutio[n], though hard to be raised, yet now raised, gave hopes with them that they would not easily be laid down. He resolves to recall if possible, the ancient Fortune of the *Romans*,

Vide Cedrenus  
*ad Ann. p. Hr.*

*Romans*, to restore their Valour and Conduct, and to make such an expedition into *Perfia*, as might not only secure the Provinces, but recover the Reputation of the Empire. But its ill fighting with one Enemy, when a Man has another at his Back, and ingage with two, or more, at the same time. He endeavours therefore to take off *Chaganus*, and if not gain his Heart, yet to tie his Hands, that he might stand neuter, and doe him no hurt at home, whilst abroad he provided for the security of himself and Subjects. He sends once again to him, and having gently reprehended him for his late unkind dealing, once more exhorts him to embrace Peace, and a good understanding with him his Neighbour. The Barbarian promises to alter his course, and now to observe the Peace inviolably.

78. Animated by this Report made by his Ambassadors, and now, as he thought, secure of the *Avaras*, he buckled himself to his designed Expedition with all Alacrity. His Treasury was so empty that he was forced to borrow Silver and Gold of the Churches, which he stamped into Money. He hired the Turks, and other Barbarous Nations, to follow him into *Perfia*, and in his way made such levies as formed up a new Army. At *Constantinople* he left his Son to command in his absence, assisted by *Sergius* the Patriarch, and *Bonus* a Patritian, a Man of great Wisdom and Experience. *Chaganus* by Letters he still exhorted to keep his Word and Faith, so religiously given, and the next Evening, after the solemnity of *Easter* was over, set forward for *Perfia*, training his Men as he marched, and disciplining such Troops as were raw and unexperienced, being newly raised. In the mean time, while he prepares for his Journey, *Sax*, the *Perfian General*, sent by *Chosroes*, waſhes the *East* without controll, and coming even as far as *Chalcedon*, there stays for some time, and invites *Heraclius*, under pretext of a Treaty of Peace, to give him a meeting. The Emperour met with him according to his desire, and trusting too much to his flattering Language, sent seventy of his Nobles with him on an Embaſy to *Chosroes*, whom the perfidious wretch carried bound with great contumely into *Perfia*, but there being arrived, had his skin pulled over his Ears, for having seen *Heraclius*, and not brought him away Prisoner, and the *Roman Ambassadors* were cast into Prison, and severely handled. *Chosroes* after this sent another Captain against the *Romans*, called *Sarbaras*, who entring *Asia* with a vast number of Men, did answerable mischiefs in the Provinces. But *Heraclius* now having composed the differences rife amongst his Soldiery, and animated them with courage and confidence against his Enemies, pursued his March, and came to the confines of *Armenia*. Here he understands he must fight for his passage, a Body of *Perfians* being ready to give him a stop, but there was not much need of troubling himself, some of his Vanguards easily defeating this Party, of which they brought the Captain Prisoner to his Prefence. Winter now drawing on, he held on the way toward *Pontus*, as if he would there take up his Winter Quarters, and the *Perfians* imagining no les, he surprised them, and fell into their Territories.

79. One of their Commanders had already entered *Cilicia*, to divert him from his designed Invasion, but now perceiving how the case was altered, he retreated to defend his own Country, and followed *Heraclius* in the rere; yet did him little or no prejudice, though he seized on the Mountains, and the most advantageous places, still coming off with los and Infamy. At length other forces drew up, and then they came to a picht battel, wherein the Courage and Alacrity of *Heraclius* so animated his Men, that they obtained a notable Victory over their formerly insulting Enemies, and let them see that Fortune had not altogether abdicated her self to them and their Caue. This done, the Emperour drew down his Forces into *Armenia* to Winter, and he himself returned to *Constantinople*, whence he was constrained, after no very long stay, to return again into the East. For *Chosroes* sent *Sarnabazas*, or *Sarmanazaris*, to waſh the *Roman Provinces*, as formerly, and being again moved to accept of Peace, and compose the differences, for the easie and security of the People for the time to come, he refused what was offered, and slighted the Message. *Heraclius* therefore sees he must again invade *Perfia*, which he did toward the latter end of *April*, which *Chosroes* underſtanding, recalls *Sarnabazas*, and making greater Leveys, joins him and *Sainus*, or *Sathus*, in command, with orders to find out and ingage the Emperour. *Heraclius* purſues his March, and having by Arguments, drawn from religious considerations, much elevated the courage of his Men, pierced into the inner *Perfia*, where perceiving that the King himself lay at a place called *Gazacum*, (or *Gaza-Cotis*) with forty thouſand stout and courageous Soldiery, made haſte to surprise him. He ſent ſome *Saracens* before, to espie and relate how this might best be effected, who fell upon the ſcouts of *Chosroes*, and

*Heraclius de-  
feats the Perfi-  
ans.*

and killing some of them, brought others to the Emperour; but some escaped, and carried news of *Heraclius* his approach, with which the King was amazed, and fled away as fast as his Horse could carry him.

80. *Heraclius* still pursues and clears all before him, easily conquering whatever opposition was made, and takes the City of *Gazacum*, where was the Temple of the Sun, the Treasure of *Craesus*, King of *Lydia*, and the Imposture of Coals. Entring the place, he found therein *Chosroes*, so represented, as if he sat in Heaven, with the Sun, Moon and Stars about him, which he worshipped as Gods; Angels which bore Sceptres encircling him. There were also Machines to be seen, by which he could imitate Rain, and counterfeit Thunder, all which, together with the Temple, and the whole City, the Emperour burnt to Ashes, and pursued the King to *Thebatman*, (where *Theophanes* placeth the Temple, and the other superstitious things now mentioned) and so as far as to the Straits of *Media*, destroying many Towns, and wasting all places through which he passed. But now he must think of Winter, which drew nigh, and his Souldiers must be provided for. Three days he set apart to implore the Counsel and Direction of Almighty God, and opening the Gospels, as the manner was, he thought it was injoined him to winter in *Albania*. In his retreat with much booty he was in disadvantageous places way-layed, and galled sometimes by the Enemy but still came off with the better. He was most distressed with Frost, and hard weather, which moved him to such compassion toward his Prisoners, of which it's reported he had no fewer, than fifty thousand, that he set them all at liberty, which so affected them, that weeping for joy, they prayed he might not be only theirs, but the Deliverer of all *Perha* from the Destrroyer of the World, the bloody *Chosroes*.

He takes and razeth *Gazacum*.

Pierceth through *Perha*.

81. For the year following, which was the fourteenth of the Reign of *Heraclius*, *Chosroes* made one *Sarablas* (or *Sarablanca*) and *Sarbazanes* his Generals, ordering them with joint force to let upon the Emperour, who with such success as could not be paralleld, and indeed prodigious, if the Fortune of his Predecessours, in reference to the Crown of *Perha*, be considered, had born the *Roman* Eagle displayed throughout his Dominions. To *Sarablas* he delivered the Flower of his Army, called *Chyfroutes*, and *Perozites*, and sent him againt the Emperour into *Albania*, who was no whit disengaged at it, but desired to fight him e'er *Sarbanazas* could join with him. But *Sarablas* durst not fight, but seized on such places as were convenient to infest him as he passed into *Perha*. And when Spring came on, and he could get Provisions for his Army, away the Emperour marched, but his Men, weary with Travel, and fearfull out of the apprehension they had of the difficulty of the Enterprize, began to mutiny, the *Lazians* and *Abagians* especially, who refused to march any farther. But as here they made delays, and quarrelled with the tediousness of their Journey, *Sarbanazas* came up, and was almost ready to join with *Sarablas*, which convinced the *Roman* Souldiers of their folly, and how by their delay they were like to draw at once two Enemies upon their backs in the room of one, they come therefore, and with Tears beg pardon of the Emperour, casting themselves at his Feet, and desiring that they might be led against the Enemy, left their delay, joined with their deserts, should bring them to most certain Ruine. It hapned however very well, that *Sarbanazas* purusing his orders, would not venture to ingage, till he could join his Troops with those of *Sarablanca*, whom *Heraclius*, having encouraged his Men, indeavoured by all means to fight, but could not provoke him to a Battel, and therefore leaving both these Captains, he led on after *Chosroes*. Now do two *Romans* run away to the *Perians*, and persuade them, that the cause of the hafe made by *Heraclius*, was mere fear he had of ingaging, and at the same time comes news, that *Sais*, another of the *Perian* Captains, was at hand with a very considerable force.

*Chosroes* makes two Generals.

82. Hereupon the other two Captains resolve to ingage the *Romans*, left a Victory to them undoubted should be taken out of their hands. *Heraclius*, when he perceived them incamped near to him, and that early the next morning they intended to fight, removed farther in the night, till he came to a place very convenient for him to ingage on, which reces of his, trusting to the story of the Fugitives, they counted flight, and fell tumultuously upon him, as one running away, and this mistake of theirs he managed to such advantage, that he defeated them, killing many, and amongst the rest *Sarablas*. Yet notwithstanding, the *Perians*, by the coming of *Sais*, were encouraged, who joining with *Sarbanazas*, rallied the Troops lately dispersed, and struck no small terror into the *Romans*, whom they followed, marching through difficult, and almost unpasseable, ways, into the Territories of the *Hunnes*. Now the *Lazians* and *Abagians*, out of cowardly fear

*Heraclius* defeats them.

*Cedrenus*.

Vide Bar.

fear deserted the *Romans*, and returned home, which once known, the Enemy with more courage and greater expedition pursued them, and it put *Heraclius* to some straits; but by Arguments drawn from Religion he again creted the dejected Spirits of his Men, putting them in mind, that though they shoud endure the utmost, and undergo Death it self, their Death would be the Death of Martyrs, and in regard they fought for the Reputation of their Faith, the safety of the Empire, and the preservacion of their Brethren, as such they would be admired and honoured by all posterity. Having by thise, and such like words, brought them into the same good humour as formerly, with great alacrity he put them into the order of battel, as also did the *Perian* Captains their Forces; yet in Battallion both Armies continued, without striking one stroke, from morning till night, which being come, *Heraclius* removed, and pursued his Voyage, having the Enemy at his heels, who, to prevent and encompass him, went somethong out of their way, and entangled themselves in the Fens and Marshes. By this means he got a safe and a quicker passage into *Persepolita*, into which Countrey the *Perians* still pursued him, with this comfort, that there they could recruit themselves with additional Forces, and that, as they imagined, the *Romans* fled in great anxiety and fear.

83. Yet Winter coming on, they resolved, after a fruitles pursuit, to return home, which being known to *Heraclius*, he purposed in the dead time of the night to fall upon them. He sent some select parties to storm the Castle, to the defence of which, upon the Alarm, they came in confusedly, but all that came were cut off, scarcely one remaining to carry the tidings. *Sarbanazas* himself, naked as he was, leapt upon his Horse, and fled with full speed, leaving many Officers and Ladies, and indeed the Flower of the *Perian* Nobility, in the place, who got up to the tops of the Houses, and there would have fortifid themselves, but he fetched them down, setting fire to the Buildings, and forme he flew, others he burnt, and many he took, very few escaping his Hands, that had accompanied *Sarbanazas*, whose Arms were all found and taken, as his golden Buckler, his Sword, and Spear, his Girdle, set richly with Gems, and his neat and spruce Shoes. After this the Emperour scourred the Countrey of all Straglers, killing some, and taking others, which done, he refolved here to winter. The Year following he took the way that led by Mount *Tauris* into *Syria*, and after vast pains undergone in his passage, on the seventh day came to the River *Tigris*, and thence to the Cities of *Maryropolis* and *Amida*. Here he refreshed his Souldiers and Captives, and he sent Letters of his success to *Constantinople*, where the news was received with as great Joy as the thing required. But in the Spring *Sarbanazas*, to be revenged and redeem his Credit, moves against him, who, upon the news received, sends certain Troops to secute the Passages, through which he must march, and he himself goes another way, lying toward the East, by which he intends to find out and surprize his purfuing Enemy.

84. Having passed his Army over the River *Nymphius*, he came to *Euphrates*, over which a Bridge had been laid of Ropes and Wool, wrought together, which *Sarbanazas* had caufed to be broken, and drawn all up to the other side. But *Heraclius* found out a Ford, and to the Amazement of all men passed over his Army in the Month of *March*, which having done, he subdued *Samasata*, and again passing over *Taurus*, came to *Germanicia*, and through *Adana* to the River. In the mean time *Sarbanazas* pursues him, and when he had passed the River *Sanis*, and feized on the Bridge, and all the Forts belonging to it, pitched his Camp on the other side. The *Roman* Souldiers were so elevated with their success, that, contrary to the ex-preis command of the Emperour, they would venture over the Bridge tumultuously, and charge the Enemy, which brought them into great straits, and they had undoubtedly miscarried, but that the great Valour and Conduct of the Prince preserved them, who demeaned himself so in the battel, that his Enemies admired him, and under covert of the night thought best to retire. *Heraclius*, all being now clear, leads his Men to *Sebastea*, where, having crossed the River *Ialys*, he refolved to winter. *Chosroes* hearing how his matters daily went down the wind, boiled with anger, and in a great rage took away the Wealth of all the Churches within his Dominions, and to vex *Heraclius*, compelled all Christians, that were his Subjects, to embrace the Heresie of the *Neforian*.

85. Having been so many times ignominiously beaten, and forced to take his heels, he confidered how unlike his fortune had been to that of his Predecessours, before whom the *Romans* had been wont most commonly to flee, and impatient of the disgrace, for the following year resoloved to apply all his Force and Interest against *Heraclius*, into whose Territories, if he could transfer the War, he thought he

*Chosroes* curaged.

Defeats the *Perians* that opposed him.

Raises a vast Army.

he should compell him to return home, and so doe his busines. He raised an Army out of all sorts of Nations, he could compas, and out of all conditions of his own Subjects Slaves or free; the choicest of which he committed to the conduct of *Sau*, and added to them fifty thousand stout Souliders out of *Sarbaras* his Army, whom he named the *Golden Company*. *Sau* thus furnished, he sent against *Heraclius*, and commanded *Sarbaras* with the rest of the Forces to march toward *Constantinople*, and in his way to draw the Western *Hunnes*, or *Avares* into society with him, and so in conjunction with the *Slavini* and *Gepidae*, to fall upon that City. *Heraclius* his Intelligence was so good, that he fully understood how his Plots were laid, and therefore divided his Army into three Parts, whereof one he sent to defend the City, the second he committed to the charge of *Theodorus* his Brother, with order to fight *Sau*, and he himself with the third invaded the Territories of the *Lazians*, endeavouring to procure Auxiliaries also from the *Eastern Turks*, called otherwise *Chazari*.

*Theodorus* beats *Sau*.

*Theodorus* engaged and routed *Sau*, by help, as they report, from Heaven, a great storm of Hail sorely distressing the *Perfians*, with which the *Romans*, were not at all incommoded. And *Sau* having received this notable defeat, as the custome is, with these Barbarous Eastern Nations, fell into the great displeasure of his Prince, and contraried from grief a mortal Disease, which having made an end of him, *Chosroes* tyrannised with several sorts of Indignities over the dead Body.

*Constantinople* besieged by the *Avares*.

The Siege won-

derfully raised.

86. In the mean time the *Chazari*, or *Turks*, break through the *Caspian Gates* into *Perse*, and pierce as far as the Region of *Androoga*, under conduct of *Zeebelus*, who was next in dignity to *Chajanus*. As they wasted the whole Country, and roved up and down, *Heraclius* met them in his March from *Lazica*, and made an Alliance with them upon such Terms, as *Zeebelus* therewith satisfied, left his Son with the Emperour, and departed home. In the mean while *Sarbaras* sets upon *Chalcedon*, and the *Avares* flocking in great numbers out of *Thrace*, besieged straitly *Constantinople*, by Sea and Land, bringing many Vessels out of the *Danube*. But when they had besieged the City ten days, a wonderfull thing hapned, which produced full as strange an effect. They thought they saw a Lady with a train of Eunuchs issue out of the Gate of *Blachernæ*, which supposing to be the Wife of *Heraclius*, and that in the absence of her Husband she was coming to their General to treat of Peace, they made way for her, purposing to fall upon all such Souliders as should follow after her. But finding that though she had passed the Trench, yet she came not towards the General's Tent, they began to pursue her, and followed her as far as the place called *The old Stone*, where when they had almost overtaken her, she suddenly disappeared; but the pursuers immediately fell on quarrelling amongst themselves, and from words came to mortal blows, which they laid on till Evening began to part them. The next day the Captain coming to inquire of the Caufe, found that the most part of his Men were destroyed by their Fellows, and in great shame and discontent retired. Then did the Fleet also withdraw, and returning homewards, in the *Euxine Sea* was so distressed by Tempeſt, that few escaped. Yet would not *Sarbaras*, though he took the thing much to heart, raise his Siege from before *Chalcedon*; but there wintring, harassed all the Sea Coasts, and destroyed all the Towns adjoining.

87. In the mean time *Heraclius* having joined to him the *Turks*, entered *Perse* in the Winter feaſon, and terrified *Chosroes* exceedingly; but the *Turks* not enduring the sharpnes of the weather, and frightened by the many Incursions and Skirmishes of the *Perfians*, began to ſlip away, and at length all of them deferted the Emperour, and returned home, yet he, by religious Arguments, comforted his Men, and prepared to encounter *Razafes*, a Man of great Valour and Conduct, whom *Chosroes* had made General of all the Forces he could raise. Having waited all with fire and Sword in his way, in the month of *Oſter* he entered the Country called *Chamaitha*, where he refreſhed his Army ſeven days. *Razafes* followed him, but by reaſon that the *Romans* destroyed all things as they went along, his Men were much distressed for want of Viſuals. On the firſt of December the Emperour, having crossed the River *Zaba*, ſate down not far from *Ninive*, and *Razafes* was instantly at his Heels. The Emperour ſent out *Boanas*, his prime Officer, with a choice Party of Men, who light upon the Band or Standard of the *Perfians*, and having killed all about it but fix and Twenty, brought those away Prisoners, with the Head of their Leader, and, together with his Dagger of mafly Gold, they took the Armourbearer of *Razafes*. He told *Heraclius*, that *Razafes* was resolute to fight, and that three thouſand fresh Men were ordered him by *Chosroes*, but were not yet arrived, which made him reſolve to engage e'er theſe ſuccours ſhould join with the reſt of the Army. He himſelf ſhewed the moſt

*Heraclius* obtains another great Victory.

moſt alacrity to fight, killing three of the *Perfian* Officers with his own hand, one after another, and a bloody Battel it was, laſting from morning to night, wherein fell *Razafes*, with almost all his fellow Commanders, and the greaſteſt part of the Souliders; but of the *Romans* onely fifty. *Razafes* his Body was found, with a Shield and Armour, all of mafly Gold.

88. The Emperour, to make uſe of the terror which this Victory ſtruck into the mind of *Chosroes*, preſently led againſt him, intending, if poſſible, to find him out, or force him to recall his Forces from the Parts about *Constantinople*. Paſſing over the Bridges of *Zaba* the leſs, he came to the Palace of *Jſdemon*, and there kept his *Christmas*. Hence he marched to another Houſe of *Chosroes*, called *Rufa*, which he demolished, and paſſed on to another, known by the name of *Beclam*, where he found a great number of all ſorts of Beasts, which he diſtributed to his followers. Here by ſome fugitive *Armenians* he underſtood that *Chosroes*, with all his Elephants and his Forces, ſtaid at *Dyfagerda*, another of his Manions, where he expeſted the coming of the reſt of his Men. Thither therefore he made his way, burning and killing all in his paſſage, and coming to the place, there found the feveral Standards which at diuers times had been taken from the *Romans*, with abundance of Spices, Hangings richly wrought, and much Silk, whereof as muſch as could not be brought away he cauſed to be burnt. Hither repaired to him many Captives taken from *Edeſſa*, *Alexandria*, and out of other Nations. All the pleafant Houſes of *Chosroes*, of which ſome were admirablie for Beaute, and rich Furniture, he burnt to the ground, to let him feel, as he ſaid, what he did when he deſtroyed the *Roman* Cities. The King, e'er he came to *Dyfagerda*, ſtole ſecretly away, with his Wives and Children, having broken an hole in the Wall, and he who formerly in an entire day could not make a Journey of five miles, now could travell five and twenty, and haſſed paſſed beyond *Cteſiphon*, and the River *Zigra*, ſhuſt up himſelf, with his Wife and three Daughters, in a certain Castle.

89. While here he reſides, ſome *Perfians* calumniate *Sarbaras*, or *Sarbarazas*, to him, as if he held intelligence with the *Romans*, whereupon he ſends to *Cardarichas*, his Colleague, then lying before *Chalcedon*, that he ſhould kill *Sarbaras*, and return with the Army into *Perſia*. He that carried the Letter was intercepted by the *Romans*, upon the Borders of *Galatia*, and brought before the Emperour's Son at *Constantinople*, who ſends for *Sarbaras*, and ſhews him the Letter, with which he was to be concerned, as to make Peace with him and the Patriarch, and puts into the Letter of *Chosroes*, that with him four hundred other Officers of the Army ſhould be killed. Then calls he *Cardarichas*, and all the Armies together, and reading the Letter, demands if they thought it convenient that all thoſe perſons ſhould be slain, whereat they were all enraged, and renouncing *Chosroes*, made Peace on that condition, that they might return home without impediment. About the ſame time *Heraclius* wrote to *Chosroes*, and offered him Peace, which he refuſed, and thereby increaſed the hatred his Subjects had already conceived againſt him. He levies another Army, which he commands to join with the remainder of *Razafes* his Troops, and hovering about the River *Narka*, to break down the Bridge aſſoon as *Heraclius* ſhould haſſe paſſed over. The Emperour hereof adverтиſed, returned to the Region called *Sizur*, which he ſpoiled and burnt, and here *Gundufundus*, who had ſerved under *Sarbaras*, as a Tribune, with many others, joyn themſelves to him. He acquaints him that *Chosroes* had determined to crown King his youngſteſt Son *Merdafa*, which *Siroes* his eldeſt oppoſed with all his vigour, and had procuraſt to join with him two and twenty *Satrapes*, with an infinite muſtitude of Men, which now conſpired to make an end of *Chosroes*, and if that could not be done, all of them would revolt to the *Romans*. *Heraclius* approviſing the deſign, ſends to *Siroes*, and aduifeſt him to fet all the *Romans* they had at liberty, and lead them againſt his Father, which he did, and eaſily took him, though he attempted to eſcape. Now as he was bound in Iron Fetters, and having Givens of Iron alſo about his Neck, was caſt into a Dungeon, and fed onely with Bread and Water. *Siroes* ſent the Noblemen to scoff at him, and spit in his Face, and having killed all his Sons in his fight, cauſed him, after fifteen days, to be ſhot to death.

90. This end had Paricide, Infolence and Ingratitude, by the Hand of him who ought leaſt to have done it, though he revenged the death of his Grandfather, after that *Heraclius* had waged War againſt the Tyrant with miraculoſe ſucces, the ſpace of ſix years. *Siroes* preſently fent to the Emperour, to give him notice how matters ſtood, made a perpetual Peace, and fet at liberty all Prisoners, together with *Zacharias* the Patriarch of *Jeruſalem*, and the wood of the Croſs taken out of that City. By virtue also of this Peace the *Roman* Provinces, on which the *Perfians*

O 3. A.D. B.C.  
July 26. Tip-  
pore, &c. Ce-  
drenus ad Am-  
er. Heraclius.

*Heraclius returns in triumph after his wonderful performances.*

Sins had lately feized, were restored to the Empire, as all Syria, both the upper and lower, the Garrisons being drawn out of the Cities. These things done, Heraclius returned to Constantinople in triumph, and a triumph he deserved, equal to those of the greatest Captains, having recovered the Eastern parts of the Empire, and restored the poor distressed People to their ancient Liberty, burnt so many Cities, wasted so many Countries in the Enemies Dominions, fully revenged upon that Infidel Nation all the Indignities offered to the Romans, slain the Glory of Chosroes his Family, by causing him basely to run away, by burning his Palaces, and driving his Subjects into Rebellion, and that at such a time when the Empire was in a very low and sad condition, its Treasure exhausted, and its *Militia* decayed, and quite out of order. The People hearing of his approach, ran out of the City with a greedy desire of seeing him. There wanted no Prayers, Praises, Acclamations and Welcomings, they carried out Olive branches in their Hands, with Lamps, which they almost extinguished with their Tears of Joy. His Son Constantius, accompanied with the Patriarch, fell at his feet, and embracing him, they both watered the ground out of the like Fountains.

*He makes a Progress to Jerusalem.*

91. The following year, which was the nineteenth of his Reign, in the beginning of the Spring, he made a Progress to Jerusalem, where he restored Zacharius the Arch, and the Wood of the Cross he deposited in its former place. By an Edict he forbade the Jews to come within three Miles of the City, and having finished his Devotions, made a farther Progress into the Eastern Provinces. Coming to Hierapolis in Phrygia, he had the news of the Death of Siroes, the new King of Persia, who was now served in the same sort as he had dealt with his Father, being slain by Barbaras the General, or Adefer his own Son, who having enjoyed the Title but seven Months, received the same measure himself from Barradas, who continued King for eight months longer. Him the Persians slew, and preferred to the Throne Barama, the Daughter of Chosroes, some say Barachanes, his Son, who having reigned but seven Months, was succeeded by Hormidas, whom the Saracens drove out of Persia, and subjected this Kingdom to the Arabians, under whom it continues at this day, saith Cedrenus. Thus in a short time was brought to ruin a Monarchy which so lately had been the most potent and dreadful of all others; and by the same course of mutability, the same wheel of Fortune elevated the Roman Empire, which so lately had lain in the lowest condition to an high pitch of its ancient Glory. Heraclius was now become so famous in all Countries, that several Kings, as well from the West as the East, sent to congratulate his good Success, and join in Confederacy with him. As the King of the Indians, who sent him a rich Present of Pearl and pretious Stones, and Dagebert the Son of Chlotharius, King of the Franks. But see still the vicissitude of humane Affairs: Heraclius now at ease and leisure, having subdued his Enemies abroad, afflits in a religious Civil War at home, and makes himself a great Party amongst Churchmen, embracing the Heresy of the Monothelites. As a punishment for this grievous crime (as some, who take upon them to pry into the secret Providence of God, do assert) the Empire which had lately been restored to so high a pitch of greatness and reputation, began now again to fall to decay, and so by little and little was diminished, till at last it came to utter ruine, and into the hands of Barbarians. So that Heraclius is blamed, as in a great measure the Author of this mischief, and is farther taxed upon this account, that abusing himself with Opinions and Speculations not proper for him, he took no notice of the greatest mischief which ever rose in the East, the greatest Plague that ever happened to Christendom, which he might have prevented, and crushed as a Cockatrice in the very Egg. For now at this time Mahomet was Captain of the Saracens, whose Power he much advanced, and intituled into them the Venome of a new Religion. He died in the one and twentieth year of Heraclius his Reign.

*Heraclius contended by Foreign Princes.*

92. He left for his Successour Ebubachar his Kinsman, who taking occasion at the low Estate to which the Persian Kingdom was brought, advanced as much as he could the Affairs of the Saracens. But he continued not long in his place, dying in the four and twentieth year of Heraclius, after he had reigned, or been Ambras, as their term was, two years and an half, and was succeeded by Humar, or Flammus, who, to improve what Mahomet and Ebubachar had begun, took Bostra, with several other Cities, and proceeded in his Conquests as far as Gabitha. Against him Theodorus, the Emperour's Brother, made head, but was defeated, and forced to fly to Heraclius, then lying at Edessa, who made Boanes, or Babanes, or Habanes, General in his stead, and besides this, sent Theodorus Sacellarius with an Army against the Arabians. Being come as far as Emesa, there the Ambras meets him

Butes himself with points of Religion, and suffers Mahomet to rise.

*The Persians Monarchy ruined.*

93. It is frigh'ted from Jerusalem by the Saracens, who beat his Officers.

And take Damacus with the Regions of Phoenicia.

The Original of the Saracens, which Name was not ancient.

Arabians.

Saracens and Hagarens the same.

Ismaelites.

See Dr. Jack-  
son upon the  
Cred. B. 1.  
Ch. 25.

Their Seat.

The Seat of the Hagarens, mentioned in Scripture.

Semite Arabes the general Name of Ismael's posterity.

him with a multitude of his Saracens, and incamps himself upon the River Bar-donius, the Rumour of which frightened the Emperour so that taking away the Re-licks from Jerusalem, he returned to Constantinople, sending Orders to Boanes to remove from Damacus to Edessa, to the Assilence of Theodorus; whose Army consisted of forty thousand Men. Yet it seems he obeyed not the Order, being forced to entertain more provident Councils, for instead of afflicting Theodorus, he had need of calling him to his aid; the Saracens in the Spring following, in infinite multitudes flocking to Damacus. Theodorus was ready at his call, but engaging with the Arabians, was worsted and forced to retire, after which the Army under the command of Babanes, fell into a Mutiny, and renouncing Heraclius, chose him for their Emperour. Hereupon Theodorus Sacellarius withdrew the Forces under his Command, and the Saracens rid of him were in better Capacity to grapple with Babanes, whom they destroyed with all his Men. For when they engaged, a strong Wind blew all the Dust into the Faces of the Romans, which made them unfit for fight, and to fly to the River Jerinobte, into which they were driven Headlong by the Enemy, and all perished either in the Water, or by the Sword. Then did the Saracens easily take Damacus with the Regions of Phoenicia, which now they began to inhabit, and shortly after, with ease subdued Egypt, which they also planted with their own Men. Here we are like to meet with a warlike Nation, which for a long time is to act a most considerable part upon the Stage of the World. We shall therefore make a pause, and inquire who this Saracens is, and whence he is descended; for all mens Eyes are now upon him, and all the News is concerning his Motions, and the dreadfull Effects of his Victorious Arms.

93. It is evident out of Ammianus Marcellinus, that the Name of Saracens was not ancient. The first certain mention of it is in Ptolemy; who describes a Region called Saracen in the West part of Imael's Territories, as they are set out by Moses, and a People called Saraceni in Arabia Felix, near to the Mountains which the Scenite inhabited. That they were Arabians, is most evident out of the Greek Annals, which call them indifferently by the one, and the other Name: But farther, in all the Ecclesiastick Writers the Names of Saracens or Hagarens are used promiscuously, as Equivalent, and the Saracen to the modern Jews of Spain are best known, by that of Imaelites. The Reader therefore is to consider, that of Abram's base Seed, some in Scripture are denominated from their Mother, known by the Name of Hagarens; others from her Son their Father, are called Imaelites, and some take their Names from his Sons, as Kedar, Duma, Napish, Hetur and others, although not any People in Scripture are named from Nabathaei, his eldest Son, which adds Probability to their Opinion, who think such as the Heathen called Nabathaei, were in Scripture called Imaelites as sole Heirs to their first Progenitor's Name. Their seat was in the best part of Arabia Patra, near to the Midianites, as is probable from the story of Joseph; who in one place is said to be sold unto the Imaelites, in another to the Midianites, these being near Neighbours it seems, and Co-partners in Traffic. And this is observable, that as the Nabathaeans are not mentioned in Scripture, so neither do we find the Name of Imael in any ancient Heathen Writers: All of them it's likely being of Strabo's mind, who profeith that he omits the Names of the Arabians; partly, because in his time they were out of use, and partly, for the Harshness of their Pronunciation; to which Exception the Name of Imael was very obnoxious.

94. The seat of such, as by the Scripture are called Hagarens, was in the Desert of Arabia, betwixt Gilead and Ephratus: They were by the Heathen called Agrai (a Word more Consonant to their Hebrew name גָּרָא, than the Latine Agrius, Hagarens) and are rightly placed by Ptolemy in Arabia Desert, and by Strabo in that very place which the Scripture makes the Eastern bounds of Imael's Posterity; their Metropolis in latter times, being Atra, or Atre, and the Inhabitants thereof called Arenti, unless both Dia Caffus and Herodian, either mistook, or have been mistaken, to have written Atreni for Agreni. But to omit particular Denominations, Imael's Posterity was best known to ancient Heathens, from the manner of their Habitation in Tents; for Scenite Arabes, was a Name general and Equivalent to his Race, unleſs perhaps the Midianites, or Idumeans might share with them in this Name, as they were partakers of their Quality, which yet is not so to be appropriated unto either, as if they had neither House nor Town, for as the Tents of Kedar are most famous in Scripture, so in it, The Cities of the Wilder-  
nes are also mentioned, and, The Towns that Kedar doth inhabit; nay, in the very times of Moses, They were named by their Towns, and, By their Castles. There were twelve Princes of their Nations, or twelve Heads of so many several Houses, Tribes

L. 23.

Cedrenus ex Zoro-

narus pafim est

Agarens dicuntur.

Lib. 16.

Vide 1 Chron. 5:

9. 10.

Their Phylarchi.

Tribes or Clans, which kind of Government continued amongst the *Saracens* for four hundred years after Christ, or more. For as Moses Writes of such Princes, or Heads of Tribes, so of Heathen Writers, the Greek make mention of Φύλαρχοι Ἀράβωνες, *Sextus Rufus*, *Jornandes*, *Amianus*, and the later Writers of *Phylarchi Saracenorum*, and *Reguli Saracorum*.

95. But to give a more clear Proof, whence these *Saracens* descended, these two things are evident. First, that the *Saracens* were the same People with the *Arabes Sceniae*. Secondly, that the *Sceniae Arabes* were descended of *Ismael*. The *Sceniae Arabes*, *qui Saraceni posteritas appellavit*, lib. 23. *Strabo*, lib. 2. & part lib. 15.

The Sons of the  
Sceniae Arabes  
proves them  
*Ismailites*.

95. But to give a more clear Proof, whence these *Saracens* descended, these two things are evident. First, that the *Saracens* were the same People with the *Arabes Sceniae*. Secondly, that the *Sceniae Arabes* were descended of *Ismael*. The first is expressly affirmed by *Amianus Marcellinus*, and every one must acknowledge, that compares the ancient and later *Romans* together, that Write the very same stories: And the second sufficiently appears, from the Identity of the Habitation, Condition and Quality of the *Sceniae* and *Ismailites*. It's clear enough from *Pliny* and *Strabo*, that the *Sceniae Arabes* were seated Eastward about the River *Euphrates*, troublesome Neighbours to *Chaldea* and *Mesopotamia*, some part *Strabo*, lib. 2. & Lib. 22. whereof in *Strabo's* time they inhabited. On the West they bordered upon *Egypt* and *Aethiopia*, for *Amianus* describing the situation of *Egypt*, faith; *It bordered on the East upon the Cataracts of Nile, and the Sceniae Arabes whom now we call Saracens*. And in another place, describing the situation of the *Saracens*, he makes *Affrygia* their Border on the East; and the Confines of *Blemyea*, and the *Cataracts of Nile* on the West. Now *Moses* faith expressly, that, *The Sons of Ismael dwell from Shur, which is towards Egypt, unto Havilah, which is toward Aethiopis, in the way from Egypt thither*. The Land of *Havilah*, or rather (according to the Orthography of the Hebrew) *Chavilah* famous in Scripture for Gold, retained the same Name in *Strabo's* time, the Inhabitants whereof called by him *Chaultaeans*, were next Neighbours to the *Hagarens*, or *Agraet*, whose Country *Severus* suspected to have had good store of Gold.

As also their  
Qualities.

96. For their Condition and Qualities, *Ismael*, as *Moses* tells us, was begotten of *Hagar* an *Egyptian* Hirceling. And the Marriage of *Saracen* Women in *Amianus* his time was Mercenary, and upon Compact for a time. *Hagar* conceived *Ismael* in *Abraham's* Houfe, but ready to bring him forth in the Wildernes; whither he and the were sent again, after her return to her Miftres. And the *Saracen* Women in *Amianus* his time married in one place, bare Children in another, and brought them up in third far distant; never permitted to live in rest, and in shew of Matrimony, they brought a Spear and a Tent for their Dowry; being a perfect Emblem of their Mercenary roving Life, for these by Covenant they might take with them at the end of their Service, and be packing from their Masters, to seek their Food in the Wildernes, as their Mother *Hagar* did before them. As *Ismael* in the Wildernes, so the *Sceniae Arabes* were pinched with want of Water, their *Strabo*, lib. 16. p. 765. best Drink in *Arabia*, as *Strabo* Writes, and after they had inflarged their bounds, fet them by *Moses* even in *Mesopotamia* it self, they were Confined to dry and barren places. *Moses*, describing the manner of *Ismael's* Life, faith, he was an Archer in the Wildernes. *Amianus* affirms, he knew many of the *Saracens* in his time, that neither knew the use of Wine nor Corn. None of them ever set his hand to the Plough, but got their living for the most part by the Bow, having indeed been famous for Artillery throughout all their Generations. As they were, such was their meat, wild Flesh or Venison, Herbs or Milk, or such wild Fowl, as they could catch in the Wildernes: For their wildnes he compares them to Kites, ready to eyspe a prey, but untame withall, that they would not stay by it, as Crows, or other ravenous Birds do by Carrion; but presently flew with what they had caught to their Nefts. So notoriously was their Wildnes incorporated into their Nature, that the more tame they grew, the leis Right they seemed to have to their Names, as *Strabo* intimates.

And resembling  
Abraham in many  
things.

97. And as they resembled *Ismael* and *Hagar* in their Conditions, so as fully *Abraham* in their Rites and Religion. *Ismael* was about thirteen years old, when God established his Covenant with *Abraham*, and for this reason was not Circumcised, till that year. And the *Saracens* to this day Circumcise not their Children before that time. *Abraham* erected Altars, and *Jacob* anointed the Stone in the place where God appeared *Synod. Nicena* *Second. Ali. 4. in Epiph. German. Epiph. ad Thos. Epiph. Gaudios.* to him. And the *Saracens* celebrated their Sacrifices unto a Stone, with Apish and Childish Ceremonies. God commanded *Moses* (Ignorant it seems of that Religious and decent Custome, which his Forefathers in like Cases used) to put off his Shoes when he was to tread on Holy Ground; which Rite was afterwards observed by the *Jews*, in their more solemn Vows: And the *Saracens* to this day have their *Nudipedalia Saracena ubi sapientia*. *Gyralds de Symb. Pythag.* Abraham, if *Josephus* may herein be credited from his sober Contemplation of the Heaven and the Stars, began to detest Idolatry, and to adore that Divine Providence,

Providence, by which these suppos'd Gods were guided. And the *Saracens* falling back to Idolatry, adored *Lucifer*, or the Morning Star. And some Conjecture that their Habitation in Tents, and wandering Course of Life was not continued throughout so many Generations, so much upon Necessity, as in Imitation of *Abraham's* using Tents; necessary in that time for him that would Travell throughout so many Countries, as he was forced to doe.

98. For these reasons therefore we may safely with Dr. *Jackson* conclude, that the *Saracens* were the Off-spring of *Ismael*; and the Names of *Saracens* and *Hagarens* being promiscuously used in Ecclesiastick Writers, it seems probable that that of *Hagarens* had sometime been common to all the Race of *Ismael*, and not appropriate to the *Agraet*, or such as the Scripture calls *Hazarites*, who after their good Succes against *Trajan*, or *Severus* might propagate their Name to all the Sons of *Ismael*; as whole Nations take new Denominations from the Ring-leaders unto revolt. But as for the Name of *Saracen*, both *Sozomen* and St. *Elie-*

*rome*, who lived not long after this People had assumed it, affirm without question, that they usurped it of *Sarab*, in hope to extinguish that note of Baldardy imparted in their former Name of *Hagarens*: As Great mens Bastards in few def-

cents, attempt the changing of their Ignominious Coats. Whether this Ambition of theirs gave the first occasion, or the Fertility of the Soil of *Arabia Felix*, into which some of them transplanted themselves, as appears from *Ptolemy*, made this Colony scorn their former Name, as it would cause them to loath their ancient Seat, or whether given or taken upon other occasions, the whole Race, as well in *Arabia* the Desert, as elsewhere was willing to make a benefit of it, as an Argument to per-

suade the World they were free born and true Heirs of that Promisse, from which the *Jews* were fallen. For *Mahomet* as all Writers agree, used this plausible Etymology, as a fair Colour to set off his foul Blasphemies, and the later *Saracens* in the siege of *Toratum*, which stood a Mile from *Zyre*, used this

Name derived from *Sarab* as an Argument to perswade their Legitimate descent from *Abraham*, for whose sake they hoped for Favour and Respect at the hands of Christians.

99. Now to speak something of the Estate of this People from their Original. It appears from the Prophet that Judgments were denounced against them from Almighty God, that the Glory of *Kedar* should fail, and the residue of the number of the strong Archers of the Sons of *Kedar* should be few. Yet as St. *Jerom* observes, they escaped the Rod of God's wrath, better than their Neighbours, by reason of their speedy removal from place to place, being never out of their dwelling, whilst they had Tents and Camels and Wastes to range in. Afterwards they continued troublesome Neighbours to *Syria*, till it was annex to the *Roman Empire*, by which the strength of these Archers was diminisched, and the Reign of their *Philarchi* cut short. Their Countrey was first brought into the form of a Province by *Trajan*, in whose time yet the *Hagarens* growing weary of subjection Revolted, and were never again, for what can be known, reduced into perfect Obedience, either to the *Romans* or to any other People. The deliverance of these *Agraets* from *Trajan* and *Severus*, both who besieged them in their own Persons, was wonderfull and by some esteemed no otherwise than miraculous. As oft as the City *Dio*, lib. 68. was besieged, the Souldiers were annoyed with Lightnings, Thunders, Whirlwinds and Hail, affrighted and dazled with the apparitions of Rainbows; and Flies corrupted and spoiled their Meat, even while they did eat it. *Trajan* was forced to give over the Siege, which he had followed with danger of his Life, by coming within those Archers shot in viewing the City, and shortly after as if formerly he had fought with men, but now against God, he himself fell into a Disease whereof he Died.

100. About eighty years after, the Emperour *Severus* disdaining as *Trajan* had done before, that those *Atreni* should stand out still against the *Romans*, when all their Neighbours had yielded, set upon them with all the violence he could, and in the second Assault after much losse sustained, overthrew part of the City Wall. Now out of design, he caused the Retreat to be founded, hoping the besieged sensible of their Danger, would intreat for Peace and Liberty, which he resolved not to grant, but upon condition they would discouer the hidden Treasure, suppos'd to be consecrated to the Sun. But they continued resolute an whole day, giving not the least Intimation of any Treaty for Peace, and the Souldiers were grown so discontented, that the *Europeans* before most resolute would not enter the breach, and the *Syrians* forced to undertake it, had a grievous Repulse, so as *Dio* observes, God Almighty delivered the City, recalling the Souldiers by *Severus* when they might have

*Trajan's ill success against the Atreni.*

And that of *Severus*.

O o 2

have entred, and restraining *Severus* the second day by the backwardness of his men. Yet the Conquest seemed so easie, that one of the Captains so he might have but five hundred and fifty *European* Souldiers, would undertake to effect it, to which fair profer the Emperour in a distractred chafe, replied where shall I have so many? and so departed into *Palestine*. Such was the good fortune of the *Areni* or *Hagarens*, who might now communicate their Name to the rest of their Brethren. But what change soever they made of their Name, their Nature they could not change, and the greater they grew in Power, the more exactly they fulfilled the Prophecy concerning *Izmael*, that he shold be a wild Man, that his Hand should be against every man, and every man's hand against him.

101. For a long time they continued like forward, but poor Gamsters, not able to set at more than one at once, and that for no great Stake, without some to go halfs with them, until at length by their treacherous shuffling from side to side, and banding sometimes with one, and sometimes with another, as the Reader may remember they did in *Julianus*'s time, they durst set at all, and take *Afia*, *Europe* and *Africk* to task all at once, as we shall see hereafter. Sometimes they took part with *Mithridates*, and other Eastern Nations against *Lucillus* and *Pompey*, and yet were ready to joyn with *Pompey* against the Jews. Some of them were for the *Parthians* against the *Romans*, others for the *Romans* against the *Parthians*. Some for *Pescennius Niger* against *Severus*, and others against *Pescennius*; afterwards one while for the *Saracens*, and another while for the *Romans*, as in the times of *Constantius* and *Julian*, the latter of whom they reverenced more than any *Roman*, yet not satisfied in their expectations revolted from him. Afterwards they served the *Romans* in their Wars against the *Goths*, and yet while the *Goths* and other Barbarous People grasp with the Eagle in the West, those *Harpies* pluck at her Train in the East, and not therewith content, take their flight toward the West, to snatch the prey out of the mouths of the other Buffards, as one words it, and beat them one after another from what they had feized in *Spain* and *Africk*, attempting the like in *Gall*, *Greece* and *Germany*, displuming the breasts, and oft-times ready to devour the very Heart, even *Italy* and *Rome* it self. But of these particularly hereafter, and thus much of their Original, and their ancient Estate now let us reasume and prosecute the intermitted story of *Heraclius*.

102. When the *Saracens* were on their march toward *Egypt*, *Cyrus* the Bishop of *Alexandria* knowing their ravenous Disposition, made a bargain with them for two hundred thousand *Denarii* by the year to spare the Countrey. And the bargain was kept for three years, but in the mean time, the Bishop is accused for bestowing the Gold of *Egypt* upon the Barbarians. The Emperour makes one *Manuel Praefectus Augutalis*, an *Armenian* by Birth, to whom when the Receivers of the *Saracens* came and demanded the money, he derided them saying, they should not find him a Priest as *Cyrus* was, deffitute of Power, but to all points furnished to defend himself and not pay Tribute. This answere being reported to the *Saracens*, they presently armed themselves, took the way for *Egypt*, and by strong hand made themselves Masters of the Countrey, having beaten away the Prefect. The Emperour perceiving the mistake, sent *Cyrus* to the *Saracens* to take the busines upon himself, and to offer to swear that for the time to come, the money shoud be duly paid; but they utterly refused to quit their new Conquests. And thus *Egypt* which had continued a principal member of the *Roman Empire*, ever since the days of *Augustus*, was rent from the Body by the Hands of the *Saracens*.

103. This rich and fertile Province did not satisfie them, but they must extend the power and effects of their Arms to all Quarters. The following year *Haumer* invades *Palestine*, and besieges the City of *Jerusalem*, which after two years was surrendred to him. In the mean time he sends another Army into *Syria*, all which it Conquered, though *Sergius* a Roman Captain from *Cæsarea* made some opposition, who in the very first Ingagement lost his Life. This short account have we from the Greek Annals, of that which deserved to have been more fully prosecuted, for the Subject must needs have been very various, where so great matters were atcheived, nor less than the subduing of whole Nations, alterations of Governments, and overturnings of the whole State and frame of things. But we must be content with these small Notes, all larger Narrations having perished, and satisfie our selves in this, that now the *Saracens* domineered over the East, and made nothing of possesting the *Roman Provinces*. For in the following year, being the twenty eighth of *Heraclius*, having already subdued all *Syria*, they took *Antioch* the Metropolis of the East, which they and their Posterity held four hundred and

With whom  
they joyned  
of old.

The *Saracens*  
make themselves  
Masters of *Egypt*.

Take *Jerusalem*  
and all *Syria*.

With *Antioch*.

and forty years, till the thousand and ninety eighth year of our Lord. In the mean time the *Perfians* quarrel amongst themselves, and prepare a way for the Conquest also of their Countrey. The King of the *Indians*, to whom it's likely the news of the succels of the *Saracens* was not yet come, held *Heraclius* still in such esteem for his management of his Wars against the *Perfians*, that he tends to complement him, and made him very rich presents of Jewels. This something satisfies and diverts the Emperour, who employs himself in combats of the Tongue and Pen, about questions of Religion, when it would much more have become him to have spent his time in saving the Provinces committed to his Charge. About this time he had another Son born whom he named *David*, and was made a Grand-Father by a Son born to his Eldest Son *Constantine* on the same day, which Son was called after him *Heraclius*.

104. Yet to repells the violence of the *Saracens*, was sent *Theodosius* one of the Bedchamber, who had good succels in one Battel, wherein a great multitude was

the *Saracens*. slain, and in the Crowd their *Ameras* or Princes who had joyned their Forces to encounter him. Notwithstanding an ill fate preſed upon the *Romans*, who having this advantage in Battel, lost it again by covetousnes and folly. For there were ſome *Arabians* that lived on the Borders, and had a Pension from the Emperour to keep the paſſages of the Wildernes, who now demanding their money were paid only with bad Language, whereupon they joyned themſelves with their Countrymen, whom they conducted into the rich Countrey about *Gaza*, whence an inlet lay into the Desert near to Mount *Sina*. This they plundered and waited at their Pleaſure, and *Sergius* from *Cæsarea* in *Paleſtine* with an inconfiderable party falling upon them, he periled with all his followers. *Jadus* had better fortune upon the Borders of *Perſia*, where he got *Edeffa* by fair means, *Constantia* and *Dara* by force, and ſo Conquered all *Meſopotamia*. This was but a Preface to that War which the year following fell upon *Perſia*, when the *Saracens* invaded it, and utterly subdued it under themſelves, *Hormisdas* being run away, and left off all Ensigns of Majefty: So fickle and inconfident are the greatest things in this World. This Kingdom was a very few years agoe ſo mighty, that it in a manner gave Laws to the *Roman Empire*. By a ſudden change of Fortune, *Heraclius* invades and harifes it at his pleaſure, and then it is torn in pieces by infeſtine diſſerences, which makes it weak and unable to oppofe any foreign Power. *Heraclius* as if he had done enough for a whole Age, fits down and buſies his Head with ſpeculations of Divinity. A Nation before inconfiderable rises up, and as a torrent overruns *Egypt*, *Syria* and other Provinces of the Empire, and as if it onely came, faw, and then overcame, at one caſt wins ſuch stakes as other Gamſters could not compafs in many Ages.

And the *Saracens* like a Torrent overran *Perſia* and the Roman Provinces,

*Heraclius* dies.

105. *Heraclius* lives to ſee things come to this paſt, and then as unwilling to expect the Conclusion and the fate of his other Provinces, departs this World in the month of March of a Dropie, which was accompanied with ſtrange and troublous Symptoms. Such an alteration there was in the parts of his Body, that he could not make water but it would fly up to his Face, which our Writers account to have happened as a Judgment to him for having inceſtuously Married his own Niece. He Reigned thirty years and ten months with various succels, but that his Reign was not more happy, he himſelf seems to have been in fault, not making uſe in his latter days of his own Abilities, which were many and large enough, as appears from his Conduct in the *Perfan War*.



gave his Horse a lash with his Whip, which not taking in good part, he kicked, and threw him with his Head forward against the Gate, and so bruised him that he died of the Fall. Thus did *Confans* overcome without one stroke struck; a favour more due to his Caufe and Profession, than his own Perfon. Therefore as his Caufe and Profession was hereby countenanced, so his Perfon shortly after received a reward, fuitable perhaps to his merit, though Treason, as it proceeded from his hand that did the deed. As he was bathing himself at *Syracuse*, in the Bath called *Daphne*, one *Andrew*, the Son of *Troilus*, knocked him on the Head with a Vessel, with which they poured hot water upon him, after he had reigned twenty seven years, in the fourteenth Year of *Vitalianus*, the *Roman* Bishop, the eleventh Indiction. *A.D. DCLXVIII.*

*Confans* killed in a Bath at *Syracuse*.

*Constantine* his Son succeeds.

A Conspiracy prevented.

The *Saracens* invade Africa.

And *Cilicia* with a Fleet.

Approach Thrace.

Breake, and the Fleet cast away.

*Sophianus* the Saracen defeated.

6. He being dead, they of *Syracuse*, who, as it seems, were of the Plot with *Andrew*, named Emperour one *Metius*, *Mesentius*, or *Mizizius*, an *Armenian*, a very beautiful Perfon. But *Constantius*, the eldest Son of *Confans*, understanding how matters went in *Sicily*, being formerly made Emperour, by his Father, haltes to the Island with a great Fleet, and easily subdues his *Æmulator*, with all those of his Party. The Uſurper, though he had been drawn to take the Purple fore against his will, he cauſed to be flamed with others, amongst whom was *Justinian*, the Father of *Germanus*, afterward Patriarch, whom also being juſt then come to years of Puberty, he commanded to be gelded. Having ſettled all things in *Sicily*, he returned to *Constantinople*, where the Citizens beſtoſſed on him the Surname of *Pogonatus*, becaue having departed thence only with ſome down on his Chin, he returned to them with a perfect Beard. But at his return he was received with the *Zanaras*, news of a Sedition riſen amongst the Nobility of the Eastern parts, who cried out, that his two other Brothers ought alſo to be crowned Emperours, and it ſeems they were more zealous Christians, and more orthodox in their Faith, than regular in their Logicks. For they contended, as there are three Persons in the bleſſed Trinity, to there ought to be three Emperours upon the Throne. The Mutineers being allured to *Constantinople* from *Chrysopolis*, where they had aſſembled under ſhew of being preſent at the Coronation, after he had got them into his Power he put them to death, and cut off the Noſes of both his Brothers, whom yet ſome Authors make his Colleagues in the Empire. While theſe firſt happened at *Constantinople*, the *Saracens* invade *Africk*, and uſing the Inhabitants as they pleafe, led away eighty thouſand of them into Captivity. For theſe things the firſt Year of *Constantine* was memorable. His ſecond was only remarkable for this, that the cold of the Winter was fo vehement, that therewith perifhed many Men, beſides other Animals: And in his fourth appeared ſuſh a Rainbow in the Heavens, as they thought, did ſignifie the end of the World to be at hand. Indeed a great milchief was not far off, for the *Saracens*, or the Poſterity of *Agar*, as *Zanaras* of *3d Apri* calls them, with a great and ſtrong Fleet, came into *Cilicia*, and wintered at *Myra*. *Smyrna*.

7. The Year that followed, being the fifth of *Constantinus Pogonatus*, they came up to the Borders of *Thrace*, feizing on all that lay betwixt the *Hebdolum*, or *Weftern Promontory* and *Cyclobium*. *Constantine* brought out his Fleet, and every day they fought from morning till night, betwixt the *Brachiolum* of the Golden Gate, and *Cyclobium*; ſo near were they got to *Constantinople*. From the month of *April* till *September*, they pertinaciously continued their Siege, and then deſpairing of ſucces, departed to *Cyzicum*, where they wintered, and in Spring again renewed the War. And this course they held for ſeven years, as the Greek Annales tell us, and yet from them it appears, that in the fourth year a Peace was made. But at length their Courage was quite spent, and in great grief they retir'd, having lost a great multitude of their Men, after which followed the deſtruction of the whole Fleet, which was in the Winter ſeaſon caſt away near the *Syllan* Promontory. There was a new Invention of Seafire, as they called it, which much helped the Defendants in the Siege. It would burn under the Water, being the Diſcovery of one *Calinicus*, an *Heliopolitan* of *Egypt*, who fled with the Invention to the *Romans*, and of him was defended one *Lampras*, who made this artificial Fire in the days of *Cedrenus*. But while one Party of the *Saracens* thus employed themſelves againſt *Constantinople*, another Captain of theirs, *Sophianus* the Son of *Aphus*, engaged with the *Roman* Forces commanded by *Florus*, *Petrosus* and *Cyprianus*, but to no other effect than that he left thirty thouſand of his followers. Within a year or two after the *Mardaitæ* entred *Libanus*, and feized on all that Tract lying between the Mountain *Taurus* and *Jerusalem*. They got into their

The Tract betwixt *Taurus* and *Jerusalem* feized.

their hands, the Watch Towers of *Libanus*; and upon News of the Exploit, ſuch multitudes of Slaves, Captives and Inhabitants of the Country adjacent flock'd to them, that in a ſmall time they grew to many thousands. 8. Theſe things to terrified the *Saracens*, that Judging verily, that they contend-ed with Providence; and the *Roman* Empire was protected by Almighty God, they resolved to make Peace with the Emperour at any Rate. *Manias* therefore ſends his Ambaſſadours offering very good Terms, and deſiring a Treaty as to a way to an Accommodation. *Constantine* conceives it his Interēt to cloſe with them, and for that purpoſe appoints one *John* a Patriarch, ſirnarned *Pitiganda*, or *Pitiganda*, a Man famous for his Nobility and Wifdom, as his Commiſſioner Plenipotentiary to treat with them. In purſuance of his Powers he goes into *Syria*, where being Honourably received, he concludes and ſigns an Agreement to this purpoſe, that for thirty years there ſhould be a Truce inviolably preferred betwixt the *Romans* and *Saracens*, in every which year ſucceſſively, the *Saracens* ſhould pay to the Emperour thirty thouſand Pounds of Gold, fifty Captives, and as many choice Horſes. This Treaty being ratifi'd in the *Eaſt*, the Enemies in the *Weftern* parts grew fore afraid, as *Cajanus*, *Avarus* the Exarchs, and the *Caſtaldi*; and ſending to the Emperour, purchased their Peace in the like manner as the *Saracens* had done, ſuch Mutability is there in ſublunary things, that theſe who are terrible to day, and ſeem to carry all before them, to morrow fail in their Courſe, and by ſome Accident or other change the Language of an imperious Conquerour, for that of a diſtrefſed Supplicant, and Tributary. But hereby was Peace reſtor'd both in the *Eaſt* and *Weſt*, and the Emperour thought he had leiuſe to fet himſelf to compose the Diſferences in the Church, which for many years had been much out of Order. Yet as there is nothing perfect in this World, no ſuch reſt, but is accompanied with diſturbance; the year following, the *Bulgari* invaded *Thrace*, and defeated a conſiderable party that was ſent againſt them. The Emperour who had lately the Honour to give, now muſt beg Peace, and thereby receives a notable Check in the Courſe of his Fortunes.

9. The very next year, ſome of theſe *Bulgari* ſeparating from the reſt paſſed *Danubius*, and feized upon certain Woods and Mountains. Againſt them *Conſtantine* himſelf went, with a good Fleet and a land Army; with which Prepaſſations being affrighted at the firſt On-ſet, they fled and retired to a certain Fort, where the *Romans* were not able for the Difficulty of Acces, to doe any thing againſt them. Hereupon they became more daring than ever, and it happened, that the Emperour being very ill of the Gout, retired into *Mesembria* a *Roman* Province, to make uſe of the Baths, leaving the ſiege to the Conduſt of his Captains. A Rumour was hence raifed, that the Emperour himſelf fled; and thereupon his Soulſiders without any Caufe began to run away. This being perceived by the *Bulgari* out they iſſue, and giving them the Chace kill many in the Rere, which done they boldly enter the *Roman* Provinces, and return enriched with good Booty. *Conſtantine* them was glad to take up the Quarrel, and by a Tribute to make Peace with them, which being done, when all things were quiet at home, and no firſt likely to arife by ſuſh an Action, he deposed his two Brothers, and made his Son *Justinian* his Colleagues in the Empire. After this, he lived Peaceably all his time, and died after he had Reigned seventeen years, being to be reckoned amongst the beſt Princes. *Justinian* his Son ſucceeded him according to his deſire, though not at all comparable to him for Parts, nor indeed fit for ſo great an Employment; especially at this time, when the Empire was in ſo tottering a Condition. Yet ſuch was God's Providence, that on ſo weak a Body, over which as infirm a Head was ſet, for ſome time no conſiderable Diſtemper feized, though for want of Conduct Foundations of great Diſorders, might be laid for the time to come. In his firſt year, *Abimelech* Prince of the *Saracens*, who had ſucceeded *Manias* lately dead, not taking any occaſion preſented him by his Youth and Folly, ſent and confirmed the Peace made by his Father, and farther made a new Accord; that *Justinian* ſhould repreſe the inrodes of the *Mardaitæ*, which were very troubleſome to the *Saracens*, who for this Act of kindness ſhould make a daily Payment to the Emperour of one thouſand *Nomini*, an Horſe and a Slave. To ratify this Accord under hand and ſeal, *Paulus Magistrianus* was ſent, and twelve thouſand *Mardaitæ* were recalled from *Libanus*, to the utter Deſtruction of the *Roman* Power and Authority in thoſe parts, as afterward it happened. For whatoeuer the *Arabians* or *Saracens* held as far as from *Mapueſtia* to *Armenia* the fourth, was alſo haraſfed by the inrodes of theſe *Mardaitæ*, that it became of no value, being deſerted by the Inhabitants: But they being thus repreſed, infinite loſes hath the Empire continually ſustained from the Inciſions

A new Accord made with the *Saracens*, to the loſes of the Ro-  
mans.

Incursions of the *Arabians*, to this very day, faith *Cedrenus*. *Justinian* being not above sixteen years old, he impures it to his want of Judgment and Consideration, though it's a wonder he had no wiser Men about him.

10. The *Saracens* were however so wise, as both to procure this to be done, and to sit till a very convenient time should come, that they could make a good use of this advantage. But in other places, the Fortune of the Empire seemed al- so to be Superious to them, for in this first year of *Justinian*, *Leontius* was sent into *Armenia* with a power of Men; and having put to the Sword such *Saracens* as were there found, recovered the Country, as also *Iberia*, *Albania*, with *Hyr- cania* and *Media*, which he subjected to Tribute, and brought vast sums of Money into the Emperor's Coffers. But see the ifuse, *Justinian* the following year makes a Progres into *Armenia*, and takes the *Mardaiæ* out of *Libanus*, breaking thus down the Brazen wall of his Empire in these Parts. Yet disarming himself in this manner, he had the Folly and Confidence to break the Peace, made lately with the *Bulgari*, and having had some Success against them and the *Sclavini* in Battel, came to that Madnes, as to renounce the Truce made with *Abimelech*; who by this time had Composed all matters in *Arabia*, and brought every Man into Subjection to himself, so as to be ready for all Foreign opposition. Without any reason at all, he would send a Colony into the Island of *Cyprus* contrary to the Articles, and refused to receive such Money as *Abimelech* sent for payment of the Tribute; because it was not stamped with the Image of any Emperour, but it seems coyned after a new *Arabian* Fashion. For the Emperours, you must know, Challenged to themselves the sole Privilege of having their Names and Representations stamped upon all Gold Money, though upon cantoning the Empire into particular Kingdoms; the severall Kings had e'er this begun to assume to themselves this Right of Coyning, as we formerly instanced in those of the *Franks*, out of the History of *Procopius*.

*Emperors rec-  
vers several  
Countries in the  
East.*

*Confess. min-  
tis all by his  
Felly.*

*Breaks the  
Peace with the  
*Saracens*.*

*They heat him  
in Battel.*

*Armenia deli-  
vered up to them.*

*And the Pro-  
vinces wasted  
by them.*

11. For carrying on this War, he would not rely upon the *Roman Legions*, or the Forces already raised; but out of the choicest of the *Sclavini* whom he had taken, formed a new Army of thirty thousand Men, which he called his peculiar, or acquired People. The *Saracens* now with reiterated Prayers and Complaints beseech him, he would not break the League calling God to Witness, by the Interposition of whose most Sacred Name it had been confirmed. But he stopping his Ears against all their Messages, drew down his Forces toward *Sebastopolis* to begin War, which hearing, they met him e'er he could get into the Bowels of their Country, and with the Tables of the League carried as an Ensign on the top of a Spear, engaged with him in Battel under Conduct of *Moamed*. In the first Encounter they had the worst, and still were like to have, if *Moamed* had not by his Tongue supplied the defects of their Hands. He sends to the Captain of the *Sclavini*, a Quiver over-laid with Gold, and by great Promises perwades him to revolt, and come over to him with twenty thousand Men. This addition to *Moamed*'s former powers, cast the Balance quite on the other side, with such disadvantage that the *Romans* were not able to sustain the least assault, but fled away again; and after a vail los *Justinian* came to *Lecate*, where out of Rage he caused the rest of the *Sclavini*, that had continued with him, with their Wives and Children to be slain, and their Bodies cast into the Sea. But this Succes of the *Saracens* got them such Reputation, that *Sabbatius the Armenian*, delivered Armenia instantly into their Hands, and the following year they subdued the inner part of *Perfa*, called *Chorofan*. *Moamed* to be revenged upon *Justinian*, and strike a Terror into his People, invades his Dominions, taking with him the lately revolted *Sclavini*, by whose directions he harassed the Provinces, and after as much mischief done, as it lay in the Power of an Enemy to doe, returned home with a vast number of Prisoners.

12. *Justinian* in the mean time, as one not much concerned, was wholly intent upon Building, repaired the Walls of the Palace, and erected a stately Banqueting House toward the East, which long after retained his Name, being called *Justinianum*. Surveyor of these Works he made one *Stephen a Persian*, principal of the Eunuchs, a man Cruel above Imagination, who beat and stoned the poor Labourers, without the least shew of Mercy, and proceeded to that Impudence, as to Lash with Thongs, *Anastasia Augusta* the Mother of the Emperour in his absence. If he so handled the Mother, doubtless he had some Confidence in the Humour and disposition of the Son, from which he could be secure of, or at least have great hopes of Pardon, or Impunity. And that the Son's disposition was Cruel, even beyond all bounds of Nature, was sufficiently evidenced in divers particulars. Such Persons he preferred, as were of the same Temper with himself, as appears not only in

in *Stephen*; but *Theodotus* a Monk, whom taking out of his Cell he made his General *Logothera*. This Fellow punished many of the Nobility without any Fault at all committed, he sold their Goods, and took delight to hang them up by the Heels, and then cause Straw to be set on fire under their Heads to torment them with the smoak. The Prefect of the City, by command of the Emperour also, thrust many into Prison without any Reason shewn, which raised extraordinary Hatred in the minds of the Citizens against their Prince. But he took all manner of ways to increase it. There was a Church dedicated to our Lady called *Metropolitana*, which stood very near the Palace: This he would have pulled down, and a Theatre or meeting place for the *Veneti*, to be built upon the Ground; he therefore required the Patriarch that he would say Prayers, that the Church might be demolished. *Callinicus* the Patriarch answered with Tears, that they were wont to pray at the Building, but not at the demolishing of a Church, but constrained to doe it, he used this Expression: *Glory be to God, who suffereth all things, both now and to all Eternity*, and then was the Church pulled down, and a Theatre raised; the Emperour causing another Church to be erected in another part of the City, bearing the same Name of *Metropolitana*.

13. *Justinian* having by these Courses incurred the extreme Hatred of the People, which was likely, and that in a short time to produce some dreadfull Effect, resolved to be before hand with them, and gave Order to *Stephen* a Patritian, and *Rufius* an Officer in the Army to make a Massacre, beginning with the Patriarch. At this time it happened, that *Leontius* a Patritian, who having been general in the East, had managed his matters with very good Conduct and Succes, but had been detained by the Emperour in Prison, two or three years, upon Suspicion that he designed too great things for himself, was suddenly set at Liberty and made General of *Greece*, with Orders to ship his Men and be gone that very day: But slaying all that Night for a Wind, he had an occasion to Discourse with his Friends about his own matters; of whom severall of them would undertake to foretell, that the greatest Fortune wouldat length befall him, two Monks especially, *Paul* a great Astronomer, and *Gregory a Cappadocian*. He Expoulted somewhat with them, that they should lead him into a Fools Paradise, by promising such great matters to a Prisoner, and one that every hour expected the Messenger of Death; they all desired him not to let slip the present opportunity, than which he could not well desire a better, all the minds of the Citizens, being so alienated from the present Prince: He was so overpowered by their importunate requests, that taking with him his own Souldiers, he went in great silence to the Court of Guard, where knocking at the Gate, he pretended the Emperour was come about some urgent busines, and so causing the Officer to admit him, he took him into Custody, then opening the Prisons, he armed such Souldiers as had therein been long detained, and leading them into the *Forum*, made Proclamation that all that were Christians should meet together, at the Church of *St. Sophia*. Thither the multitude ran in Confusion, to whom the Patriarch said, that this was the day of the Lords making, and the People cryed out, that the *Bones of Justinian should be digged up*; meaning, it seems, that they should pull him out of his Hole, where he had buried himself in all Laziness and obfcurity. They all ran to the *Hippodrome* or *Circus*, and thither by break of day, caused *Justinian* to be brought, whose Nose they cut off, and then banish him to *Cherbona*, after he had Reigned near ten years. *Theodotus* the Monk, and *Stephen the Persian*, with Ropes tyed to their Feet, they drag through the Streets to the *Forum of the Oxe*, and there burn them to Ashes. Then with lucky Acclamations they salute *Leontius* Emperour.

14. In the first year of *Leontius*, all things were in repose. In his second, *Ali- dius* the Successour it seems of *Moamed* (who in the last year of *Justinian* had made great Depredations in *Armenia*) invaded the Provinces, and returned with great Plunder. *Sergius* also the Patritian revolted and betrayed *Lazica* into the hands of the *Arabians*. The year that next followed, the *Saracens* making another Expedition over-ran *Africk*, which *Leontius* hearing, sent *John* a Patritian a Man of great Valour, with all the Ships he could make to drive them out, and that with such Succes, as he retook all the Castles and strong Holds of the Country, and sending the Emperour the News, he wintered in these parts. But the Prince of the *Arabians*, their *Protosymbolus*, or President of their Council upon notice hereof, with a greater Fleet than ever comes into *Africk*, and easily beats our *John* again, who not able to make any considerable opposition takes ship for *Constantinople*, to require more Forces. But the Navy touching at *Crete*, the Officers began to enter into new Councils. They thought it would much reflect on them, to quit

*Leontius deposed by Apsimarus, who seizes on the Empire.*

*Heracilius his Brother makes great slaughter of the Saracens in Syria.*

*The Fourth Armenia betrayed to the Saracens.*

*Various Successors.*

*Justinian escapes out of the Monastery.*

Africk in this manner to the Enemy, and fearing the Indignation of *Leontius*, they perwaded the Seamen to revolt from him, and salute Emperour, one *Apsimarus*, the *Drungearius* of the *Cipyrbaetæ*, whose Name they changed to *Tiberius*. This new Emperour comes then with all his Subjects (as yet) to *Cyæ* the Port of *Constantinople*, and found the Favour to be admitted, by some Countrey Magistrates at the Wall of *Blachernæ*, then seizing on the City, he cut off the Nose of *Leontius*, and causing him to be kept in a Monastery, banished his Friends after he had seized on their Estates. This Conclusion had the Reign of *Leontius*, after it had lasted scarce three Years.

15. *Apsimarus* or *Tiberius*, thus seized of the Empire, immediately made *Heracilius* his Brother General of all the Forces, and sent him into *Cappadocia*, to watch the motions of the *Saracens*. He taking his opportunity invaded their Territories, and piercing into *Syria* as far as *Samosata*, waited all before him, and flew as was reported two hundred thousand of the *Arabians*, leaving a great Terror of his Name behind him. In the mean time *Abderachman* rises in *Perſia*, and expelling *Chaganus*, makes himself King of that Countrey in his room, but through the affiſtance of *Moamed*, whether the fame we last mentioned, or another is uncertain, he recovered his former Estate, and *Abderachman* lost his Life, and Fortunes together. In the third year of *Tiberius*, *Abdelus* fell upon the *Roman* Territories, and besieged *Antaradus*; but neither his Force nor Arts prevailing, he returned home and built *Mopsuestia*, wherein he left a Garrison. In his fourth, *Braues* Surnamed *Heptadæmon* betrayed the fourth *Armenia* to the *Arabians*. And the Emperour banished *Philippicus* a Patritian the Son of *Nicephorus* into *Cephalenia*, because he had said he dreamed, that his Head was over-shadowed by an Eagle, as if the Empire was thereby portended to him. But, what was of more Conſequence, in the year that next followed, the Nobility of *Armenia* rose up against the *Saracens*, and killing all they could light on, sent to *Apsimarus* for his affiſtance against that Nation; but *Moamed* timely comes in, and after great slaughter on both sides, recovers *Armenia*, and having got together the Nobility that remained, burnt them all alive together. But that the *Saracens* might not think to carry all before them without controul; *Azar* invading *Cilicia* with ten thouſand Men, *Heracilius* the Emperour's Brother light upon him, and killing most of his Followers, ſent the reft in Chains to *Constantinople*.

16. Yet did *Azidas* the Son of *Chumens*, the following Summer make War againſt *Cilicia*, and taking the Castle *Sisium*, demolished it. But *Heracilius* ingaging with him in a Bloody Battel, flew twelve thouſand of his *Arabians* in the place. In the mean time *Justinian* living at *Chersona*, was ſo Conſident as to affirm, that for all this one day he ſhould recover his former Dignity, which ſo alarmed the Inhabitants of the place, that they refolved either to kill, or to ſend him to the Emperour. He perceiving their intentions, ſtole out of the Monastery, and coming to *Dara* defred to have a meeting with *Chaganus* the Prince of the *Chazari*; who received him Honourably, and gave him in Marriage his Sister *Theodora*, perwading them to go and live together at *Phanagoria*. *Apsimarus* could not be long Ignorant of ſuch a matter, which as ſoon as he had diſcovered he ſent to *Chaganus* with vail Promiſes, inciting him either to deliver him up alive, or to ſend him his Head. *Chaganus* promiſed to doe one of them, and ſent a Guard to *Justinian* under Preſtice of ſecuring him from all violence, that might be offered him by the Inhabitants of the Countrey; but with ſecret Instructions to kill him, when ever they ſhould receive from him ſuch Orders. The deſign was revealed by one of his Servants to *Theodora*, and ſhe acquainted therewith her Husband, who calling the Guards to him killed them, and then fending her back into *Chazaria*, he fled to the Straits, and there taking ſhip came to *Symbolum* near *Chersona*, whither upon noſtice came to him, *Bafcaurus* his Brother and others, with whom he failed to the Watch Tower of *Chersona*, thence to *Necropola* and the Straits of *Danaprium*, and *Danaprium*. Here he was ſeized with ſuch a ſtorm, that all that were with him gave themſelves for loſt; whereupon *Myaces* one of his Domesticks told him, that he ſaw plainly they were in great Danger of Death, and therefore prayed him to make a Vow, that if God Almighty would but reſore him to his Throne, he would not revenge himſelf upon his Enemies, to which he answered in Anger; Here let God drown me, if I ſpare any of them. Then coming to the *Danube*, he ſent to *Terbelis*, King of the *Bulgari* to deſire aid, offering him great rewards with his Daughter in Marriage. *Terbelis* with an Oath undertook to affit him, and armed the whole multitude of the *Bulgari* and *Slavi*, with which *Justinian* went to *Constantinople*. Three days he treated with the Inhabitants, till perceiving he was more

more and more affronted, with a few *Romans* he paſſed up the Aqueduct into the City, and digging through it, poſſeſſed himſelf of the Palace in *Blachernæ*, which being once known, *Apsimarus* with a great ſum of Money after he had Reigned about seven years fled to *Apolloneas*, and to *Justinian* recovered his former Power.

17. He diſmiffed *Terbelis* with great Gifts and Royal Furniture, and beſtowed on him part of that *Roman* Countrey, called afterward *Zagoria*. *Apsimarus*, *Leontius* and *Heracilius*, being betrayed by their hands, he put to Death the two former, after he had Ignoominioſly led them as in Triumph through the City; and had in the Shews of the *Circus* ſet his Feet upon their Necks; which while he did, the unconfant multitude repeated: Thou ſhalt tread upon the *Adær* and *Bafliſch*, and that which follows. The Eyes of *Callinicus* the Patriarch he pulled out of his Head, and then banished him to *Rome*, preferring one *Cyrus* to his place, a Monk of the Iſland *Anatrisia*, because he had foretold his Reſtitution. Then in his revengeful humour, did he proceed to the ſlaughter of an innumerable Company of Citizens and Souldiers, which ſtruck all Men with a Painick fear. He ſent for his Wife, and *Tiberius* a Son lately born to him out of *Chazaria*, and ſet the Crown upon both their Heads. But in the third year of his Reſtauration, forgeting the Beneſits he had received from *Terbelis*, he broke the League made betwixt the *Romans* and *Bulgarians*; and with a Party of stout Horſe, and a strong Navy invaded *Thrace*. But his Men either to Cowardly or unskillfully demeaned themſelves, that they were quite beaten, and he was forced to betake himſelf to his Rampart, where being besieged three days when he ſaw the Enemy very pertinacious, he Hamſtrung all his Horſe, and getting his men aboard, with great Infamy returned home. Here he had not long been, when calling to mind how thoſe of *Cherſona* the *Bophorani*, and others had laid in wait for him; he Rigged every ſhip he could make, and on this Fleet ſent an Army with expreſs Order to kill and deſtroy thoſe that lived in their parts, and to be ſure not to leave one of them alive.

18. His Orders were executed as far as poſſible, the poor People not being in the poſture of defence, as utterly ſurprized, only the Children they killed not; but kept them for Slaves. Two and forty of the principal Men, they ſent to the Emperour. Some they Roasted alive, and others they caſt into the Sea. *Justinian* was Mad, when he heard they had ſpared the Children, but was comforted when he heard that, no fewer than seventy three Thouſand were destroyed. But imagining he had not yet done enough, though he had alſo killed the Children, he ſends his Navy the ſecond time with Charge to lay all the Countrey waste, and deſtroy what ever was remaining of the People. The remainder of the Nation ſeeing there was no end of their Miferies, ſecured themſelves in their Forts as well as they could, and renouncing *Justinian*, ſaluted Emperor *Philippicus* the Son of *Bardanes*, who had been banished by *Apsimarus* to *Cephalenia*, but now was recalled, and on his way to *Constantinople*. *Elias* the Prince of the Countrey had a great hand in this Election; whereat *Justinian* upon notice was ſo enraged, that he killed *Elias* his Children, then being at *Constantinople* in the Lap of their Mother, and forced her to ly with an *Indian* his Slave and Cook. Then ſent he his Fleet the third time, with battering Rams, and all Instruments of Hoſtility to complete the Ruine of this People, which had been perfected, but that the *Chazari* upon their deſire came in to their Relief; who made ſuch effectual opposition, that the Army not able to doe that for which they were ſent, and fearing the moſt Savage cruelty of *Justinian*, revolted alſo from him, and joyned with the other in the choice of *Philippicus*, whom, being retired for his ſafety to *Chaganus*, they demanded might be ſent to them. *Chaganus* demanded Caution, that they would not betray him, and required a piece of Money from every Souldier, which being given, he diſmiffed *Philippicus*, and they willingly ſubmitted to him as to their Prince.

To whom *Justinian's* Souldiers revolt.

19. *Justinian* when the Fleet was ſo low in returning, queſted what was the occaſion; and getting about him ſome *Thracians* and others, went as far as *Sinope*, whence perceiving that it failed toward *Constantinople*, for Grief and Indignation he rored out, and made what hafe he could to get thither, but *Philippicus* prevented him, and then he retired to *Damatra*. *Philippicus* preſently ſent *Elias* againſt him, and *Maurus* a Patritian to ſeek out his Son *Tiberius*, whom he found fled with his Grandmother *Anastasia* (for his Mother was dead) to a Church in *Blachernæ*, and there Graffed about the Holy Table; but they pulled the Child thence, and dragging him to the little Door of the Gate of *Calinicum*, there laid him on the Threſhold and cut his Throat like a Sheep. *Elias* by Promife of security and

*Justinian is slain.**Philippicus succeeds.**His Eyes pulled out.**Artemius the Secreatary made Emperour.**The Fleet revolts and sues Theodosius Emperour.**Artemius deposed.**Leo the Ifaurian takes the Purple upon him.**Theodosius resigns.*

and other martlets, drew all *Justinian's* followers from him, and being thus deserted, he took him in great anger by the Throat, and drawing the Scimiter which hung at his side, therewith cut off his Head, which he sent to *Philippicus*, and *Philippicus* made it be conveyed to *Rome*. To this end came this furious and implacable *Justinian*, in the eighth year after his Restoration. *Philippicus* the Son of *Bardares* as *Zonaras* calls him, or surnamed *Bardares Cedrenus* will have it, was eloquent in Discourse, and once had the esteem of a prudent man, but carrying himself lightly and carelessly, and being of an evil Life, he quite lost all his Reputation. Perswaded by an Heretical Monk, who had foretold him he should be Emperor; he set himself to abolish the Decrees of the sixth General Council, with which matters while he busied himself, the *Bulgari* without any Noife made an Invasion as far as to the *Golden Gate* of the City, and having killed and taken Captives an infinite number of People, returned home without any opposition. This happened in the first year of his Reign. In his second, when the *Praefati* had got the better in the *Circus*, it pleased the Emperour to make his Entry on Horseback, to Bathe himself in the Bath of *Zenixippus*, and to Dine with some of the most Noble Citizens, or as others said, with those that were Victours in the Sports. As he took his rest at the Noon time of the Day, one *Rufus* Prefect of the *Ofcian*, with a company of *Thracians* entring by the *Golden Gate* broke into the Palace, and thence taking him out into the Armoiry of the *Praefati* there pulled out his Eyes, the thing being utterly unknown. But when it was grown publick, the day after being Easter day, the People met together in the Great Church, and *John* the Patriarch Crowned Emperour, *Artemius* the principal Secretary, giving him the name of *Anastasius*. This happened after *Philippicus* had Reigned but one year and six months.

20. *Artemius*, or *Anastasius* was a most learned man, and extraordinary fit for busines, and the management of the greatest Affairs. He made General of the Horse one *Leo* an *Ifaurian*, a very fit man, and another as fit as he, he set over civil Matters, so that all his time, he had not much to concern himself about. Of *Theodosius* and *Georgius* both Patriarchs, he caused the Eyes to be put out, and confined to *Thessalonica* for his better security. The *Arabians* now making War upon the Empire both by Sea and Land, and a report going that they would fall upon the City, he caused to be Built all the light Ships his Arcenals could furnish, fortified all the Walls and Places at Land, and filled the Granaries with Corn. But being informed that the *Saracens* Sailed into *Phoenicia* with a strong Fleet, there to cut down Timber, he also set out a Navy to destroy the provision that they made, commanding the Provincialis also to send their Ships to the General Rendezvous at *Rhodes*, and joyn with the main Fleet, which he would have Commanded by *John* the Deacon of the Great Church, and the General *Logotheta*. Being all assembled at *Rhodes*, the Admiral commanded them to Sail, but the Seamen, and especially the *Ofcian* refused to obey Orders, and when *John* more severely than prudently animadverted upon them, they fell into a plain Mutiny and slew him, and making an halt after a Consultation, some returned home, and others to *Constantinople*, who in their way when they were come as far as *Adramytium* saluted Emperour against his will, one *Theodosius* a Publican, or Collectour of the Revenue, a man utterly unacquainted with affars of State. *Artemius* having notice of the Revolt, fortifies *Constantinople* and goes to *Nicæa*. For six months the Fleet of *Constantinople*, and that of *Theodosius* skirmished by times. *Theodosius* at length goes into *Thrace*, and there making great Levies, returns with a powerfull Army to the City, where he corrupted those that watched at the Wall and got in. The City is Plundered for the pertinacious humour of the Inhabitants, and the friends of *Artemius* secured, who being brought to him still lying at *Nicæa*, upon security given for his Life, he entered into Religion, taking the Habit of a Monk, and was conveyed to *Thessalonica*, after he had enjoyed the Title of Emperour near about two years.

21. But *Leo* an *Ifaurian*, Captain General of the Eastern Forces, refused to submit to *Theodosius*, having at his Devotion *Artavasdes* an *Armenian* the Captain of his Nation, to whom he had promised his Daughter in Marriage. At the perfusion of *Mafatias* the Prince of the *Saracens*, who had begun to make War upon the Empire, he took the Purple upon him, and with a great Army marched to *Nicomedia*, where he fought with the Son of *Theodosius*, and defeating him, took both him and the cheifest of his Father's Friends Prisoners, and so proceeded till he came to *Chrysopolis*. *Theodosius* saw there was no contending, and employed the Patriarch *Germanus* to *Leo*, from whom having obtained promise of Impunity, he resigned

signed the Imperial Dignity, and both he and his Son were shaven and entred into Orders, after he had Reigned but one year. He died afterward at *Ephesus*, where he was Buried in the Chapel of St. *Philip*, with this word only *Ecclia*, or Health ingraven on his Tomb. But how great a friend foever *Mafatias* the *Saracen* was to *Leo*, it seems he was no friend to the Empire, for he set upon *Pergamus* and took it, the Inhabitants by the just Judgment of God being delivered into his hands as our Historians obserue. For periwaded by a certain Magician they ripped up a Bigbellied Woman, and feching her fruit in Kettle, as many as would fight against the Enemy, dipped the sleeves of their right Armes in this execrable Sacrifice.

22. *Leo* upon the resignation of *Theodosius* was owned for Emperour, and took the Government upon him, on the eighth day before the Calends of *April*, in the fourteenth Indiction, the third year of *Gregory* the Second, Bishop of *Rome*, and the seven hundred and sixteenth year of our Lord. He was also called *Conon*, and surnamed *Iconomachus*, because he was against the worshipping of Images. When he was young, there were certain Jews born at *Laudicea*, a City of *Phoenicia*, who pretended to foretell that *Izeth* King of the *Arabians* should Reign over that Nation forty years, but he died soon after, and his Son fought for the Impostours to have them punished. They fled to save their Lives into *Ifauria*, where meeting with *Leo* then a very Youth, but tall and beautifull at a certain Well, where he was set at Dinner, (for he got his living hardly, and had now unladed his Beift to give him refreshment as well as himself,) they prophesied that one day he shoule sway the Sceptre of the *Roman Empire*. He expostulated with them for uttering such a strange Conceit, but they affirmed it would be so, and made him swear, that in case it shoule come to pafs, he would grant them whatsoeuer they desired. Not long after he was taken into the Army by *Sifnius* the Patriarch, and was made within a while a *Spatharius* by *Justinian*, and at length either by *Anastasius* *Theodosius* was created General of the East, and so in the method and course lately mentioned came to be Emperour. In his second year *Soliman* with an Army invaded *Thrace*, but died within a while, and *Humar* was *Ameras* or Prince in his room, who lost a great multitude both of his Men and Cattel by the extremity of the Winter. In Spring following *Sophian* from *Egypt*, and *Izeth* from *Africk* in great

*The Fleet of the Fleets* passed up to *Constantinople*, with an innumerable company of men and quantity of Arms, and the City they besieged two years, but then all the Ships were partly sunk by Tempests, and partly burnt, and all the men perished together with their Vessels.

23. Yet did *Mardasane* another *Saracen* Captain from *Pylæ* or the Straits, make another excursion as far as *Nicæa* and *Nicomedia*, but were sent back with great losse received from the *Romans*, who after the manner of the *Mardasane* lay in *Ambush* and intercepted them. At this time so great a Famine fell upon those *Arabians*, that it compelled them to eat up all their Cattel, and after that to fall one upon another, and feed on Excrements, with the roots of Trees and other unnatural things. And this was followed by so great a Plague, as swept away an infinite number of men, which were great rebukes, and able if not to destroy, yet to weaken and render contemptible very powerfull Nations, yet still they flourished every day, made progres in the glory of Arms and Conquests, and became more renowned by the possession of many, the most confiderable Provinces and Countries of the World, amongst which they set footing in *Spain* about this very time. Not long after, the *Bulgari* made War upon them, and slew no fewer than two and twenty thousand, and many other Calamities followed; but they weathered all those Difficulties, and arrived at that Power and Fame in the World, which was included secretly in the promise made to *Abraham* about *Ismael's* Pasterly. We have heard what successe they had in besieging *Constantinople*, but to another thing of consequence this Siege gave occasion. *Sergius*, chief of the *Spatharii* and Governor of *Sicily*, hearing the News, saluted Emperour one *Basilis* the Son of *Onomagulus* changing his Name into *Tiberius*. He disposed of places, and ordered matters thereabout as he pleased, but *Leo* having notice, sends *Paul* one of his Doctors to chaste him, who coming into the Island called the People together, and reading a Writing which exprefsed the thoughts and intentions of the Emperour, so improved the opportunity he had got of their Attention, that with lucky acclamations they owned *Leo* for their Prince, and renounced the Title and pretences of their new Upstart, whom with his Relations they delivered up bound in to his Hands. He cut off their Heads and sent them to the Emperour, then by proffers of pardon brought in *Paul*, who had been the Author of the Revolt. And so the

*Another mis-  
carriage.*

*Great difficulties  
the Saracens  
grapple with, yet  
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*A rebellion in  
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so the West was again settled in Obedience. These things happened about the first and second years of *Leo*. In his third his Wife *Maria* brought him a Son whom he named *Constantine*, and the People surnamed *Copronymus*, because he bewrayed the Font at his Baptism, which was taken as a sign of much mischief he would do to the Church. The chief of the Nobility and Senate were his Godfathers.

*Artemius* put to death for Treason, with his Complices.

24. The same year *Artemius* living at *Constantinople*, being persuaded by *Nicetas Xylinus* a man of great Authority, went to the *Bulgari*, and raising an Army amongst them came against *Leo* to *Constantinople*, but the Citizens refusing to receive him, the *Bulgari* delivered him up into the Emperour's hands and departed home; *Leo* put both *Artemius* and *Xylinus* to Death, confiscated also the Estate of the latter for he was very rich, and caused to be Executed very many others that were of the Party, amongst whom the Archbisshop of *Thessalonica*; neither did such as obtained mercy to live, escape utterly without Punishment, for many he chasited by cutting off their Noses, and others he sent into Banishment. Having passed the danger of this Conspiracy, he thought of Establishing the Empire upon his Posterity, causing *Germanus* the Patriarch to Crown his Son now scarcely a year old. While these things are in hand at *Constantinople*, *Humar* the *Ameras* or Prince of the *Arabians* leaves this World, after he had Governed eleven years and four months and his Principality to *Ized*. Much about the same time another *Ized* surnamed *Masalibus* set up for himself in *Perisa*, and drew in great numbers to defend him, but the *Ameras* made War upon him, slew him and recovered the Country.

*Young Constantine* crowned.

*Gregory Bishop of Rome* Rebels against the Emperour.

25. The Emperour from this time forward set himself to remove Images from Churches, and much stir arose upon that occasion, insomuch as *Gregory* the Bishop of *Rome* rebelled against him, and making a League with the *Franks*, stopped the Revenue which had formerly risen to the Emperour out of *Italy*. While these contentions were rising to an height, in the tenth year of his Reign *Masalias* takes *Cesarea* in *Cappadocia*, and a great Plague rages in *Syria*. In the Summer of the same year, a strange thing happened betwixt *Thera* and *Therasia*, two of the Islands *Sporades* of the *Aegean Sea*, a great smook for many days rising from the bottom of the Sea, like to that of a Furnace, which thickning by degrees, at last grew to perfect Stones resembling the Pumice, which covered not only the Water it self, but in a manner all the continent of *Aisa Minor*, *Lesbus*, *Abydos* and the maritime parts of *Macedonia*. In the middle of the smook a new Island arose out of the Sea, and joyned it self to *Hieria*, even as *Thera* and *Therasia* had formerly appeared on a sudden, where nothing but water had been seen before.

26. Whether those disturbances in the Earth and Air had any influence upon the brains of such as inhabited the Islands *Cyclades* we know not, who grew so hot upon the Emperour's War against Images, that they would needs joyn themselves to the weaker side, and making up a Fleet amongst themselves, undertook an expedition against *Constantinople*, but by artificial fire they and all their Ships perished together. In the mean time *Humar* with fifteen thousand men lightly Armed, made an excursion into the *Roman Provinces*, and besieged *Nicæa* the City of *Bithynia*, where *Manias* with no fewer than eighty five thousand joyned with him, and a long time they besieged the City, but it was protected by apparitions of Saints, as those who wrote in later Ages do tell us. Whether they were disengaged from this ill succor or no we know not, but about three years, for any thing that appears to us, the *Saracens* continued quiet till the fourteenth of *Leo*, when *Masalias* made another Inroad into the Provinces, and coming into *Cappadocia*, took by Strategem the Castle of *Charianum*. At the same time the Emperour's affairs were in no good condition in *Italy*, where, besides the Revolt of *Rome*, and the loss of his Tributes, there was no good Correspondence betwixt his Exarch of *Ravenna*, and *Luitprand* the King of the *Lombards*. But he so ordered the matter, as to bring this King to his beck, and enter into a strict League and Alliance with him, the conditions whereof were these, that *Leo* should assist *Luitprand* in subduing the Dukes, or the petty Princes, and so promote him to the Monarchy of the *Lombards*, and he on the other side, should use his utmost endeavour to reduce the City of *Rome* to the Emperour's Obedience, which yet could not be effected according to their desires, though *Eutychius* the Exarch, and *Gregory* the *Roman* Bisshop were reconciled, who had so far disagreased formerly, that the Life of the Prelate was exceedingly endanger'd.

Agreement between the Exarch of *Ravenna*, and the King of the *Lombards*.

26. *Leo* being rid of the troubles of the *Lombards*, with whom all things seemed now to be settled, bent his utmost endeavours to supprese the Worshippers of Images, and to the establishment of his Family. He procured the Daughter of *Chaganus*,

*nus*, the King of the *Scythians*, to be given in Marriage to his Son *Constantine*, after she was first christened, and named *Irene*. Against the revolted Bishop and City of *Rome* he sent a very considerable Fleet, which perished by Tempests in the *Adriatick Sea*. He laid heavy Impositions upon the People of *Sicily* and *Calabria*, to supply his empty Coffers, feized on the Revenues which belonged to some Churches, and *Rome*, and caused Male Children, as soon as they were born, to be celled. In the mean time, and afterward, *Suleiman*, the Son of *Isum*, invades the Provinces bordering on the Dominions of the *Saracens*, and wastes all with Fire and Sword, carrying along with him in his Expeditions one that called himself *Tiberius*, the Son of *Justinian*, whose Title he advanced against that of the Emperour. In the three and twentieth Year of *Leo*'s Reign, with no fewer than ninety thousand Men, he fell upon the Towns and Castles of the East, and having taken many of them, returned home with his Prisoners and Booty without any disturbance. These Invasions of the *Saracens* sorely afflicted the Eastern Parts, and that the more Western might have their share also of misery, and feel the inconstancy of all humane Comorts, as well as their Neighbours, in the last Year of *Leo* a most dreadfull Earthquake falls out at *Constantinople*, which overturns many Churches, Monasteries and private Housues, and buried multitudes of Men, Women and Children in the rubble. Several Statues of ancient Emperours it removed from their *Bases*, as those of *Constantine the Great*, *Theodosius*, *Arcadius*, and others. In *Thrace* also and *Bithynia*, several dreadfull Effects of this Concussion of the Earth were to be seen. For besides many Towns and Castles, *Nicomedia*, *Prenestus* and *Nicæa* perished, with many Inhabitants. The Sea was so much disturbed with these subterraneous Vapours that thus disquieted the World for eleven Months together, that it was driven out of some of its ancient Possessions, and forced to make bold with grounds that lay most obnoxious to its violence in other places.

27. This so publick and a great Calamity, against the effects and terror of which the Emperour should have found out some comfort and supply, he turned to his own Lucre, and the greater disturbance and oppresion of the poor People, if our Annalists may be credited. He disfauided them from repairing the Walls of their Towns, but laid a Tax upon them, which being, as they thought, only designed for this present occasion, was (as oftentimes it happens that an Imposition imposed lasts longer than the cause that procured it,) continued upon them and their Posterity. Not long after this *Leo* dies after he had reigned twenty five years, two months, and twenty days, and leaves *Constantine* his Son, and Colleague, to the sole possession of the Empire. He as willing to keep and preserve to his own Family what was left him, in his first Year marches against the *Arabians*, and as he was in his way, studies how to prevent the designs of all Competitours. He had a Brother-in-Law whom he most feared, one *Artabazdus*, who married *Anne*, the Daughter of *Leo*, and being sometime Governor of *Armenia*, assisted him much in obtaining the Empire. *Constantine*, to make sure work of it, that the Empire might not be transferred from the one Family into the other, resoloves first to make away his Sons, whom he kindly invites to his presence, desirous to see them as his Nephews. But the old Man had smelt out the design, and resolving to be beforehand with him, falls upon him at unawares, kills several of his Friends, and forces him to fly for his Life to the City *Amorium*, where, with great promises, he persuades *Longinus*, the Captain of the East, faith *Cedrenus*, or *Lucius*, the Captain of the *Thracian Troops*, as writes *Theophanes*, or both, as appears from *Zonaras*, to undertake his Protection against his Brother.

28. In the mean time *Artabazdus* sends to make *Theodosius* the Governor of *Constantinople* of his Party, one *Abanodus*, a Silentiary, who finds him pliable enough, and by telling a Lye, that *Constantine* the Emperour was dead, easly perfuaded the People to own *Artabazdus* for their Emperour, whom they as much extoll as a pious and orthodox Prince, as they detest and revile him whom they vainly supposed to be out of all possibility of revenging himself upon them. All things seeming now to be clear, and *Anastasius* the Patriarch, who formerly had fided with *Leo* against Images, but now, to curry favour with the rising Sun, reviled both him, his Son, and his Opinions, perfuading all Men to receive and own him. *Artabazdus* enters *Constantinople*, and the first thing he does, he seizes on the Sons of *Constantine*, then makes them be shaven, and clapt up in close custody. But the cheat of *Constantine* being dead could not long continue, and possibly the Discovery might have a quite contrary Effect upon the humour of the inconstant multitude. To prevent all such dangers an expedient is found out by the Patriarch, who most solemnly swears, that *Constantine* had uttered most horrid Blasphemies against our Saviour,

The People de-  
pose Constantine.

Saviour, as that he was not the Son of God, but born after the same manner of his Mother *Mary*, as *Mary* his Mother had born him. The People, by this Deposition of the Patriarch, was so moved, as to depose *Constantine*. Now are there two Emperours. *Constantine* is still living in *Armenia*, and *Artabazus* reigns at *Constantinople*, whereupon such a Civil War arose, as if *Cedrenus* should be credited, the like never happened since the beginning of the World.

29. If so, the more to blame he, and other Historians, who give us such a small scantling of such passages as deserved to be related in entire Volumes. This they tell us, that *Artabazus* being to march against the Emperour, caused first *Nicæphorus* his Son to be crowned at *Constantinople*. That having made all preparations possible, yet he had the worst in his attempts upon *Constantine*, and at length was forced both with loss and disgrace to *Constantinople*, where he sent *Nicetas* the younger to try if he could have any better success; but he came off with the same disadvantage, and *Constantine*, as it concerned him, improved his Victories, and marched up to the City, which he straitly besieged in the month of *September*, at the beginning of the twelfth Indiction, long it was not e'er the besieged, who made little or no preparations for a Siege, were fore distressed with Famine, which caused *Artabazus* to send out *Anastasius*, one of his Secretaries, and *Artabazus*, the *comes Domesticorum*, to procure Corn, and other necessaries; but going by Sea, they fell into the Fleet of *Constantine*, who commanded their Eyes to be put out. Thus succeeding not, *Artabazus* makes a vigorous Sally, but still came off very disadvantageously, and the Famine so much increased, that he was forced to let the People go out, and provide for themselves, which they did, some in the habit of Women, and others like religious Persons, because free egress was permitted to such. At the beginning of *November* *Constantine* so pressed upon the City, that

4. Non.

*Constantine* takes  
*Constantinople*.

*Artabazus* his  
Eyes put out,  
and his friends  
put to death or  
maimed.

he broke it in the Afternoon, having defeated *Nicetas*, the younger Son of *Artabazus*, whom being taken Prisoner, he had bound in Fetters, and so presented him to the view of his Father upon the Wall. *Artabazus* escaped to a certain Castle in the Territories of the *Opsicii*, but was fetched thence, and had his Eyes put out, as also had both his Sons. Many of his Complices were put to death, amongst whom *Bœotianus* the Patriarch was most eminent, not only for the Nobility of his House, but the extravagancy of the punishment inflicted on him. First his Hands were cut off, and then his Head, which, with the body, for thirty years rested in a Grave, wherein they had been decently interred; but then did *Constantine* force the Man's own Wife to dig up his bones, and cast them into the place where the Bodies of Malefactors were wont to be thrown. The City of *Constantinople* the foreign Soulards were permitted to plunder. As many of *Artabazus* his Friends lost their Lives, so some their Hands, and others their Feet. *Constantine* coming into the *Hippodrome*, to the Horse-races, led *Artabazus*, with his Sons and Relations, in triumph, and *Anastasius* the Patriarch, having first caused him to be publicly beaten, he set upon an *Ars*, with his Face to the Tail, and so to be carried up and down in derision. Yet did continue this Man in his place, because he could not find out a greater Villain, if you'll believe his Detractors.

30. *Constantinus Copronymus* having thus in the third year of his Reign recovered his Power and Dignity, that he might settle himself the faster in the seat of his Empire, which had lately been too hot for him, bent his endeavours to gain the affections of the People, which his cruelty had so alienated from him. At the same time as these Civil Wars made such commotions and disturbances amongst Mankind, the subterraneous Vapours, as it were, keeping time with them, shook the Earth in several parts of the East, with such violence, that down fell Cities, Towns and Castles, and the Mountains in the Deserts of *Saba* met, and united themselves together, to take Counsel, as it were, and make the stronger defence. And for some time they seemed to be in repose, but not long after, in the sixth Year of *Copronymus*, these Vapours, or whatever other Caues, doubled their fury. For in the preceding year, Vide Baron. from the fourth of *August* to the first of *October*, as writes *Theophanes*, or as *Cedrenus* more probably, from the tenth to the fifteenth of *January* following happened to great an Earthquake in *Palestine*, about *Jordan*, and all *Syria*, that innumerable multitudes of Men perished, and many Churches and Monasteries tumbled down, especially in the Wildernes near to *Jerusalem*. Neither had the Western Parts any cause to rejoice above their Fellows, for a most grievous Pestilence beginning about *Sicily* and *Calabria*, as if it had been a devouring Fire, spread as far as *Monobasias*, *Greece*, and *Calabria*, as it had been a devouring Fire, spread as far as *Monobasias*, *Greece*, and the interjacent Islands. Little crosses, as it were made with Oil, appeared upon the Clothes of Men, and the Vestments of Churches, and such as had them on

Tέταρτη τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου  
πάντας εγκαίνια  
πλευραὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ  
εἰσήσθησαν.  
ad Ann. 2. Con-  
stantini Capri-  
ni.

As dreadful  
a Pestilence.

A Civil War  
amongst the Sar-  
acens.

Of which the  
Emperour  
makes an advan-  
tage.

Another Earth-  
quake in Syria.

The Bulgari  
make great De-  
predations.

They defeat  
*Constantine*.  
A Comet.

A strange Frost.

their Clothes; certainly died. The number of the dead was so great, that the living were scarcely able to bury them, but were forced to invent several things for the easier carriage of the bodies. The Plague continued still raging with greater symptoms for three years, being called the Plague of *Bubo's*, from those tumours which, it seems, arose in an extraordinary manner.

31. It was a singular Mercy of Almighty God, that while these inward Distempers raged in this manner amongst Christians, the foreign scourge of the *Saracens* Sword, though it was not sheathed, yet was employed to the destruction of those that handled it. A Civil War brake out amongst them in *Syria*, where while they intended nothing so much as the destruction of one another, *Manias* reduces to his Obedience *Emesa*, *Damascus*, *Heliopolis* and *Jerusalem*. The Emperour thinks this a convenient time to bestir himself, and while they are busie in one part of *Syria*, he falls upon another, recovers *Germanicia*, and makes an Invasion as far as *Dalichia* and *Allyria*. Those of the *Saracens* that lived nearer the Sea, to weaken or divert his Power, rigged up a Fleet, which bent its course to *Cyprus*, with intent to perform some great matters; but the *Roman* Navy there met with them at unawares, and the Admiral having blocked up the Haven, so as they could not escape, destroyed every Ship, except three, which they willingly suffered to pass away with the news of their sad fortune. The year that followed, being the ninth of *Constantine*, on the twenty fifth of *January*, *Irene*, his Wife, brought him a Son, whom he named *Leo*. And now again are the sad Calamities which had so lately happened in the Eastern Parts renewed, as dreadfull an Earthquake as ever falling out in *Syria*, some Cities were quite swallowed up, others half ruined, and some from their mountainous situations brought down to the level, and removed, without any considerable Detriment, six miles, or more, from their ancient seats. In *Mesopotamia* a *Chasma* was made in the ground two miles long, out of which proceeded a whitish and sandy kind of Earth, and (*Theophanes* tells you Eye-witnesse *Vide Baron.*) affirmed it) out of it arose a certain Animal in the shape of a Mule, which speaking with a voice like that of a Man, predicted, that out of the Wildernes a certain People would fall upon the *Arabians*, which accordingly came to pass.

32. In the Year that followed, *Constantine* caused his young Son *Leo* to be crowned Emperour by *Anastasius* the Patriarch. For several years all Acts of Hostility had ceased betwixt him and his Neighbours, but in the eleventh of his Reign he raised an Army, wherewith he took *Theodosiopolis* and *Melitena*. Conceiving the Provinces which lay towards the *Bulgari* to be in no good posture of defence, he built some new Forts upon the Borders, whereat they found themselves concerned, and sent their Ambassadors to complain, and desire a Confirmation of the former Leagues; but he ignominiously treated the Messenger, wherewith they were so much offended, that they made a sudden Irruption into the Provinces, and piercing as far as to the Long Walls, with vast plunder returned home, without any let or molestation. This provoked *Constantine* exceedingly, yet he tempered his passion till he could be in a posture, as he thought, to revenge the Injury, which was not till six years after, in the nineteenth of his Reign, and then being, as he thought, sufficiently provided, he made an Expedition against them. But coming to a narrow place, called *Beregaba*, the Enemy took the advantage of the passage, and defeated him, which done, he returned home with great los of Men, and a greater of Reputation. The next Year a great Comet, which from the likenesse of a Beam the Greeks called *Dociæ*, appeared in the East for ten days, and afterward removed to the Western part of the Heavens, where it shone for one and twenty more.

To x Yrs. later  
in the 2d. year  
of Leo  
Aug. 27. 1000  
A.D. Cedrenus.

33. The one and twentieth Year of *Constantinus Copronymus* his Reign, the Antalili made infamous, for his whipping to death one *Andrew*, a famous Monk, in *Blachernæ*, for reprehending his Impiety, in reference to Images no doubt, to which our Historians, as living in later Ages, wherein the practice obtained, were exceedingly devoted. The Reader must not think it improper for us to take notice of a violent Frost, which happened two years after, both because we are too much at leisure to doe it, and the remarkablenes of it renders it a fit Subject for an Historian, though never so grave and wary. It began on the first of *October*, and froze so hard, that both in the Eastern and Western, as well as in the Northern, Parts, the Sea, for an hundred miles from the shore, was covered with Ice thirty Cubits in thickness. On this Ice fell a Snow twenty Cubits deep, which made it passable for Men, and all other sorts of Animals, no otherwise than the firm ground it self. In the month of *February* a Thaw came, and dissolved this Ice, and Snow upon it, into many Heaps, or Mountains rather, which being by Winds driven to *Dampsia*, and the Chapel, crowded through the Straits, and came as far as *Con-*

*Constantinople*, nay to *Propontis* and *Abydus*, surrounded the Islands adjacent in the Sea, and filled all the Maritime Coasts, as *Theophanes* himself was witness, who, with thirty others of his Acquaintance, passed down upon one of these pieces. One of them *Vide eundem*.

did some mischief to the Castle at *Constantinople*, another, took very much the Wall, and then being broken into three other pieces, compassed the Town from *Manganai*, as far as *Bosphorus*, being higher than the Walls themselves. The month following, or that of *March*, the Stars seemed to fall from Heaven, and Doomsday was generally thought to be at hand. And these wonders were followed by as strange a Drought, which caused both Rivers and Fountains to fail.

34. Much about this time, or a little after, *Constantine* made Peace with the *Bulgari*, but it seems he did it to surprise them, for as privately as he could he marched with an Army into their Country, but proceeding as far as *Tuzia*, did nothing memorable, burnt only a few Cottages, and so returned home with small Reputation. But the Year following he thought to redeem his Credit, and therefore not only prepared his Land Forces, but a great Fleet also, which he commanded to sail to *Anchialus*, but coming to Anchor in the Road of *Thoris*, so violent a North wind seized upon it, that it almost utterly perished, and he commanded Nets to be cast into the Sea, and as many dead Bodies as could be drawn out to be decently interred. So write *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus*, concerning this expedition, to *Anchialus*, adding, that the Emperour returned with disgrace to *Constantinople*, but *Zonaras* tells us quite another story. The occasion, he saith, of this Expedition was taken from a Sedition lately risen amongst the *Bulgari* themselves, who having put to death all their Leaders, that were descended from their Princely Families, advanced one to the Dignity, who was much more meanly descended, *Telentius* by Name. He tells us, that the Emperour at this Instant set upon them both by Sea and Land, particularly at *Anchialus*, where the Fight continuing from eleven a Clock till evening, many were slain, the Captain of the *Bulgari* saved himself by flight, and many Barbarians being killed, and no fewer taken Prisoners, multitudes also revolted to the Emperour of their own accord, who, as Conqueror, entered *Constantinople* in solemn Triumph, in Armour at the head of his armed Troops, with his Captives in Chains, according to the custome, whom, after the pomp and solemnity ended, he put to death.

Different Relations concerning  
*Constantine's*  
War with the  
*Bulgari*.

35. The next Year being come, he caused to be crowned *Eudocia*, his third Wife (for it seems he had three) upon a Scaffold of nineteen cubits, and on the first of *April*, being the *Monday* in *Easter Week*, created *Cæsars* his and her two Sons, *Christopher* and *Nicephorus*. *Nicetas* the Patriarch praying the while that the Emperours invested them with their Robes, and put on them the Cesarean Helmets. Their youngest Brother *Nicetas* was also created *Nobilissimus*, being invested with a Robe, and a Golden Crown set on his Head, which solemnity finished, they went in a solemn Procession, casting several sorts of Money to the People, according to the custome. A year after *Irene* coming from *Athens*, was also crowned, and married to *Leo*, the eldest Son of *Constantine*. *Phadalus*, Captain of the *Saracens*, within two years, invaded the *Roman Provinces*, and took five hundred Captives, but the Inhabitants of *Mopsuestia* laid in wait, and killing a thousand of these *Arabians*, recovered all their booty. The following year *Constantine* undertook another Expedition against the *Bulgari*, but his Success was such, as inclined him to submit to a Peace, which they, it seems, never intended to observe any longer than they could get a convenient opportunity to break it. For they sent not long after twelve thousand Men to make themselves Masters of *Berzilia*, which being made known to the Emperour, he hasted with an Army against them, and falling on them at a place called *Litsosforea*, cut them all in pieces, and then returned home. He was wont to call this his Noble War, because in it not one Christian perished, but it seems the Victory was obtained by Treachery, and that could not render it so noble, as if it had been achieved by Valour and good Conduct. For *Elerichus*, Prince of the *Bulgari*, found that he was betrayed, but because he knew not the Traitors, he had this device to know their Names. He wrote to *Constantine*, telling him, that he was resolved to quit his present Office, and come to him to *Constantinople*. He desired therefore he would send him his Letters of safe conduct, and to signify to him what Friends he had amongst the *Bulgari*, that he might commit his Person to their Trust, and with them repair to his presence. *Constantine* overjoyed at his intimation of a Revolt, sent him the Names of those that held Intelligence with him, which as soon as he knew, he put them all to death, laughing in his sleeve to see how he had cheated the Emperour, who could no otherwise amend the matter at the present, than in a fury by revenging himself upon his

He Crowned his  
Wife and Child  
ren.

His Noble War.

He is deceived  
by the *Bulgari*.

his Beard which he plucked up by the roots in the height of his Paffion.

36. But counting every Day a Year, till he could put himself into a posture to be revenged, the Spring following he marched against *Elerichus* with another Army, but before he could do any thing of moment, was seized with a Carbuncle, or Inflammation of his Thigh, by the Greeks called *Antibrax*, the anguish whereof cast him into an acute Fever. He returned therefore back to *Abadiopolis*, and there took his Bed, and in this case was conveyed to *Selimbris*, and thence by Ship to a Castle called *Strongulum*, where in the Territory called *Chelandium* he died, after he had reigned thirty four Years, two Months and six and twenty Days, coming only nine days short of the Reign of his Father, if we believe *Baronius*, *Vide Baronium ad An. D. 741.* who in one place will have *Theophanes* to give thirty four Years, three Months and *num. 1. & 775.* two days to the Reign of *Leo*, whereas formerly treating of *Leo's Death*, he cites *num. 1.* the same Historian, reckoning only twenty five Years, two Months, and twenty Days, of that Emperour. Never was man worse spoken of by *Theophanes*, *Cedrenus*, and other later Historians, especially by *Baronius*, but how great Credit is to be given to them herein may be impartially examined, when we come to treat of the cause of their prejudice, only saying thus much by the way, that where Interest and Passion bears sway, Truth usually truckles to the Pen of the Author.

His Son *Leo*, begot on the *Chazarian* Woman, succeeded him, without any trouble, and understanding that he had intrusted one *Theophanes* with a great Treasure, to be employed for the use of his younger Children, he feized on it all, and left his Brothers destitute, and at his own Mercy. This *Leo*, though of his Father's Persuasion, as to Images, yet thought it Wisedom to comply a little with a thoe of the contrary party, till he could be settled in his Government, which the better to effect, he caused his young Son *Constantine* to be crowned Emperour; upon *Apud Bar.* what occasion, and in what manner, we shall tell the Reader from *Theophanes*.

37. The whole City of *Constantinople*, with all the Nobility, and the People in general were so taken with the gentle and bountifull demeanour of *Leo*, that they came and petitioned him to make his Son *Constantine* Emperour. He told them, (as the Emperours were wont) that he was his only Son, and that he was in fear, lest if any thing happened otherwife than well to him his Father, they would deliver him into the hands of some Usurper of their own preferring, being yet an Infant, and not able to shift for himself. They with Oaths affirmed they would stick to him, and in case he died, none but this Son should reign, and from *Palm-Sunday*, till the latter end of the Week, the multitude, in the *Hippodrome*, flocked together, with great earnestnes requiring the thing might be done, and then on *Fryday* *Leo* demanded an Oath of Fidelity and Allegiance of them, which as well thoe of the Army as the Senate took, and all other sorts of People, subscribing a Paper, whereby they professed they would admit none but *Leo*, or *Constantine*, or their Issue, to reign over them. On the morrow then, or *Easter-Eve*, the Emperour ascended a Throne, raised nineteen Cubits high, where first he created *Nobilissimus* his Brother *Eudoxius*; his other Brother, *Anthimus*, having already received this honour from their Father. Then, with the other *Cæsars*, three *Nobilissimi*, and young *Constantine*, he went in solemn Procession to the great Church, where changing his Habit, as his Predecessours were wont to doe, he, with his Son, and the Patriarch, mounted the place proper to such solemnities, and the People being let in, laid down their subscribed Papers upon the Holy Table. This done, the Emperour thus addressed himself to them: *Look, my Brethren, I grant your Petition, and give his making his Son* you my Son for your Emperour: *see you receive him from the Church, and the Hand* *Emperour.*

The manner of addressing his Son *Constantine* you for your Emperour: *see you receive him from the Church, and the Hand* *Emperour.* They with earnestnes replied, *Be thou our Surety, thou Son of God,* as from thine Hand we receive our Lord Constantine for Emperour, to preserve him, and, if occasion require, to die for him. On the day following, which was *8. Cal. Maii.* *Easter-day*, in the fourteenth Indiction, as soon as it was well light, the Emperour and Patriarch went into the *Hippodrome*, where the Patriarch, in the full view of the People, first prayed, and then crowned young *Constantine*, which done, both the Emperours returned with the same Train and State, together with the two *Cæsars*, and the other three *Nobilissimi*, to the great Church, not through the Street of *Embolum*, but by the brazen Gate, and the Church of *Catecumenus*, with the Sceptres born by the *Scholarii* before them. After they were past, followed *Irene* the Empress, and concluded the solemnity.

38. This Ceremony happened at the latter end of *April*, and in *May* following His Brother *Nicephorus Cæsar*, the Brother of *Leo*, his Apperte after Sovereignty, it seems, being whetted by such a fight, confpired against the Emperour, and being convicted, was, with his complices, who were beaten publickly and shaven, banished to *Chersonesa*.

The King of the Bulgari baptiz'd.

Leo dies.

Irene with her Son Constantine Reigns.

Heldipius rebels and is defeated.

The Empire Tributary to the Saracens.

The Saraceni beaten out of Greece.

*Cherjona.* But the contrary Operation had a good Conscience, and a Sense of Religion upon *Telericus* or *Pollerigus*, King of the *Bulgari*, who came to *Constantinople*, and was baptized, resolving to change a temporal Crown, for an heavenly Kingdom. *Leo* received him with wonderful kindness, and having made him a Patriarch, gave him in Marriage the Cousin Germane, or Niece of his Wife *Irene* by her Sister. This it's probable, the King of the *Bulgari* did out of choice, and therefore much more deserved a kind Reception than *Tellerigus* (so *Cedrenus* calls him) King of the *Lombards*, who the preceding year, forced thereto, it's to be thought by necessity, betook himself also to *Leo*, and had kind Entertainment. In the third year of this Emperour, an Expedition was made into *Germanicia* by the *Roman Army*; where taking Prisoners a great multitude of the *Syrian Jacobites*: *Leo* gave them convenient Habitation in *Thrace*. Nothing more of moment occurs in his Reign; but that being exceedingly inamoured of Gems, he longed to be Master of the Crown of *Heraclius*, which being very Rich, was deposited and dedicated in the great Church. His longing was so violent, that needs he must have it, and having taken it out of the Church, he wore it when he went abroad. But on a certain time, when he was returned home, Carbuncles (they tell us) arose on his Head, and he was seized with a violent Fever, which exacted his Life as the price of his Sarcilige, after he had Reigned five years and ten days.

39. On the sixth of the Ides of *September*, in the fourth Indiction, and the seven hundred and eighteenth Year of our Lord; *Irene* with her young Son *Constantine*, a Boy of about ten years old began her Reign over the *Roman Empire*. But forty days were hardly past, when the Nobility taking difflaste at the Sex of *Irene* and the Youth of *Constantine*, notwithstanding the Oath made to him and his Father, began to enter into Councils, how to prefer *Nicephorus Caesar* to the Throne, which she in time discovered, and after they had been beaten with Rods, banished them from the City into several Islands. Awakened by this danger, to prevent the like for the time to come, she caused all her Husband's Brothers, as well the *Cesars* as the *Nobilitimi* to take Orders, and on *Christmas-day* to give the Communion to the People; at which time, she and her Son offered again that rich Crown which *Leo* had taken out of the Church. While the busied her self thus about settling her Family, the Eastern Provinces were in danger, which the *Arabians* upon News of the Emperour's Death, and the hopes of disorders thereupon to arise, had invaded, but such Forces as could be got together were sent against them, and quite expelled them out of the Coasts. Fortune thus favouring her on all sides, she thought fit to procure a strong Alliance by the Marriage of her Son, and considering all the Princes, her Neighbours thought none so fit to have Amity with, as *Charles* King of the *Franks* afterward Surnamed the Great, and Crowned Emperour of the Welt. She sent her Ambassadors, to desire his Daughter might be given to *Constantine*, and the offer was so well liked as our Greek Historians write, that *Elisaeus* an Eunuch, and Notary was left behind; to teach her the Language, and instruct her in the Manners and Customs of the *Roman Empire*.

40. But the prosperity of *Irene* was interrupted this same year, by the Rebellion of *Heldipius* the Pretour of *Sicily*, in behalf of the *Cesars*, for the reducing of whom a strong Fleet was sent, under Command of *Theodosius* the Patriarch, who drove him out of the Island, and made him fly into *Africk*: Yet he escaped with all his Treasure, and living securely in that Countrey, was by the *Saracens* in opposition to *Constantine*, owned for the *Roman Emperour*. They were glad of this opportunity, and having added what Fuell they could to the flame, fell upon the Eastern Provinces, which to waste *Madi* their Prince, sent *Aaron* his youngest Son (his eldest was *Moses*) who managed his Matters with such Industry and Conduct, that *Irene* to preferre the Empire, besides many Gifts she sent made it Tributary to this People; an Annual pension being to be paid to their Prince. Having thus made what Peace she could with the *Saracens*, the year following she sent *Stauracius* a Patriarch, and *Logotheta* against the *Sclavini*, who had seized on *Greece* and *Peloponnesus*. He brought them all to obedience, and imposing on them a Tribute, returned in Triumph with great Booty to *Constantinople*. Not long after, *Madi* Prince of the *Saraceni* dies, and *Moses* his Son succeeds him, but after little more than a year is taken away also by Death, and gives place to his Brother *Aaron*; who being a Man much addicted to Arms, reigned three and twenty years, a most deadly Enemy to Christians.

41. *Constantine* the Emperour growing now towards mans Estate, had his mind all this while fixed on *Rodindris* the Daughter of *Charles* King of the *Franks*, and impatient he was to Consummate the Nuptials. But though the Marriage was agreed

A Match betwixt Constantine and the Daughter of Charles King of the Franks broken off, and why.

the Consummation was deferred for seven years, and at length the matter was absolutely broke off by *Irene* his Mother. The cause the Greek Historians ascribe to the Arbitration of *Irene*, who having a great desire still to continue her Power, feared the Acceptation of the Friendship of *Charles* might make her Son too considerable for her to Govern. Others that have a kindnes for the Woman, think she took offence at *Charles*; because he had invaded the Dukedom of *Beneventum* in *Italy*, which the Emperours had taken into their Protection, and that enraged at this Action, she both broke the Marriage, and made War upon *Charles*, wherein she had the worst; Fortune favouring him, in all his Enterprizes. There are others, who out of Respect to *Charles* and his Posityre, thinking it more Honourable for him to refuse than be rejected, write that he himself broke off the Match, and that thereupon *Constantine* to be revenged, ordered *Theodosius* a Patriarch the Governor of *Sicily*, and other of his Captains to invade the Borders of *Beneventum*, which he got into his Power. But the great reason of the Breach seems to be fetch from the Inclinations of *Irene* her self, who had no mind to the Match long before the bussines of *Beneventum* happened, else she had time and opportunity enough in so many years to have had it accomplished, and the great Enmity which upon this occasion fell out betwixt Mother and Son, shew plainly, that he thought her to be principally Guilty, she forces him to renounce the Contract made with *Rodruidis*, though exceedingly in Love with her, and to espouse an obscure Maid, an *Armenian* by Birth, some say a *Paphlagonian*, by Name, *Mary*, who had nothing in the least to command her, not to say fit her, for the imperial Throne; but that she was Daughter, or some say Neice to *Philaretus*, a Man that was very eminent for Acts of Charity.

42. Now, as it even happens in such Cases, there are not wanting those, who endeavour on both sides to widen the Breach, and blow up a little heat of Indignation into a flame of Malice. Her flatterers tell her, the Empire cannot subsist without her, that it is both indecent and unsafe for her, who had now aquired the Art of Government by long Practice and Experience, to quit and resign it to a young raw Youth, whose Age would brook no other Maximes than what were founded upon Ease and Pleasure. His Attendants impatient of delay, till they could have to doe with Offices and Management of Affairs, put him in mind that he is now about twenty years of Age, which ripenes though he pleaded not his Quality, was sufficient to discharge him of the Bonds of Pupillage; and they provoke him to take by force that Inheritance which will not voluntarily be resigned. Their great Spleen was against *Stauratus* a Patriarch, and *Logotheta*, who Governed all under *Irene* at his Pleasure; it was resolved therefore, that he in the first place, should be seized and banished the Court, and when he was removed they feared not, but they could have Quarter good enough at the Empresses hand. But *Stauratus* founded the depth of their Design e'er it was ripe for Execution, and revealing it to *Irene*, Order was presently taken with the Conspirators; of whom most were beaten and shaven, and then sent into Exile. Her Son the chashtized with her own Hands and Tongue, and constraing him to keep within, caused the Senate and Souliders to take an Oath of Fidelity to herself, and not to permit her Son to Reign as long as she lived. This though with great unwillingness was followed by all, but the *Armenian* Legions, who professed they would adhere to *Constantine*, as they were bound by Duty and Allegiance.

43. The report of the Refolition of the *Armenian* Legions, coming to other Souliders, who were Quartered at a distance had such Effect upon them, notwithstanding the Oath they had lately taken, that consulting what to doe they clost with them, as having more Equity on their side; and coming to a Rendezvous, they all required that *Constantine* might Reign over them. *Irene* now feared the violence of the multitude, and therefore dismissed her Son out of his honourable Imprisonment, who being received with lucky Acclamations set himself to recall his Friends out of Banishment, to put them into places of Trust and Profit; and to revenge both his and their Quarrel upon such as had been either Authours, or Instruments in their late afflictions. *Stauratus* and others, being beaten and shaven were sent into Banishment. His Mother with great Respect he led out of the Palace, and brought her to her own House, which the her self had built in *Eleutherium*, and where she had laid up a vast Treasure. While these disturbances happen at Court, and shake the whole Empire, an horrible Earthquake as it was fittable that Nature her self shoud expref the Horrore and Effects of Man's Ambition, made all things quake and totter at *Constantinople*, where the Citizens durst not stay in their Houles; but pitcht Tents in the Fields, and there continued till the violence was abated.

He deposeth his Mother.

abated. The Court was also disturbed by a Fire, which burnt to the Ground a very fair Banqueting-Room called *Thomaites*, with all the Rooms under it, wherein lay the Commentaries upon the whole Scripture, written by St John Chrysostome. The Emperour animated by his Liberty, and the unexpected Joyment of his Power, will now make War against the *Bulgari* and comes off with the Victory, as writes *Cedrenus*, though *Zonaras* saith it was a drawn Battel, and with no great harm either done or received, each one retired to his own Place. Not satisfied with the Reputation it seems that he got by this Expedition, he undertakes another as far as *Tarsus* against the *Arabians*; wherein one says, he took many Prisoners, and another affirms, he returned without any memorable thing performed.

44. But all this while he was not so Circumspect over his Mother and her Party, but that they were very close at work; so hard a thing it is for those, who have once tasted of Sovereignty and Dominion, to relish any thing of a lower *Gusto*. Knowing there was no Force now to be used, they betake themselves to Intreats, and seek by little and little to screw up *Irene* into her former place. By Arguments drawn from filial Duty and good Nature, they perwade him to admit her again into the Court, and to the Title of Empress, which the *Armenian* Soldiers, more sensible it seems of what would follow than any others, vehemently opposed, and desired, that one *Alexius Mopoles* might be sent them, which Constantine conffirmed, as he had some reason, as if they would rather promote him to the Empire, than bear the Domination of a Woman, and therefore he caused *Alexius* to be beaten and shaven, and committed him to his Custody. Having strengthened himself, as he thought, by the Conjunction of his Mother, he betakes himself again to Arms, and will needs fall upon the *Bulgari*, being by some false Prophets encouraged with Promise of certain Victory. This so far puffed him up, that he neglected his busines, as thinking it a thing needless to be solicitous for that which of its own accord would fall into his hands; and therefore in this security as he lay, the *Bulgari* took their advantages, and gave him a very notable defeat. Besides a great number of private Souldiers, many considerable Officers, and the chief Men of the Empire lost their Lives, with *Pancratius* the Astronomer, who by his lying Prophecies had given the occasion of the overthrow. Constantine having nothing left to clog him, for both Army and Baggage, and all was lost, fled with all speed; but brought Infamy enough with him to *Constantinople*.

He receives her again to Court.

He is defeated by the *Bulgari*.

He is Jealous of his kindred.

45. This defeat opened the Mouths of his Adversaries and Emulatours, who were not wanting to decant upon each particular, and more than call his Prudence and Conduct into Question. He himself was Conffisious of his Errour; and Consequently Jealous, that no better an Interpretation was made of it than it deserved, which Humour those that were near him, indulged with little storries put into his Head, and great Dangers suggested to him, which filled him with such Conceits as were not to be removed without some extravagant Diversion. It was told him, that the Souldiers now lying in Town, had a design to promote *Nicephorus* his Uncle to his place, which report so disordered him, that he caused not only his Eyes to be put out; but those of *Christopher* also his other Uncle, and cuts out the Tongues of another *Christopher*, *Nicetas*, *Anthimus* and *Eudocimus*; his Mother, and *Stauracius*, finding him in this Humour, strike in, and perwade him to put out the Eyes also of *Alexius*, whom the *Armenian* Legions had demanded to be sent them at such a time, as they protested against her Restitution; telling him, that in Case he were spared, the Souldiers would infallibly make him Emperour. But when the *Armenian* Souldiers received the News, they presently fell into a Mutiny, and committed to Custody, *Camilianus* their Captain. The Emperour dispatches away against them *Constantianus Artaberus*, and *Chrysobires* with a strong party, but they had the misfortune to come by the worst, and being taken Prisoners had their Eyes put out. Constantine therefore marches against them himself, and with better Succes. He utterly defeats them in Battel, and getting them all into his Power, the Officers he puts to Death, deprives the rest of their Estates, and a thousand of the ordinary sort he cauleth to be led in Chains to *Constantinople*, where they had these words, *An Armenian Traitor*, stamped with Ink upon their Faces, and then were dispersed in *Sicily* and other Islands.

46. This succeeded to the good liking of *Irene*, who all this while seeming to satisfy her self with the Title without the Power; yet cast in her Head, how she might again be Mistress of both. Her great Adversaries the *Armenian* Legions were now made an end of, yet to attempt any thing against the Person of her Son, was not altogether safe, besides unnatural; but the rejoiced in his misfor-

tunes

tunes, and comforted her self in his want of Reputation, which that he might lose still more and more, she was resolvled nothing should be wanting on her part, and she hoped to pull him on to such actions, as should render him odious, and so make a kind of necessity of returning the Government into her own Hands. Knowing that he had no fancy for his Wife *Mary*, to which he had been preferred by her worthy care and foresight, the perwaded him to shave her, and put her into a Monastery, which done, she finds out for him another honourable Match *Theodora* one of the Maids of her Chamber, which Damofel is crowned with the Imperial Diadem, and the Wedding kept with great pomp for four days together in the Palace of *St. Mamas*. This unequal Marriage made much for her Design, and she improved the advantage to the utmost, for great contentions falling out amongst Churchmen concerning the Lawfulness, or unlawfulness of the Match, she still filled with such as spake against her Son, and promoted their interest all ways possible, though secretly and as much in the dark as she could. But some other things happened, which seemed to thwart all her purposess by recovering the Reputation of her Son. For, renewing his Wars with the *Arabians* he had good success, as also against *Cardamus* or *Cardames* the Prince of the *Bulgari*, who sending to him to demand Tribute, and threatening if he had it not, to come to fetch it as far as the *Golden Gate* of *Constantinople*, he sent him some Horse-Dung for Tribute, and withdraw this word, that seeing he was an old Man, he would not have him take the pains, nor undergo the labour of so great a Journey, but he himself would come and wait upon him. And gathering together a considerable Army he went, but the Barbarian, when the Armies came in sight of each other, in a kind of a pannick fear fled away.

47. In the seventh year of his Reign, (when he Reigned alone,) he waited on his Mother to the Baths of *Prusa*, and in the following month or *October*, news was brought him that he had a Son born, whom afterward he named *Leo*. Overjoyed at the news, he left his Mother and departed speedily to *Constantinople*, giving a fair opportunity to her, to Caball with the Officers of the Army, and what by gifts and vaste promises he so improved it, that they promised to depose her Son that she might Reign alone, and that they would watch for a convenient opportunity to effect it. While she and they gaped after this defred time, the Emperour resolves to undertake another expedition against the *Arabians*, and with twenty thousand men accompanied with *Stauracius*, and other Creatures of his Mother in the month of *March* he begins his Journey. *Stauracius* and those with him perceiving both him and the Souldiers, to be full of hopes and courage were very thoughtfull left he should return Victorious, and their Plot should not take, they therefore procure the Scouts to report that the *Saracens* were fled, and that it was no purpose to proceed. *Constantine* frufrated as he thought of a glorious Victory, in much discontent returns to the City, and on the first of *May* *Leo* his young Son Dies, which overwhelmes him with execrable grief. In the middle of *July* those of the Conspiracy attempted to feize on him, which he having discovered endeavoured to make his escape, but his Mother so quickned them by her Letters, threatening that if they did not speedily put a conclusion to the busines, she would reveal the whole matter, that fearing both her and the People, which flocked so to him that they were all afraid, and the thought once of sending some Bishops to perwade him to retire to a private Life, they laid hands on him and conveyed him to *Cebelandum*. On the Saturday morning they brought him to *Constantinople*, and there shut him up in the House called *Porphyra* where he was Born, and about three a Clock in the Afternoon, most wickedly and cruelly though by his Mothers orders, digged his Eyes out of his Head, even in such a manner that Death presently followed, after he had Reigned seven years by himself, and ten together with his unnatural Mother. Upon this blinding and Murther of the Emperour, the Sun was darkned for seventeen days, to exceedingly, that the Ships at Sea lost their course, and all men affirmed that because *Constantine* had lost his sight, the Sun was also hoodwinked, and for this very reason withdrew his beams.

48. But *Irene* little concerned it seems for such a Prodigy being now rid of her Son, thought she could not yet be very secure because of her Husbands Brothers, who had taken Sanctuary in the Great Church at the perwafion of some of their Wellwillers. She sent them therefore down to *Athens*, where having entertained some Councils tending to the depoing of the Emperors, and advancement of their own Fortune, they were killed as it's said by the Inhabitants, and so the Race of *Corynthus* was totally extinguished, she, to shew what manner of Perion now the is, is drawn into the City by four Horses in a gilt Chariot which is staid by the hands

He blinded and killed by order of his unnatural Mother.

The Saracens  
rove as far as  
Constantinople.

Stauracius pur-  
poses to usurp,  
and Dies.

Irene indeavours  
to get the love  
of the People.

The Nobility  
perceiving a de-  
sign of Atius,

The depose &  
rene and make  
Emperor Nee-  
phorus the Ge-  
neral Logotheta.

Atius an Eunuch ruled all in the Palace, and being by his Commands over the Eastern Provinces exceedingly enriched, despised all the ancient Nobility, carrying himself very fawcily toward them, and thought of no less than promoting to the Empire his Brother *Leo*, for whom he had with much labour, procured the Government of *Thrace* and *Macedonia*. The Nobility smelt out his design, and refolwing to oppose it whatever should happen, consulted how to make Emperour one *Nicephorus* the General *Logotheta*. Getting their Company together, they went to the great Palace, and there telling the Guards, that it was the pleasure of *Irene* her self that *Nicephorus* should be Emperour on purpose to obviate the designs of *Atius*, easly got admittance, and sending their Emisfaries about the City before Midnight, prepared the People for what they meant to act the day following. When it was day, they clapped up *Irene* close Prisoner in the Palace, and then went and Crowned their new Emperour in the Great Church, having neither Acclamations nor good wishes, but Curfes and reproachfull Language from the People. Thus was *Irene* dealt with after a Reign of five years, though not in so severe a manner as she treated her Son, for she was but shut up in a Monastery of her own Building. But a circumstance there was which made the affliction much more grievous. She was just now courted by *Charles* King of the *Franks*, who had lately assumed the Title of *Roman* Emperour, and desired by him in Marriage, that the East and West might in their two Perfons be again happily united. She her self was not averse; but *Atius* the Eunuch hindred the conclusion of the treaty, by rubs continually laid in the way, driving that Trade we latey mentioned for his Brother; and then in the mean time happens the Conspiracy of the Nobility, for *Nicephorus* and his Promotion. The Ambassadours of *Charles* were still in Town, and were Eye witneses of this sudden Revolution.

## A N

hands of Patritians, and she casts money amongst the People, as was usual at a solemn Coronation. But what joy soever was at *Constantinople* upon this occasion, there was sadness enough in the Eastern Provinces, which the Saracens now invaded under Conduet of *Habimelech*, who refused to grant any Peace at the desire of *Irene*, and as confident to overpower a Woman, marched up through all the Countries as far as *Constantinople* it self, the Suburbs of which they Plundered, and having ranged the Country without Controll, at length departed home. They were no sooner gone, but another danger hung over the Head of *Irene*, and so much greater as a secret Traitor is more dangerous than a known and open Enemy. And why shold this be but *Stauracius* himself, who in all his Councils for feeding the Ambition of this Woman, had an Eye it seems to his own advancement. What Service soever he had formerly done her, he now went about to render it all fruitles, conspiring to take the Diadem from her Head to set it upon his own, but he was timely discovered. She having a regard (it's probable) to his former kindnes, (though such an act as this usually obliterates the greatest impreffions of that kind,) only forbids all men to keep him Company, after which oppressed with sorrow, either for his Fault or for his Punishment, he falls into a bleeding from the Lungs, and so ends his days, his Ambition and Sorrow altogether.

49. *Irene* perceiving that those she most trusted, had more respect to their own advancement, than the security of her Estate, and therefore that she stood in a ticklifh condition, thought it best for her to oblige the People. In her fourth year, she remitted the Tribute wont to be paid by those of *Constantinople*, and promoted the Commerce of *Abydos* and *Hierum* by all means possible. This had the wished effect, for it procured her the hearts of the Multitude. But it could not procure her the fidelity of her Servants, who all this while had wrought their own ends by her, and made her Service only an advantage for their future preferment. One *Atius* an Eunuch ruled all in the Palace, and being by his Commands over the Eastern Provinces exceedingly enriched, despised all the ancient Nobility, carrying himself very fawcily toward them, and thought of no less than promoting to the Empire his Brother *Leo*, for whom he had with much labour, procured the Government of *Thrace* and *Macedonia*. The Nobility smelt out his design, and refolwing to oppose it whatever should happen, consulted how to make Emperour one *Nicephorus* the General *Logotheta*. Getting their Company together, they went to the great Palace, and there telling the Guards, that it was the pleasure of *Irene* her self that *Nicephorus* should be Emperour on purpose to obviate the designs of *Atius*, easly got admittance, and sending their Emisfaries about the City before

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# A N INSTITUTION O F General History: O R. The History of the World.

## BOOK II.

Of the Kingdom of the *Franks* in *Gall*, (formerly one of the *Roman* Provinces) Contemporary with the *Constantinopolitan Roman Empire*.

## C H A P. V.

*The Original of the Franks, their Seats, Kings and Ex-  
ploits, before their coming into Gall.*

## S E C T. I.

**G**reat things which proceed from small and contemptible Principles when they have once arrived at their Grandeur are apt to despise their Originals, and to gain greater Reputation from superstitious Minds, seek after such Heralds as can draw them specious, though false, Pedegrees. Such as of old time amongst the Heathens arrived at more than ordinary Power, Knowledge or Dexterity, in any respect, must needs be derived from the Gods themselves; such Nations as have had a more modern beginning, or the Original of whom is unknown, by reason of later Discoveries, have been more than ordinarily ambitious to derive their descent from the so much famed *Trojans*. The flattering Heralds are the Poets who have thus blazoned the Coats of *Romans*, *Veneti*, *Britains*, and others. And in later times the *Franks* have by their flatteries been advanced to the same degree of Honour.

2. By these Impostours they are derived, both as to Original and Name, from The Original of one *Francios*, a supposed Son of *Hector*, to do them Honour. But *John Tilius* re-  
garding the *Franks*, and rejects both the Project and the Reason thereof, affirming, that such as fetch their whence so called. Original out of *Germany*, do really, and in truth, contribute more to their Reputation.

tion than those who make them descendants of the *Trojans*. That Countrey having in many respects been more renowned, and deserving more praise for opposing so long a time the warlike *Romans*, and for giving the Mate to that capacious and dreadful Eagle, than that famed City, for being overcome by such weak Opposers. At this day Learning is more prevalent than to suffer such Dreams to pass without contradiction, and therefore all knowing Men know Joyn with *Titus*, in the renunciation of that Title. Yet is there great difference in opinions touching the reason of the Name, and the Original of these *Franks*. Some (besides what we have said of that fabulous *Francion*) derive the Name from *Francus* their first King, who reigned many Years before the Birth of Christ. Others, and those not a few, will have them named *Franks* in the *Teutonic Tongue*, by *Valentinian* the Emperour, from their Courage and Ferocity; some modern Writers hold, that the Name was framed upon occasion, at what time such amongst them, as protested themselves their Leaders and Abettors, in recovering their Liberty, named themselves *Franks*, by which word the *Germans* in their Language, understand such as are free, and void of servitude. *Hotoman*, in his *Franco Gallia*, takes pains by instances to make this good; and *Matharell*, in his Anwer to that Book, (which he terms no better than a scandalous Libel), doth attest to it; and long before them *Aventine* was of the same opinion concerning the Name of the *Franks*. They are also come in the *Teutonic Language*, which *Simeon* is yet given to the *Franks*, being vulgarly called *De Frey Francken*, or in English the *free Franks*.

3. But as the Story of *Francion*, the Son of *Hedor*, hath no other foundation than that of Lyes and Fables, so that of *Valentinian* hath as weak an Argument to support it; for, to say nothing of the Etymology of the word, this People had not only the Name of *Franks*, but as such were very famous, even in *Roman* Writers, before the time of *Valentinian*. Against the Opinion of *Hotoman*, and his Fellows, *Joannes Iacutus Pontanus*, a late most learned Critick, opposeth, that *Frank* p. 172, signifieth free, no more than anciently *Cretan* signified a *Liar*, *Sylvanite* denothet a voluptuous Person, *Cimber* a Thief, to which we may add *Lydian*, by which word was sometimes signified a *Man* very effeminate. For the *Franks* being those who principally above the rest of their Countrymen, contended for Liberty against the *Roman* Encroachments, thence came their Name to be used in this signification, especially amongst the *Galls*; and indeed what *Aventine* cites in behalf of his own opinion, doth really make against it. *Frank* signifying free, in case that the word *Freie* was added to it, in which sense they say at this day the *Vry Freisen*, or the *free Frisians*, whereas if any one should term them *Franchise Freisen*, or *Frank Frisians*, it would quickly be seen, that the word *Frank*, in that idiom, hath not the same force and signification of that of *free*, and consequently apprehend a great difference betwixt them. Neither doth *Procopius*, as he is made to speak by *Hotoman*, say that the *Franks* were first called *Germans*, and then called *Franks*, after they had passed beyond the Limits of their own Country. For he plainly writes that he would explain first how they got this Name, and then how afterwards they invaded *Gal*. And his mistake of *Tacitus* is as great, in thinking that he makes the *Franks* part of the *Carnutes*, for they lived behind the *Rhine*, in the Continent of *Germany*, but then on this side this River, within the Limit of the *Roman Empire*, or rather, as *Pliny* hath it, inhabited within the River *Rhine* it self.

4. Some will have this People called *Franks*, as *frey on cy, or free from Tribute*, signified by the word *cy*, or *Fransi*, that is *Fry Ansi*, which later word, in the *Go-*  
*Hornianus, cap. 9.*  
*Bat. p. 173.*  
*thick Idiome*, denotes those who excell other Men in Fortune and Wealth, in respect whereof *Hansi* and *Ansi* are the Appellations of the greater sort of Nobility only. But *cy* ought to be writ *Cya*, and is not of Teutonic, but Latine Original, being derived from *Censu*. And in writing the word *Fransi*, violence is offered to the word, the latter syllable whereof ought to be spelled *ci*, and not *si*. That Opinion of *Goropius Becanus*, that they were called *Franks*, as *Verranken*, or *Vyrranken*, from the *Palm-trees*, which largely extended themselves; and that of *Lazius*, from the *Frac* of the Hebrews seem too light and sporting to be seriously confuted. There have not been wanting who derive the word from *Freyaneke*, which they interpret *free Servants* in the *Teutonic*. But no opinion is so ridiculous as that of *Turpin*, a Monk, little more elegant in his Writing than his Name, who, in the Life of *Charles the Great*, delivers it for truth, that he who first contributed money to the building of the Church of *St. Denis*, had the name of *Franske*, as if the name had been formerly unknown, and came first into use in the days of that Emperour. Amongst all their Opinions *Pontanus* interposeth his, which he thinketh most congruous to the nature of the thing, as well as the ancient signification of the

word. His opinion is that they were called *Franks*, from a certain Weapon they used, which hath the name of *Francesca* in several Authors. From *Gregory Turonensis* it appears, that this Weapon was wont to be worn as well by Kings as common and ordinary Soldiers. This being more truly writ and pronounced *Franks or Franga*, might by writers not acquainted with the Language, and by other Foreigners be termed *Francia*, and by *Tacitus* corrupted into *France*, which in this Author appears to have been a sort of Weapon peculiar to the *Germans*, and more than that, an Ensign of Respect and honour. None might bear Arms till approved by the City wherein they dwelt. Then in the assembly, either the Prince, the Father, or some other relatinis of the party, adorned the young man with a Target, and this *Francesca*, which was the same with them, as the Gown, among the *Romans*, and the first step to Honour. Now if it be natural that the same way things are constituted, in the same they be dissolved, as taking off Ensigns of Degree and Order, hath ever been used for Degradation, as well as putting them on for Creation, on (as the word explyns it self) Advanciture, then by comparing this manner of Promotion or Creation of Soldiers mentioned by *Tacitus*, viz. by adorning them with this *Francesca*, with what *Gregory Turonensis* mentions of King *Clodius* his Exauctiorizing or caſheiring a certain Soldier, by causing him to cast away his *Francesca*, we may judge them the same kind of Weapon, and to have been in great use and repute, and that for a long time amongst the *Saxons*. It was a sort of Spear or Javelin, whereof the Iron was short and narrow, but so sharp and convenient, that they could either fight therewith *Cominus* at hand strokes, or *Eminis* after the manner of misling Weapons, far off and at a distance.

5. It is certain that several other Authors, (as *Procopius* and *Agathias* as well as others,) make mention though not by the same name, of such a sort of Weapon amongst the *Franks*, and this is to be said in behalf of *Pontanus* his opinion, that these *Franks* might as well receive a name from a certain Spear or Javelin, as the *Saxons* their Countreymen from a Skeeve of Scimiter, which they called *Saxe* in their Language, for that the *Saxons* were thence so called is more probable, being the judgment of most Learned men, than what he infiuceth in the *Quirites of Rome*, and the *Casata* amongst the *Galls*, whereof the former he would have so named from *Quiri* a Spear, and the latter from *Casata* another sort of Weapon, the Etymologies which we have formerly in their due places given of each, seeming altogether as proper both as to name and matter. The formation of the word *Francesca*, he rightly judgeth as easle and natural as those of *Dacicus* from *Dacus*, and *Syricus* from *Syrus*. The Weapon he thinketh might have the name from *Frey* and *Ainke*, *Frey* being *Free*, and *Ainke*, as *Kikanus* tells us, in the old Netherland Dutch, to run in or fatten in, signifying the commodiousness of Fighting, either *Cominus* or *Eminis* with this Instrument. But why may it not be objected out of *Idore*, that the *Franks* were not so named from this *Francesca*, but this *Francesca* from the *Franks*? Doth not *Francesca* seem rather Relative to, and Derivative from *Francus*; than *Francus* a more simple word be derived from *Francesca*? The word seems to father it self, were it not as easie to say a *Frank blade*, or *Francesca Francesca*, (if we amongst others may lawfully spend our Verdict, the adjective *Francesca* having a relation to some other word,) as we say in English, a *Bilboa* Blade, or a *Shefford* or *London* Blade, or for shortness, this is *Bilboa*, &c. The Instrument receiving its name from the Place and People, not the People from the Weapon. Neither doth *Pontanus* his reply at all weaken the objection, viz. That the *Saxons* themselves called the Weapon by the same name. Why not for distinction sake? Would an Inhabitant or Artist in any of those places formerly mentioned, disdain to call the Swords or Knives there made by their proper names? No disgrace is it for a People to own by the mark of its own name, any thing which is the product of its own Industry and Ingenuity. But on the contrary we may shew *Pontanus*, that Nations have been faine, though not to give, yet to take a name from some such accidental thing, some inconiderable Adjunct or other which their Neighbours discovered in them and distinguishing them most by, (as that which appeared to them most remarkable,) did thence at first denominate them. We can easily instance in those which call not themselves by that name whereby their Neighbours know them, which yet the *Franks* never disowned.

6. To conclude this contest about Names, the matter very much in the dark, and not to be clearly discovered by any light we have from Antiquity. Yet what *Pontanus* brings in confirmation of his own opinion, rather makes us esteem and approve than reject, and condemn that of *Hotoman* and his followers. The instance he

**Sect. I.** he maketh in the *Cretians* and *Sibarites* concludeth nothing, for as things in their case have been denominated from persons, (as *Drunkenness* and *Lying*.) yet it is certain that elsewhere persons have been also denominated from things, as is clear in the case of *Names* and *Surnames*, where *Sonship* or *Relation* is not expressed to all who are skilled in ancient *Etymologies*. If the name of *Protestant* from one single act of *Protestation* hath been given to many *Professours* of Religion, though of several Nations, and not altogether of the same *Judgment*, because the nature and remarkablenes of time and affairs was such, as made it fitt where once it fastened, and a convenience of distinction absolutely confirmed it; Can we doubt but upon such an occasion as fighting for *Liberty*, opposing and invading *Enemies*, a profession of publick concernment and *protestation* against the security and laziness of others, might well leave a note upon the agents, and a mark and name upon such as headed an association for the preservation of *Laws*, *Rights* and *Liberty*? Especially amongst a numerous people, such as these Northern Nations were, and that rather than a sort of Spear or other Weapon. His objection that *Franks* without Free, doth not at this day signify Free, is too weak to conclude that it never did so, although in English it self, that sense and signification in some cases still remains. Although *Procopius* his meaning may be that they were called *Franks* before they passed out of their own Country, it concludeth not but there by their profession and indeavours to oppose the Incroachments of the *Romans*, a sufficient occasion might be had to raise this Name. And whether they were part of the *Carinates* or not, it's not very material to the main Question. Let us therefore pass on from the Name to the thing, and see if we can more clearly make out the persons and places of these *Franks*.

**Their Origin from the Trojans how.** 7. Although as we said before, the palate of this age be too quick and sensible to relish, and approve the insulfe and obsolete *Trojan* Title. Yet it will not be amiss to give the Reader taste of it, both for that to recite will be to confute it, and he may judge what gulf they had, who in former times have liked and approved it. *The Original of the Nation of the Franks, saith Abbas Ursprungensis, is to be fetched from the ancient Stock of the Trojans. For at such time as after the Destruction of Troy, Aeneas came into Italy, some of the said Trojan Exiles in like manner arrived at the Marshes of *Mæotis*, which chusing for their Seats, they enlarged their Bounds as far as *Pannonia*. They Built the City *Sicambria*, and there inhabiting very many years, grew into a great Nation and were first of all called *Sicambræ*, for driving away the *Alani* from the Fens of *Mæotis*, *Valentinian* gave them the name of *Franks* with remission of Tribute for ten years. These ten years ended, he sent a certain Captain to them to raise Tribute, but they being of a fierce Nature, disdained to be any longer subject to Tribute and slew the Messengers. Then Reigned amongst them two who bore the ancient names of *Priamus* and *Antenor*. The Emperor being acquainted with their Faction, and too much incensed, commanded all the Roman Forces, with many Extriorious Nations to fight against them. In the Battel, after many had fallen on both sides, the *Franks* at length overpowered in numbers were put to flight, and there was slain *Priamus* their King; departing from *Sicambria* they came into the Countrey of *Germany*, to a Nation the most inveterate against the *Romans*, and inhabited sometimes in *Thuringia* with *Marcomicus* the Son of *Priamus*, and *Sanno* the Son of *Antenor*. The same Story is related by *Aimonius*, *Ado* Archibishop of *Vienna*, *Gaginus* and *Aeneas Sylvius*, only *Sylvius* mentions *Franconia* for their Leader to the Fens of *Mæotis*, and whereas he and *Ursprungensis* say they came thence into *Thuringia* and *Franconia*; *Ado* brings them into the uttermost parts of the *Rhine*.*

8. A story most a-kin of all others, to the British Romance of our *Geoffrey of Monmouth*. If *Aeneas* and *Antenor* secured themselves, and got safe from the Destruction of *Troy*. What Poet, not to say what Historian mentioneth any other? Who ever made mention of any such Son of *Hector*, or any other besides *Ajax* or *Scamander* or *Laomedon*? What Geographer ever found out such a City as *Sicambria* in the Fens of *Mæotis*, or Historian met with their passage from *Troy* into that Countrey? The story of *Valentinian* his treating of them, and their removal into the inner parts of *Germany*, as is true as that he first gave them the name of *Franks*, and such a fardle of lies as none converstant in the Histories of those times can bear. Not one Author or testimony can they produce for such an affirmation, but violate all order of times, making them so named first by *Valentinian*, and to have first passed into *Germany* in his time, whereas we can shew their name was known above one hundred and sixty years before, and they inhabited toward the lower parts of the *Rhine*, below *Colein* in the days of *Gaius* the Emperor. In the time of this *Valentinian*, who began his Reign about the year of our Lord four hundred

hundred and twenty. The *Alani* whom the *Franks* are said to have Expelled, lived not near the Marshes of *Mæotis*, but in the inner parts of *Germany*. In the *Chronicon* of *Proper* published by *Pittheus*, we meet indeed with one *Priamus*, but this is no other than *Priamus* mentioned by *Ammianus Marcellinus* as we shall see hereafter. And whatsoever some produce concerning the Ruines of a City *Sicambria* near *Buda*, can alledge no greater Antiquity than the days of *Tiberius Caesar*, during whose Reign *Sabinus Poppeus* making War against the *Iberians*, was affited by the *Cohorts Sicambria* as they seem to have read it, whereas *Tacitus* from a mis-<sup>Annal. lib. 4.</sup> understanding and wresting, of whom this fable is thought to be raised, calls it *Cohors Sugambra* which can make nothing for their purpose. *BRUNNUS* in *Historia* *part. 2.*

Their Seats where.

9. The opinion of *Johannes Goropius Becanus* is half as extravagant, who denying them to be the Posterity of the *Trojans*, or to have travelled from that Countrey, yet maketh them Originally of the Fens of *Mæotis*, and thinks them the same that *Herodotus* mentions by the name of *Free Scytha*. This his opinion he framis upon no argument, but a very weak conjecture of their free and large Extentation, and propagation of themselves after the manner of Vines, upon which idle conceit he derives their name from *Vercancker* or *Uryancken*. As to the time and way of their March and Travel from the Marshes of *Mæotis*, he neither produceth any thing out of Antiquity, nor pretendeth any knowledge thereof, confessing his ignorance, and therefore as an idle fancy, his conceit is to be exploded. *John Bodin Method. Hist.* a very Learned Frenchman, but one who careth as little to make false flourishes, and use adulterate Colours, to set off the lustre of his own, as to cast Discredit upon other Nations, denieth the *Franks* to have been the off-spring of the *Trojans*. And yet by strange ambages and wrested methods in conclusion deriveth them from that Original. That he may elude the testimony of *Tacitus*, who affirms the *Germans* to have been *Indigenæ*, and least of all others mixed by the Inodes of other Nations, he makes a retreat and fetcheth all sorts of people from the *Caledoniæ*, in the Countrey of whom or near unto it, he supposeth the Ark of *Noe* to have refled. Betaking himself to *Moyses* and the *Rabbins*, he layeth it down for granted, that the most fertile Countries were first inhabited, whence after mankind increased, Colonies were afterwards sent into more waste and barren places. Hence he gathereth that *Afia* and *Greece* were first peopled e'er the Northern places were replenished with Inhabitants; and thence concludeth, that the *Galls* received their Original from the *Greeks* and *Trojans*, and those fame *Galls* overpowered in proofs of force with multitudes, and straitened by the narrownes of their Countrey, sent Colonies into *Germany* beyond the *Rhine*, from which Colonies being Inhabitants of *Franconia Orientalis* and Neighbouring unto *Gall*, he will have his *Franks* to have issued, and afterwards Conquered their ancient Countrey. And he takes that *Franconia Orientalis* beyond the *Rhine* for part (at least,) of those most fertile places of *Germany* wherof *Cæsar* speaks, occupied by Colonies of the *Galls* about the *Her* <sup>De bello Gallico, lib. 6.</sup> linian Wood.

10. *Cæsar* indeed hath such a passage, concerning the *Galls* sending Colonies into *Germany*, but so far from affecting that this was done into void places, that he expressly faith that they had Wars with the Inhabitants, and that the *Volca Tectosages* seized upon those most fertile places, which indeed least of all could want <sup>Fuit tempus cum Galli virtus superba ultra bellum infernum ac per omnia multipli erat. Argenteum trans Rhenum copias militares, teque equae fertillissima loca circum Hircinum sylvam quoniam Eratibus qui quondam ad illas secesserunt et secesserunt illi Ercincum appellaverunt. Tectosages post Remagum transire possunt. Ager ibi confunditur. rursus inter Apenninum & Padum</sup> Colonies. If we granted as we readily shall, that the *Galls* sent Colonies into *Germany*, certainly he shall not constrain us to admit, that the Germans were the Posterity of the *Galls*, more than the *Italians*, *Grecians*, and *Astacicks* into the Countries of whom we reade that they sent out also many Colonies. But what trust is there to be given to *Bodin*, or what shall we think of his Causa, which must stand in need of not only true but false and feigned Stories to maintain it? He cannot be content with a few Examples which *Cæsar* and *Tacitus* supply him with, but must draw in *Polybius* to his Party, and primo *Avanes* <sup>pol. Boii inde E-</sup> make his Noble Author speak that which he never said nor meant. Citing a passage out of the third Book of his Histories, that the *Boii*, *Eganei*, *Senones*, and *Avanes* passed over out of *Gall* into *Germany*, whereas it is most certain from the *divisitiam* <sup>gales post Remagum transire possunt. Ager ibi confunditur. rursus inter Apenninum & Padum</sup> *Avanes* passed into *Germany* but *Italy*, and as for both *Germani* <sup>rum summis in-</sup> *many* and the *Rhine*, they were utterly unknown to *Polybius*. His fancy that *Ger-* <sup>coluntur, lib. 2.</sup> *many*

many was peopled from *Gall*, is not framed upon any Authority. It's probable they might both be inhabited by the same People, being both known by the name of *Celti* of old, and if *Strabo* be credited, the *Germans* being so called by the *Romans*, because they seemed the *Germanae* or true Brethren of the *Galls*. Certainly it is agreed on by most, that their Languages were Originally the same as in due place may be discovered.

11. But the Gallick Language was not the same with the Greek, if we may believe *Varro*, the most learned both of *Greeks* and *Romans* who affirm, that the *Massilienses* or Inhabitants of *Massilia* in Provençal speak three Languages, Greek, Latin, and the Gallick consisting of, or bordering on, so many Nations. For first Colonies of the *Phoenicians* were thither sent out of *Greece*, then afterwards was a Colony from *Rome* there placed, and the *Galls* if not mixed with them, yet were their next Neighbours, which vicinity and a consequent intercourse must needs teach them the Gallick Tongue. But *Bodin* in deriving the *Franks* from the *Galls*, and bringing them out of *Franconia* where he will have the *Tectosages* to have taken up their Seats, is out both in his Geography and Chronology, for they first inhabited about the lower parts of the *Rhine*, lower than the Coloniae of the *Ubii*, where *Cæsar* and *Ptolemy* both place the *Sicambri*, then afterwards after many attempts Wars and alterations, having brought under all betwixt the *Rhine* and the *Meuse* with those about *Strasbourg*, the *Vangiones* and *Nemores*, they invaded *Thuringia* and *Franconia*, called afterwards Oriental or Eastern in relation to the *Wester*, which at this day is called *France*, whither as well as to other places they extended their Victorious Arms. Seeing therefore that before the very name of the Eastern *Franconia* was heard of, the name and people of the *Franks* inhabiting their most ancient Seats were very well known to the *Romans*, it ill becomes one who pretends to write a method and direction to others so far to forget himself, and to confound times in such a manner, either through ignorance, or more probable wilfulness. As for his *Tectosages*, it cannot be at all probable that they should do such Exploits in the World, whom *Cæsar* witnesseth in his time to have been content with the possessions they had already gotten; whereas the *Sicambri*, *Suevi*, and others were formidable to all, both *Romans* and their Neighbours. *Beatus Rhenanus* his Opinion is rather to be admitted, who thinks they were seated upon the River *Nicer*, where as yet remains an old Castle called *Teck*, retaining the first Syllable of the Name, that People which some rationally Conjecture was the Remnants of those *Galls*; *Florus*, l. 2. c. 11. *Plinius*, l. 5. c. 32. who pierced into *Greece* and *Bithynia*, called by *Stephanus Tolosibogus*, who are sometimes confounded with the *Tectosages*. In Conclusion, for what *Bodin* brings us out of *Ammianus* and *Cæsar*, we may repay him with Interest out of the same Authors, who tell us, that the *Galls* were partly *Indigenæ*, and partly came out of *Germany* from beyond the *Rhine*; either driven by War, or forced from their Seats by the Incroachments of a troublesome Sea.

*Vid. Pontani Or. gin. Frans. lib. 2. 6.*

*confusissæ & trahit trans Rhenum, &c.*

12. As this Frenchman out of his inclination to his own Country, makes Authors and Books speak that they never intended, so most German Writers out of the same Propension, will needs have *Franconia* the most ancient Seat of the *Franks*; and some of them for that purpose, make nothing of wrefting a place of *Horatius* of *Strabo*, where *Belyvax* lying betwixt *Norici* and *Vindelici*, they will needs constrain to signify *Franks*. But for *Belyvax*, in that place they ought to reade *Belyvax*, as more agreeable to certain places in *Horace* and *Pliny*, and it's evident from *Florus*, that both the *Norici* and *Brenni* were People living about the *Alps*, and so nothing a-kin to the *Franks*. Neither can *Melanobion* and *Pener*, possibly gather from those words of *Strabo*, that the *Brenni* inhabited betwixt the *Norici* and *Vindelici*, his words being these; *The Vindelici and Norici posses the exteriour Mountainous places for the most part, with the Brenni and Genanni, who now belong to the Illyrici*: So that their sight did much deceive them, who not being content to reade *Brenni* in the Room of *Brenni* and *Franci* instead of it, make also so strange a Transposition of places. Against these Opinions as well as others, which being of less moment it would be both tedious and needless to relate, it might suffice to oppose that of *Procopius*, which affects the Country by the *Franks* first inhabited, to have lain almost at the Mouth of the *Rhine*; where were many Marsh Grounds. And that generally the *Panegyristis* in their Orations, tell of the Piracies exercised by the *Franks*, so that they must needs, not only have lived near to the Mouth of the *Rhine*, but upon the Northern Ocean also, and as the *Panegyrick* *in. t.*

to

to *Constantine* the Great phræfeth it, the farthermost Barbarian shores. To be Sect. I. *Europius* speaking concerning *Carausius*, tells us, that at *Bologna* in *Gall*, he undertook to scoure the Seas on the Coasts of *Belgium* and *Armoricæ*, which the *Franks* and *Saxons* by their naval Expeditions had infested. *Agathias* however, *Pontani. orig. Frans. c. vii p. 22.* in other things testifies that they lived about the *Rhine*. An old Chronicle belonging to *Holland*, written in *Rhyme* almost four hundred years agoe, speaking *Inter Scennes* of them before they Conquered *Gall* called them *Rhine Franken*. But St. *Hier.* *Alemans gen. non tam latia quam valida apud Historicos Germania nunc Francia vocatur in vita Hilarionis Strong. by Historians called Germany, but at this day Francia.*

13. For underlanding this place of St. *Hierome*, and clearing the Ambiguity of the word *Germany*; it's seafonable to remember, that whatsoever lies betwixt the lower part of the *Rhine* and the River *Elbe*, and betwixt the Ocean and the *German Catti*, *Tacitus* the Historian calleth simply by the Name of *Germany* or *Germanes*, without any distinction of Superior or Inferior. He tells us, speaking *Annal. l. 1.* of the Death of *Varus*, and the slaughter of the Legions that the *Germanes* revolted, which word can be taken for no other, than that Tract of ground now mentioined. In another place, he brings in *Tiberinus* speaking of his Brother *Drujus*, and saying, that in no place except *apud Germanias* was the Title of a General, and a *Apud principium Agri Batavi* laurel to be obtained. Neither can he be otherwise understood, where he describes the River *Rhine* flowing in one Chanel, till it come to the Borders of the *Agri Batavi*, *qui dividit ferme eum in duas*, *utique nonne & Barbiorum its Name, and the violence of its Course, as it passeth by Germany flowing to-wards Gallicum fœnam, in a broader and a gentler Stream*. In this Tract of Land *ad Gallicam rivem prævehiuit* called *Germany*, by a peculiar Name did the *Franks* inhabit, betwixt the *Saxons* and *Alemans*. For on the North and North East were the *Saxons*, the *Suevi* and *Alemans* posseſſed whatsoever lies about the River *Meyne*, and the Southern part of the *Rhine*, almost as far as the *Danow*; whereupon the *Franks* must have been feated at the Western part of *Germany*, and of the *Rhine*. The *Saxons* therefore lay at their Backs, and the *Suevi* with the *Alemans*, cloſed their Eastern and Southern sides. *Orofus* tells us, that the *Saxons* being feared on the flooars of the Ocean, and unpassable Marshes, and making a dangerous Eruption into the *Roman* Borders, were in the Territories of the *Franks* overthrown by *Valentinian*. St. *Hierome* in the *Chronicon of Eusebius* at the Year of our Lord 389, notes that the *Saxons* were beaten at *Deuson* the Region of the *Franks*, which paſſage *Ammianus* who served under *Valentinian* at that time, placeth to the third Consulship of that Emperour, and his Brother *Valens*. *Pontanus* rationally conceiveth this *Deuson* the fame, which succeeding Historians called *Duisfum*, at this day *Duyts* standing over against *Colone*; where long agoe a ſtone was found in a Monastery, with an inscription importing that Fortres was placed in the Land of the *Franks* by the Emperour *Constantine*, wherein Souldiers were to lie in Garrifon for the defence of *Gall*.

14. *Johannes Jacobus Chiftetus*, a learned Physician of *Brussels* will have this place to be now called *Duisfum*, ſituate on the other ſide of the *Rhine*, about *Colonia Trajana* (a Village of *Cleve* at this day called *Kellen*) but *Micæus* in his *Chronicon of Belgum*, interprets *Deuso* as *Pontanus* doth in Latine *Tintinum*, and *Duyts* in the Language of the place. Whether it was thus or that: The Provincial Chart which *Beatus Rhenanus* faith he ſaw at *Azburg* in the hands of *Conradus Penter*, and drawn in the Reign of the later Emperours, reconcilieh the difference. This Chart or Table published by *Ortelius* at *Antwerpe*, through the Care and Industry of *Marsus Velurus*; bath from the Mouths of the *Rhine* as far as *Colone* all along (the ſaid River designed ſo plainly, as well may be imagined) from the part of the great or Western *Germany*, this word *Francia* Characterized by Capital Letters, and towards the Mouths of the *Rhine* and the Northern Ocean, these *Chamani qui & Franci*, and *Chauci Vaphuarii Chrepissini*, *Gregory Turonensis* *lib. 2.* makes the *Franks* opposite to *Nineſum* (or as *Micæus* hath it *Nonſum*) a Town now called *Nuys*, and ſeated upon the *Rhine*, as also to *Colone*, or the Colony of *Agrippina*. *Aminius* alſo exprefly writeth, that *Cledio* the ſecond King of the *Franks* from *Pharamond*, held his Court at *Dysparmum*, the ſame Town which *Chiftetus* takes for *Deuso*, called at this day *Duisfum*, and ſeated betwixt *Wefel* and *Dyſfeldorp*. For all the Nations whatſoever, inhabiting over againſt the Sun-fetting, betwixt the Rivers *Rhine* and *Elbe*, though amongst themselves, they had their particular and diſtinguiſhing Names; yet generally, and taken all together, were at this time called by that of *Franks*.

S f

15. It's

**Sect. I.** 15. It's certain, that these *Franks* amongst ancient Authors sometime go under the Name of *Sicambris*, other whiles of *Chauci*, and *Chamani*: As for the *Sicambris*, both *Suetonius* and *Tacitus* tell us, that *Augustus Cæsar* translateth them into *Gall*, yet *Strabo* witnesseth that in his time, they were not quite and altogether removed out of *Germany*, saying expressly, that a little portion of them remained, and that they and the *Cimbri*, were most known of all the Nations inhabiting betwixt *Elbe* and the *Rhine*. Their Seat was probably, where at this day are the Territories of *Arheim*, and *Velania* (especially where it joyns upon the River *Ijda*, now *Izel*) reaching farther towards *Coloine*, and stretching out wide as far as the Rivers *Lupia* (now *Lippe*) and *Rura* whereof that wassing the Walls of *Wezel* falls into the *Rhine*, and this mixeth it's stream with the same River at *Duisburg*. But *Strabo* not only placeth these *Sicambris* upwards upon the *Rhine*; but maketh them stretch also as far as the Ocean, which seemeth manifestly to contradict the Geography of *Tacitus*, who placeth the *Frisii* upon the Maritime Coast, from *Rhine* or *Izel*, as far as the *Chauci*. Yet must we stick to the Letter of *Strabo*, and with *Pontanus* easily suppose that in the time of that Geographer, and of *Cæsar* the Name of *Frisii* was unknown, and the same People known by the other of *Sicambris*, which was then so Famous as to strike Terror into the Romans themselves. The words of *Strabo* do not a little confirm this Opinion, who makes mention of *Melo* a Captain of *Sicambris*, whose Name is no other than *Frisian*, as appears by several others, as *Bomones*, *Poppones*, *Faniones* and *Miliones*, and as *Ubbo Enimus* a learned Historian hath evinced in his own Name. Neither doth *Tacitus*, seem at the least to weaken this Conjecture, from whom it is evident the Name of *Frisii* became famous in the Reign of *Tiberius*, upon the miscarriage of *Apronius*.

The *Chauci* where.

16. The *Chauci* had their Habitation from *Amasis* (or *Ems* all along the shore as far as *Elbe*) *Ptolemy* divideth them into greater and lesser, whereof these inhabited the shore betwixt *Amasis* and *Visurgis* (now *Wefer*) and they that Tract lying beyond this River as far as the *Elbe*, so that *Tacitus* who maketh them to extend within the *Carti*, admires they should possess and fill so much Ground. The *Chamani* some call by the Name of *Camani*, by some thought the same with the *Campenfors* or *Campani*, at this time differing only in one Letter; now to come to our purpose. Poets do not only call the *Franks* by the Name of *Sicambris*, but their Country, or *Francia*, also by that of *Sicambris*, as is notorious in *Claudian* and others. *Aufonius* includes them, in the other of *Chamani*: But all things considered, it's Judged that the *Sicambris* were the true and Germine Mother People (as one may say) of the *Franks*. First, if we consider the situation of both, as well the one as the other, having inhabited both the Banks of the River *Rhine* to the *Weft*, and the shores of the Ocean whence they had such opportunity of Piracy, that the *Franks* not only therewith infected *Spain*, but vexed and plundered *London* the Metropolis of *Britain*, by their Incursions from their Ships, as the *Paganiz* in many words expresseth it to *Maximin*, their Predecessours having in the time of *Probus* roved about the Coasts of *Greece*, *Asia* and *Africk*, whence they were driven back by the Garrison Souldiers of *Carthage*. Secondly, if we consider the Authority of the Ancients, not only those of *Claudian*, and others formerly mentioned. *Trithemius*, the Abbat, makes mention of the saying of *Remigius* the Bishop, engraven in a Marble and extant at *Rhemes*, who speaking to *Clodonius* King of the *Franks* being about to be baptized, used these words, *Mitis depona colla Sicamber*, or *O Sicamber, gently put down your Neck*; which passage *Gregory Turmenensis* confirmeth, mentioning the very same words, but adding thereto, *Adora quid incendisti & incende quod adorasti: Adore what thou didst formerly burn, and burn what thou didst formerly adore*. And *Venantius Fortunatus* an Author, rather more ancient, who flourished about the 570 year of our Lord, calleth *Charibert* King of the *Franks*, by the Appellation also of *Sicamber*. Neither do the several dispositions of each Nation compared together leſs perjuade, concerning the same Original. *Strabo* noteth the Deceitfulness of the *Sicambris*, and *Vopiscus* taxeth *Franks* with unfaithfulness. The *Sicambris* were so dreadfull to the Romans, that *Augustus*, having composed all other differences throughout the World, yet delayed to shut the Temple of *Janus*, because they committed some Hostility against the *Galls*, and their Neighbours upon the *Rhine*. No less terrible, in following Ages, were the *Franks* not only to the Neighbouring *Saxons* and *Alemans*, but the Romans themselves, which *Egonardus* Chancellour to *Charles the Great* testifieth to Poesy; writing also a Proverb, that, *One should chuse a Frank for a Friend, but not for a Neighbour*: We might add much concerning their Apparel, their man-

*Confite Pontanus  
num ut supra.  
lib. 2. c. 5.*

ner of Living, the Adornment of their Bodies, especially the wearing of their Hair. But these things in another place will be more convenient.

17. But having been so large in these former Discoveries, we cannot well pass the matter over, without taking notice of a more late Division of our *Franks* into several Tribes or Divisions, *Ansuarii* and *Salii*, as we have them marked out A division of the by *Amianus Marcellinus*. *Pontanus* thinks them the same with the *Ansuarii*, *Franki* into *Ansuarii* and *Salii*. whereof *Tacitus* maketh mention, who having beaten out of their Habitats by the *Chauci*, got Possession of those Territories, out of which the *Frili* had been driven by Command of *Nero*. The Historian calleth them a more powerful Nation, than that of *Frili*. And *Pontanus* judgeth them to have been a People without any certain place or Possession, ready to joyn themselves to any other as they could find it Advantageous. That by Virtue of this Principle at such time as the remanders of the *Sicambris*, and the other *German* Nations lying toward the Northern Ocean, changed their former and ancient Names for the more honourable Name of *Franks*, these *Ansuarii* being given to Arms, willingly associated themselves with the said *Franks*, jointly to assert their ancient Liberty against any whomsoever, and hereupon, though received as Partakers in the common chance of War and Fortune, yet did they so far still receive their old and honourable Name, that they would be called *Ansuarii Franci*; whether one might not gather from this passage of *Pontanus*, that his Judgment at the writing thereof was for the Name of *Franks* to be derived from their profession of freedom, rather than a sort of Weapon, as in another place he expresseth himself, we leave it to the Reader to judge. But these *Ansuarii* were inrolled amongst the *Roman Auxiliaries*, bearing in the *Notitia* of the Empire read *Arupinarii*, and reckoned among the *Palatine Guards*.

18. What the Original of these *Ansuarii* was, seeing Antiquity is therein silent, and whence they had their Name, we can only conjecture. The Etymology of the word seemeth to point at something extraordinary, which, if it be written *Hanuarrii*, with an aspiration, a thing neglected and omitted both by *Greeks* and *Romans*, then it berokeneth some thing noble and excellent, *Hans* in the *Teutonick* and *Gotrick Idiome*, signifieth those who in Fortune and Riches excelled other Mortals, as being rather of an Heroick Nature, and transcending the ordinary bounds of humane capacity. *Jornandes* faith expressly, that the *Goths* having overthrown the *Romans*, and slain *Frasces* their Captain, named their Noblemen, as those who had conquered Fortune it self, not mere Men, but Demy Gods, that is to say, *Hanes*. Neither is this signification of the word wholly at this day abolished, signifying also such Gentle or Noble Men as are elevated above the common and ordinary sort. *Anselm*, *Ansbrect*, *Ansfried* and *Ansfried*, seem to challenge no other Original, as neither the *Teutonick Hanse*, or the *Hanse Towns of Germany* associated and united, as it were, with the League and Oath of the *Ansuarii*. This Etymology much more suiteth those Towns than either that of *Anzee*, as it were *situatae upon the Sea*, seeing that most of them are at a considerable distance from the Ocean, or the other of *Gorpius Becanus*, who will have them derived from *Anse*, signifying Society, from the German word *Anse to look back*. For it appears by sufficient Testimony, that the *Ansuarii* were, both as to their Nation, and by reason of their Arms, Men of Reputation, but though in one Society scattered here and there, without any certain Seat or Habitation, and so are these Towns separated far from one another, four of them only are Metropolitical, *Lubec*, *Dantwick*, *Brunswick* and *Colen*, yet seventy two they are reckoned in number, many other famous Towns having been of old time joyned with them in the communication of Rights and Privileges.

19. And *Salii* were the other sort of *Franks*, who having invaded *Taxandria*, (now *Brabant*, the place where we refide at the writing hereof) lying betwixt the Rivers *Meuse* and *Sceld*, were driven back by *Julian* out of these Roman Territories into their own place, as *Amianus* relateth. Some, as *Beatus Rhenanus*, derive them from a River *Sala*, which falls into the *Meyne*. Others, as *Paulus Aemilia*, fetch them from *Sala*, which empties it self into *Elbe*. But *Pontanus* rationaly concludeth, that from neither of these *Sala*'s could the *Franks* be so denominated, because the one runs through *Thuringia*, and the other through *Francia*, (afterward so called) whereof a great part of the former, and all, or most, of the latter, were at that time held and possessed by the *Alemans*, *Amianus* hinting as much, where he writes, that the *Bucinobantes*, a Nation of the *Alemans*, inhabited over against *Mozuntiacum*, or *Mentz*, near to the *Alemans* the *Burgundiones* inhabited in their ancient times, it being out of the Road of all true Antiquity to suppose the *lib. 19.* *Franks*

**Sect. I.** *Franks* then held any part of these Countries, their Seat being Westward, and lower down upon the *Rhine*, which appears partly from the same *Ammianus*, who adds, that whilst *Julian* was busie against the *Alemans*, the *Franks* taking that opportunity from their own Seats, over against *Colein*, passed the *Rhine*, and fell upon *Juliacum* (now *Juliers*) and the *Rhemni* or *Rheims* in *Champagne*. It is not worth the while to relate how *Sidonius Apollinaris* derives the word from the Latine *Salio*, as if their Leaping and dancing had procured this appellation. But much more extravagant is that of *Goropius Bacanus*, who, according to his Custome of strange allusions, will have them named *Salii*, from *Sala*, the Ornaments of Horses, or from *Sadell*, as it is in Dutch, or *Saddle* in English, as if they first had invented and fitted it to Horses.

20. That is most rational which *Pontanus* brings of the *Salii* being so denominated from the River *Sala*, at this day called *Ijala*, or *Ijel*, near, or upon, which they inhabit. Hence is also to be deduced the name of *Sallanda*, or the Country lying beyond this River *Ijel*, it signifying no more but the Land or Territory of *Sala*. *Zorimus* the Historian speaking of *Julian*, by occasion, maketh mention <sup>Lib. 3.</sup> of the *Salii*, who being part of the *Franks*, and driven by the *Saxons* from their Seats, passed over into the Island of the *Batavii*, bordering upon them. And *Claudian* the Poet makes them to have inhabited upon the *Rhine*, and where it divides itself into two branches, over against which place that River of *Sala*, or *Ijel* floweth; so that the Country of these *Salii* not only comprehended what as yet bears the Name of *Solland*, but took up also part of that we now call *Westphalia*. These *Salii* also, as well as the *Arufinarii*, were enrolled amongst the *Palatine Auxiliaries*. But from all the disquisitions laid together, we may take a short view of the ancient Seat of our *Franks*, and conclude with *Pontanus*, the old *Francia*, comprised not only all the space beyond and over against *Colonia Ubiomum*, (or *Coulemeis*) betwixt the *Rhine* and the ancient *Sala*, (the old Seat of the *Sicambri Rhenenfis*) at this day taking in part of *Westphalia*, and the Dukedom of *Cleve*, but also the whole *Transfusania*, and what ground ever, as far almost as the utmost *Chanci*, *Tenuerti*, *Tubantes* and *Bructeri*, both the greater and lesser *Phrygians* possessed, which at this time are called *Zaphenians*, *Drenterians*, *Tuentenians*, the *Western* and *Eastern Frieslanders*, a large, ample Territory, and inaccessible of old time, by reason of Fens and Woods about the River *Vijurgis*, now commonly called the *Weber*. Neither was there any other *Franks*, or *France*, known to *Tribellus Pollio*, *Vopifus*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Eutropius*, *Aufonius* and *Clandian*, Poets, the most ancient Author of *Pentingers Table*, or other Historians, Geographers, or Panegyrists, to the Age of *Valentinian* the third.

21. Having discovered their Original and ancient Seat, we shall now take notice of such Affairs as the meanness of their Condition by degrees presents unto us. And by the way, though we seek for truth and reality, yet we cannot but take a little notice of the Romantic stories which are dependents of their *Trojan Pedegree*. *Hunibaldus* is the blazoner of these false pretended Titles, who though by content of all judicious and understanding Men he be accounted no other than what he is, fabulous even to Barbarian, yet some have not been wanting to receive, publish and cry up his Lyes, and amongst the rest, *Trithemius*, the *Spanheimer* Abbat, who as his great admirer, epitomized eighteen Books of his Histories, and fears not to call him the *Solid Historiographer of the Franks*. But the Fountain of *Trojan Vanities* is of such a depth, that it hath afforded matter for all sorts of Cheaters, thence to draw and obtrude upon the World, out of which abyſſ many, both French *Funciūs*, German Writers, following the Dictates of their Master *Hunibaldus*, derive <sup>etc.</sup> a Series of French and *Sicambrian* Kings, ancienter not only than the Age of Christ, but that of *Alexander the Great*. Of these Kings they make two Ranks, some being *Boſpharians*, and of the Race of the *Trojans*, who, being accounted strangers, were reckoned amongst the *Sicambi* by the *Germans*. He that leads the dance is *Marcomir*, in whose Reign the *Trojan Scythia* (afterward *Franks*) descended through the Country of the *Saxons* into *Germany*, and near the mouths of the *Rhine*, (where now the *Westfrieslanders*, those of *Gueledrland* and *Holland* do inhabit) four hundred and twelve years before the Birth of Christ, died in the twenty eighth of his Reign, and twenty one after their descent into *Germany*. After him, in good rank and order, follows his eldest Son *Marcomir*, in the Year of the World 3500, who deserves special notice to be taken of him by us, because he married, you must know, *Cambra*, the Daughter of *Belinus*, one of our *Geffrey of Monmouth's Kings of Britain*, from which Woman the People was called *Sicambri*.

22. After

**Sect. I.** 22. After him those *Sicambrian* Kings took their places. *Priamus*, one of *Trojan Race*, *Heleus*, *Dioles*, a most doughty Champion against *Goths* and *Galls*, *Heleus* the second, who being good for nothing, was forced to give his Diadem, and resign his Chair to his Brother *Bafanus*, a very brave Man, who built the Castle *Bafambucum*, in the Country of *Juliers*. Him followed *Clodomirus Nicanor*, *Marcomirus* the Second, *Clodius*, *Antenor* the Second, another *Clodomirus*, *Merodacus*, *Cassander*, and *Anbarius*, who brings up the rere of this first Rank or Order. His Son *Francus* begins the Second, from whom our *Sicambi* were named *Franks*, who making a perpetual League with the *Germans*, *Saxons* and *Doringi*, the *Romans*, were so affrighted therewith, that they sent an Army against the *Saxons*, the Leader of which, *Lolius*, was slain by *Clodio*, the Son of *Francus*, as *Lazius*, *Functius*, and others, tell the story. *Clodio*, or *Clogio*, as well he deserved, succeeded his Father, in whose tenth year, they tell, our Saviour Christ was born, and who stoutly demeaned himself against *Tiberius* the Emperor. He was succeeded by *Heumerus* his Son, whom followed *Marcomirus*, *Clodomirus*, *Antenor*, *Ratherus*, who, after many Wars against the *Galls*, built *Rotterdam*, (rather *Ratherodam*) and so we are to him beholden for *Erasmus*, that three-tongued *Coryphaeus*, as *Lazius* calls him. Next comes *Richimerus*, who fought stoutly against the *Galls* and *Romans*; after him *Odemaris*, who took truce with the *Emperor*, *Marcomirus*, by whom *Frankfurt* was built, or rather, now named, being formerly called *Helenopolis*, A.D. 149. After him are reckoned *Clodomirus*, *Pharabertus*, *Sunno*, *Hildericus*, in whose time it became a Proverb, *Das ist ein gut all Franchisc werck*, because then our *Franks* applied their minds to building. Then did *Bartherus* take the Sceptre, in whose tenth Year, when the *Romans* under *Galienus* had given themselves up to Idiene's and Luxury, the *Franks* undertook an Expedition into *Italy*, destroying all with Fire and Sword as far as *Ravenna*. And afterward assited by the *Saxons* and *Barbarians*, they invaded *Gall*, whence marching by *Tungeren*, and so through the *Bellonaci*, or *Beannieſn*, beyond the *Seine*, they passed with flying Colours into *Spain*.

23. The next King in order was *Clodio*, during whose Reign the *Franks*, for the space of seven years, possessed a great part of *Gall*, about the Year of our Lord 298. Him followed *Waltherus Dagobert*, and another *Clodio*, who fighting valiantly against the *Romans*, was slain on this side the *Muse*, A.D. 319. He was succeeded by his Brother *Clodomir*, in whose time the *Thoringi* offered the *Franks* a large part of their Country, lying betwixt them and the *Suevi* on condition of being protected against Invasions and Injuries of these potent Neighbours. The *Franks* closing with this offer, about thirty thousand armed Men, with their Families, departed into this new Country, under conduct of *Genebalodus*, the King's Brother, with that condition, that this Colony should ever remain in obedience under command of the *Franks*. And so began the Dukedom of the *Oriental Franks*, who were governed four hundred and fourteen years by twenty Dukes, descended of the same Stock successively. But after *Clodomir* followed *Richimir* his Son, in whose time a fight was fought betwixt the *Franks* and the *Romans*, under conduct of *Tiberianus*, A.D. 338. Next *Richimir* came *Theodomir*, who in the Tenth Year of his Reign was, together with his Mother, taken by the *Romans*. At this time the Kings of the *Franks* dwelt in the borders of the *Tingri*, beyond the River *Muse*, in a Castle anciently called *Duispergi*, from the Borders of the *Franks* the *Galls* inhabited as far as the River *Ligori*, or *Lire*, beyond which reigned the *Goths*. After him came *Clodio*, in whose time *Julian* had War with the *Alemans*, and the *Franks* possessed *Gall*, as far as the River *Seine*, and *Valentinian* fought with the *Saxons* in their Borders, on this side *Odera*, not far from the Sea.

24. The next in order was *Marcomirus*, during whose Reign *Jubalchus*, with fifteen thousand *Franks*, was cut off in *Aremoria*, or *Little Britain*, by *Maximus the Tyrant*. And *Marcomir* himself was slain, A.D. 393, by the *Romans*, who invaded the *Franks* under Conduct of *Valentinian*. After him (who left no Son behind him) was his Brother *Dagobert* created *Interrex*, in whose time *Valentinian* named them *Franks*, rather for their Fierceness than their Liberty. The second *Interrex* was *Genebalod*, after whom *Pharamond*, the Son of *Marcomirus*, Duke of the *Oriental Franks*, was preferred to the Kingdom, A.D. 419. His Son *Clodio* reigned twenty Years, and having invaded *Gall*, died in the Year 446. His Son *Merionius* having governed with much honour, died A.D. 458, though *Jornandes* and *Sigonius* place his Death at the Year 455. Him succeeded *Hildericus*, who warred with the *Alemans*, who then inhabited betwixt *Italy* and the *Suevi*, and died in the Year 484, or, as *Sigonius* hath it, 481. Lastly, after him reigned *Clodonaes* thirty

Sect. 1. thirty Years, who overthrew the *Alemans*, and being baptized by *Romigius*, died in the Year of our Lord 514. Hitherto *Trithemius* extendeth the History of those Kings which *Hunibaldus* had digested into eighteen Books, from whom also he affirms, that those *Franks* in the City of *Troy* spake the Language of that Country, in *Scythia* the *Scythian* Language, in *Germany* the *German* Tongue, and in *Gallia* that of *Gall*, in like manner as *Aeneas* at *Troy* spake the *Trojan* Dialect, and in *Italy* the *Italian* Language.

25. Though *Trithemius*, with his Companions, *Laxius*, *Beroaldus*, *Rofniocu*, and others, give credit to those tales, induced, as they imagine, by the Antiquity of *Hunibaldus*, the broacher of them, who as they believe him, himself flourished in the days of *Clodoveus*, five hundred Years only after Christ, yet can they bring no Evidence, only his single Testimony, which in a Man's own behalf is not to be regarded. On the contrary, it is objected against him, that besides the stalenes of the *Trojan* Project, which at the first sight the wifel Men are apt to reject, there are very probable, not to say pregnant, Arguments against his Antiquity. It is *Vid. Poman.* *Orig. Franc.* *lb. 3. cap. 3.* alledged, that his style was barbarous, and favours not at all of that Elegancy which yet, in that Age, the Latine Tongue retains, as appears in *Boetius*, *Sidonius Apollinaris*, and others, of whom he is a pretended Contemporary. His talking of *Roterdam*, that noble Town of *Holland*, discovers the cheat, which being so named from the River *Rota*, or *Rotera*, (as *Amsterdam* from *Amster*, on which it is seated) not yet four hundred years ago, as *Hadrianus Junius*, and others, have observed, he yet mentions *Ratherus*, the pretended founder, his twenty third King in order, whom he buries there in the eighty ninth year of Christ. Who can be so stupid as to believe him, that if this City had been built at that time, by so great and eminent a King as he makes him, *Tacitus*, *Dio*, *Suetonius*, *Pliny*, and the rest of the *Roman* Historiographers, who are very curious in their Remarks upon these *Batavian* Countries, would not both have mentioned the Building of the Town, within the *Roman* Pale, and committed to posterity the Records of so great Exploits, as *Hunibaldus* will have this King to have performed against the *Romans*? It is also a wonder not easily to be removed, that *Gregory Turonensis*, who lived six hundred years after Christ, and consequently was junior to this *Hunibaldus*, who makes such disquisition, and took such pains in searching out any thing that might conduce to the discovery of the Affairs of the *Franks*, the Names and Succession of their Kings, should not in the least mention *Hunibaldus*, nor take notice of a Catalogue of Princes, so elaborate and formally digested.

Compared with  
other Authors.

26. But if we examine a little his particular Stories, we shall find them altogether dissonant to the course of History and Geography, and discover them to be *Chimaera*'s of an idle and impotent Brain. First, he brings *Marcomirus* the King, out of *Scythia*, whereas his Name is merely *German*, and most of those of the same *Classis* no other than plain *Greeks*. He makes him pass through the Territories of the *Saxons* to the Mouths of the *Rhine*, as if the *Scythae* and *Saxons* had been Neighbours, and as if there had been such a Name as that of *Saxons* above four hundred years before the Nativity of Christ. Yet there hangeth a tale by this story. *Ado Vienensis* writes, that in the days of *Valentinian* and *Valens*, the *Franks* passing from *Sicambria* *Meotidie*, came to the utmost parts of the *Rhine*, and there, with their Captains, *Marcomirus* and *Sumo*, took up their Habitation for some Years. Which passage this Impostour hath corrupted to his own Design, placing that several Ages before Christ, which indeed in no Age ever happened. It is very fond Geography for him to place the *Sicambri* near the Mouths of the *Rhine*, where now the *Hollanders*, those of *Gelderland* and *Weissfreiland* inhabite. Who would not imagine that he was contemporary and acquainted with our *Geoffrey of Monmouth*, and that they too made up the match betwixt *Antenor* and *Cambra* the Daughter of *Belinus*, King of *Britain*, from which the *Sicambri* were forsooth so named? They two, and *Berofus*, (whom *Annus of Piterbo* raised from the dead) were certainly Companions, and rare Heralds, in deriving the Pedegrees of People, Cities and Persons, from unknown and unheard of Records. But if they were named *Franks* first from *Francus*, the first King of the second *Classis*, what then becomes of *Francion*, the Son of *Heitor*, from whom they must have been denominated in the *Trojan* times? but as well from the one as the other; for though this *Francus* is supposed to have reigned above thirty seven years before Christ's Nativity, yet at that, and for some time after, the Name of *Franks* was utterly unknown, and that of the *Sicambri* very much flourished, till the latter end of the Reign of *Augustus*, who, under the Conduct of *Tiberius*, translated a part of them that had yielded, from beyond the *Rhine* into *Gall*.

27. His story of *Lollus* is ridiculous above measure, both as to matter of History and Geography. First, it is not probable that the Name of *Saxons* was up at that time, if it were, how could *Lollus* come at them, who yet in the days of *Ptolemy*, the Mathematician, lived beyond the River *Elbe*, without invading and infesting other Nations of *Germany*. But *Lollus* neither invaded *Saxony*, nor obtained any Victory, nor was slain in any Rancounter in these parts, or elsewhere. For as *Dion Cassius* expressly writes, the Battel was fought on this side the *Rhine*, (*Germania Cisbranica*) these Nations of *Germany*, *Sicambri*, *Uspeta* and *Teuderi*, having passed over that River, and circumvented the Person, but Forces of *Lollus*, upon whose preparations for a fresh encounter, they retired into their old places, and *Lollus*, as is evident from *Velleius Paterculus*, was afterwards appointed by *Augustus*, Governour to *Caius Cesar*, his Grandson, who then warred against the *Parthian*, in which Expedition he died. That which follows concerning *Clodio*, Son of this *Francus*, agrees as well as the other with the ancient and authentick *Roman* Writers, from whom it is also as evident, that he could not fight with *Tiberius* in the fourth Year of his Reign, who as then had nothing to do with the *German* War, it being managed by his Brother *Drusus*, as yet living. His story of *Hilderick* his thirty Kings must needs provoke Laughter, in whose Reign he fath the *Franks* first began to build and apply their minds to Architecture, whereas he had formerly mentioned the building of *Roterdam*, by *Roterus* his twenty third King, and of *Francfurt* by *Marcomirus* his twenty sixth in order: Concerning *Bartherus* their King, under whom they shoule have invaded *Italy*, there is not one syllable to be found in any Author. Neither of *Genebaldus* his leading a Colony into *Thuringia*, and there settling a Dukedom in the three hundred and twentieth Year of our Lord, that Country being at that time possessed by the *Alemans* and *Suevi*, neither the Name of *Thoringi* being as yet known. The Castle *Daysbruck*, where he writes the King of the *Franks* to have lived, was not in *Thuringia*, but below *Coloine*, situate in *Germany* the Great, and upon the *Rhine*, not on the *Meuse*, as this learned Geographer seems to place it. Still as good stuff he writes on the *Saxons* being overthrown by *Valentinian* on this side *Odera*, which runs its course beyond *Elbe*. His Memory, contrary to the Art of Lying, is very bad, in telling the Tale concerning *Valentinian* his naming the *Franks* from their ferocity, having formerly derived the appellation from his doughty King *Francus*. His *Dagobert*'s Person is a fiction, as well as his Office of *Interrex*. Indeed in *Thuringia* are many footsteps of such a Name, as *Dagobertera* near *Erford*, and *Dagobertus* near *Marpurge* in *Haffia*, and another Village of the same Name near to *Coloine*, but these derive their name from other *Dagoberts*, whereof one lived in the Year 632, and the other 716, when the Name of *Oriental France* came to be in use, and the *Franks* pollicised all *Thuringia* or *Franconia*, whereas at this time of this suppos'd *Dagobert*, or *A. D. 394*, there was no such thing as *Orientalis Francia*, or *Franconia*. But this Impostour, perhaps a Native of this Country long after, as well as others in later times, to doe it honour, hath not been sparing to obtrude false and coined Stories upon the World, and brings this *Dagobert* out of that place to insert him amongst the Kings of the *Franks*, that from him passing to *Genebald*, he might from *Genebald* bring the Title and Honour upon *Pharamond*, as derived from his Dukes of *Oriental France*.

28. Having already been more tedious than the nature of our design may seem to require, induced by the Greatness and Glory of the *French* Nation, in discovering the cheats of *Hunibaldus*, and his Companions, we shall address our selves to the ancient Monuments of authentick Writers, and thence see what may be had concerning the true Series and successions of their Kings. To let pass the *Sicambri*, whilst that Name only obtained, and come to the time of *Gallicus* the Emperour, in whose Reign the Name of *Franks* became first to be known, the first we meet with in any good Author, that have the Title of Kings, after that time, are *Genebaldus* and *Ego*. *Lege Pantan. vij. cap. 6.* *Capit. lib. 3.* *Capit. 6.* *Maximianus* to that Prince, and *Maximinus* his Colleague. After them are to be found *Ascaricus* and *Radagaisus*, the same *Maximinus* governing the Empire, together with *Constantius*, *A. D. 292*, who breaking the Peace made with *Constantius*, were too cruelly punished by *Constantine the Great*, his Son, as *Europius* writes, being cast to wild Beasts, which Fact yet *Emmonius*, the flattering Panegyrist, extolleth. In the days of *Constantius*, the Son of *Constantine*, *A. D. 342*, we meet with *Malarichus* whom *Pontanus* judgeth a King, though called only by *Marcellinus* the Rectour of his Countrymen in the Emperour's Palace, for *Constantius* thought it better Policy to oblige them by good turns, and by promoting them to Honours

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*Melobaudus.*

Honours to keep them in quiet, and use them against the *Alemans* and other *German* Nations, than to imitate the sever example of his Father. After him *Melobaudus* flourished with the Title of Tribune in the Court of *Constantius*, who in the Reign of *Valentinian*, *Valens* and *Gratian* was King of the *Franks*, at that time the good Friends and Allies of the Empire, and as *Ammianus*, an Eye-witness, tells us, was *comes Domestorum*, and a very valiant Man, by whose conduct the *Romans* had a great Victory over the *Alemans*, whereof a great number was slain, together with *Priarius* their King, and *Gratian* improving the Victory, passed over the *Rhine*, and there atchieved so much Renown, as the Awe thereof continued in Peace the Western parts of the Empire. Neither was *Melobaudus* less valiant and victorious at home, *Ammianus* giving him the name of *Bellicus*, and for farther confirmation, relating how *Macriamus*, King of the *Alemans*, invading *Francia*, was circumvented and slain by his Arts and Policies.

*Richomerus.*  
29. The next that follows is *Richomerus*, or else *Theodomerus* his Son. *Richomerus* was *comes Domestorum* to *Gratian*, and did many eminent Services for the *Romans*, but it should seem from *Gregory of Tours*, the Historian, that *Theodomerus* revolted, and practising something against them, was put to death, with *Aficia* his Mother. *Richomerus* was Consul the last Year of *Gratian*, A.D. 384, so that the death of his Son must have happened afterwards, in the Reign of *Theodosius* or *Arcadius*, about the Year 400. These two were succeeded by *Marcomirus* and *Sunno*, two Brothers, who are mentioned in the Affairs of *Valentinian* the younger, *presently after the Death of Gratian*. *Gregory* adds *Genebaldus*, a third to them, concerning whom, forasmuch as the History of *Salpitus Alexander*, whom he cites, is lost, nothing can be certainly affirmed. But as for the other two, their valiant Exploits are upon Record, especially those of *Marcomirus*, who at such time as *Maximus* was besieged in *Aquileia* by *Theodosius*, invaded the Lower *Germany*, and making great havock with Fire and Sword, struck great terror into those of *Cologne*. Afterwards he was banished into *Hetruria*, and his Brother *Sunno* appearing in his behalf, was made away by the People. From this *Marcomirus* (counting from that time when he is first mentioned in History, during the Reign of *Theodosius*) unto *Pharamond*, are reckoned about thirty years, which might give occasion to several Chronologers, as *Sigebertus Gemblensis*, *Ado Viennensis*, and others, to think *Pharamond* the very same of *Marcomirus*, although there be no certain testimony of such a thing to be discovered in Antiquity; for neither *Gregory Turonensis*, nor the *Chronicon of Prosper*, (which *Scaliger* calleth *Consulare*, and hath added to the later *Chronicon of Eusebius*) make mention of *Pharamond*. But of *Clodio*, whom they make the second King of the *Franks*, after *Pharamond*, both *Gregory*, *Sigebert*, *Ado* and *Sidonius Apollinaris* his Contemporary makes ample mention, though sometimes for the veries sake called *Cloro*, now *Clodius*, otherwise, as by *Cassiodorus*, *Hlodonicus*, and *Clogio*, but by *Aimoinius*, as he is now commonly read exprefly *Clodio*. After him are reckoned *Meronus*, *Hildericus* and *Clodomus* (or *Hlodonicus*, as *Remigius* calls him) the first Christian King of the *Franks*.

*Marcomirus and Sunno.*

*Pharamond.*

*Clodio.*

*Meronus.*  
*Hildericus.*

## S E C T.

## S E C T. II.

### The Achievements of the Ancient Franks, from the Reign of Genebaldus, to the Death of Childerick.

- The space of one hundred ninety six Years.

*Sect. 2.*  
1. **F**ROM the time of *Gallienus* and *Valerian*, wherein the *Franks* were first known to the World, to the Reign of *Clodio*; from which, or else from *Pharamond*, the Modern French Historians begin their Annals, passed about one hundred and seventy Years, in which space of time very Eminent Actions, and great Achievements were performed by them, on both sides the *Rhine* against the *Romans*. Those effects of theirs tending to the Destruction of the Western Empire, and at length effecting it in a great measure, are already described and illustrated in their proper place, and therefore we shall but here give the Reader a short view of them, for the recalling of them to mind, by presenting him with a short Recapitulation: The first thing therefore we hear of them, is, that they assited *Pothinus* against the Emperor *Gallienus*, and after that, as well the Traitor as the Prince was slain, fell in upon the Fortifications, and demolished those which had been raised by the same *Pothinus* seven years before; being by *Trebellius* the Historian, sometimes called *Franks*, sometimes *Germans*. Under *Valerian* they passed the *Rhine*, and undertook an expedition of no less Consequence, but were after much Mischief done to the *Romans*, set upon by *Aurelian* at unawares, who flew of them seven hundred, and sold three hundred for Bond-slaves. Some of them served yet under this *Aurelian*, when he was sent Vicar to *Vipius Crinitus* in the *Ealt*, but when their Countrymen grown bold upon the absence of the *Romans* from the Borders, roved through *Gall* as far as *Spain*; he being now declared Emperor, clearing all *Gall* of them, drove them back into their own Country, and restored the Limits of the Empire (viz. the *Rhine* and those parts about it) to their Ancient quiet and Security.

2. But this quiet and security, continued not long, nor *Gall* free from their Inursions, which in the Reign of *Tacitus* and *Florianus* they renewed, and presently were with much violence prosecuted by *Probus*; who was resolv'd to clear both the upper and lower parts of the *Rhine*, of such ill Neighbours, which made him joyn with *Procus* and *Bonosus*, who took then upon them the Purple at *Cologne*: Yet did they betray *Procus* to him, who had fled to them, and pleaded Kindred with them, as *Vopiscus* writes. *Probus* having taken many of them Prisoners upon Promise, as it seemeth, of quiet and dutiful demeanour, gave them a Territory to inhabit about *Projontis*; but they making as little Conscience of their Faith to the *Romans*, as tho'd did of their Fidelity to their Princes, and acted by that itch of Glory and Wealth, which in these late Ages had so irritated those Northern Nations, seized on a great Company of Vessels, wherewith they roved about the Coasts of *Afia* and *Greece*, invaded *Sicily*, and took *Syracuse* it self, so Famous for it's naval Victories; then Coasting about, and doing much damage to the Coasts of *Africk*, they were at length repulsed, by the Garrison Souldiers of *Carthage*, and passing through the Straits of *Gades*, came back by the Coasts of *Portugal* and *Spain* into the *Chanel*, and so into their own ancient Country, which lay part upon the *Rhine*, and part upon the British and Northern Ocean. But upon report, of the Death of *Probus*, both they and the *Saxons* thought they had an opportunity put into their hands, which they improved to good purpose by Inrudes, made into the *Roman* pale; for *Caravus*, whom *Diocletian* had sent against them, bore himself rather as one that would part stakes with them, watching his opportunity how he might seize upon *Britain*, and assume the Title. The *Franks* therefore made use of this Distraction, infested the *Roman* Empire both by Sea and Land, and feize

They feize of  
part of *Batavia*.

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But being beaten are transplanted.

seize upon the more Maritime parts of *Batavia*, where they fix themselves: This and other Difficulties, caused *Diocletian* to make *Maximian* his Colleague, who coming to *Batavia* sets upon them, though in almost unaccessible places; and after much strugling of both sides for the Victory, force them to submit. Their Kings *Genebaldus*, & *Eusebius* as he is (corruptly sure) called by the Panegyrist, received up, <sup>Cum per serg-  
mum accepit  
Genebaldus,  
Eusebius vero ma-  
nu accepit,  
Maximianus ad Maximia-</sup> on their Submission; the one his Kingdom, and the other some great Gift. Yet notwithstanding, *Maximian* removed a great number of Families into the desert places of *Gall*, that they might with their own Labour and Service, replant and repair what they themselves had wasted, that their Country might be drained of, and the *Roman* Territory supplied with Inhabitants. Or, it being all most impossible for want of Corn upon the Borders to defend them against those Rovers, who still by their continual Wars and Exercises, learnt more Experience and Discipline, that the Grounds might be Tilled by those had wasted them, and by taking their Youth into the *Roman* Legions, in procel of time they might oppose *Franks* against *Franks*.

A second Invasion of Batavia.

3. Politick Resolutions, especially if founded upon Martial Actions, meet with many Rubs, and feel most commonly the force of the Change, and Vicissitude of humane Affairs. What was thought to have done the Work, and completed the busines about the *Franks*, did but increase and stir them up to a new Attempt, as soon as time and opportunity would favour them. When the *Rhine* now by extremity of Frost, and a very hard Winter was Frozen over, a great number of them under Conduct of their Kings *Ascaricus*, and *Radagisus*, the second time invaded *Batavia*: By this time *Maximian* had given up the Charge of *Gall*, and the Western parts of the Empire to *Constantius Chlorus*, who making ready for an expedition into *Britain* against *Alelius*, who had killed *Carausius*, and invested himself with the Purple, and Authority, had the Work done to his hand by *Aesclepiodatus*, the Prefect of the pretorian Guards; by whom *Alelius* was slain near *London*, and a great multitude of *Franks*, having escaped into the City, when after they had loaded themselves with plunder, they thought to escape, were put to the Sword; having made up the greatest part of *Carausius* his Forces, and maintained the Quarrel so long in defence of him and *Alelius* his Successour: Presently after this, *Constantius* making the same advantage of a Thaw, as they had done of the Frost, conveyed his Army over the Rivers, and so straitly besieged them, that they were constrained to beg Peace, and a great number of them were again transported into *Gall*, to learn Civility, and cultivate their Barbarous dispositions. But *Constantius* being Dead, the two Kings despising the Youth, and Rawness of his Son *Constantine*, and breaking the League made with his Father, invaded the *Roman* Territories, having passed over their Forces near the division of the Stream, into the *Rhine* and the *Wale*. *Constantine* conceiving his Honour nearly touched, sent his Army against them, which taking them at unwares made great slaughters, and among other Prisoners took *Ascaricus*, and *Radagisus* the two Kings; whom with as many of ripe Age as were taken, he subjected to various Torments, and finally cast them to Wild beasts in the Theatre, for which brave Fact he is extolled; by the flattering Panegyrists, who yet doe them some kind of Honour in comparing them to the two Snakes, which *Hercules* in his Infancy (as *Constantine* in his infant Government) is said to have strangled. This being done, *Constantine* invaded their Territories, as far as the *Druderi*, where he made great Havock of the Countrey, and glutted Wild beasts with the multitude of those *Franks*, who were so stout by Confession of their Enemies, as not to start at the Terroure of the Punishment; but willingly would look Death in the Face, and that in the Countenance of fierce and cruel Lions.

4. *Constantine* having thus succeeded, that he might for the time to come, have a free and ready passage into their Countrey, or rather to shew how little he stood in fear of them, and to awe them with the Majesty of the Empire; built a Bridge over the *Rhine*, where it ran by their Countrey. Yet did not these things so affright or awe them, but that still they took hold of all fit opportunities to invade the *Roman* pale, which caused this Emperour afterwards, being himself otherwise diverted, to send his Son *Crispus* to defend the Limits against their Inroads. After the Death of the Father, they assifted *Constantine* the Son in the Invasion he made into the Territories of his Brother *Constans*, who after *Constantine* was Murthered at *Agilelia* waged War with them, and at length compelled them to retreat into their own Countries. After the whole Empire had faln to the share of *Constantius*, by the Death of his two Brothers, he so far confidered their Natures, that thinking them not capable of being beaten into better Manners, he resolued to

*Ascaricus* and *Radagisus* French Kings slain.

A. D. 292.

*Malarickus* kindtly treated by the Emperor. <sup>A. D. 342.</sup>

to try them with Kindnes. Therefore did he give them what by Force they had so long attempted; removing them into the adjacent parts of *Gall* and *Germany*, and preferred the chieft of them to Commands, and honourable Employments about his own Person, as *Malarickus* the King, *Mellobandes*, *Laviogaius* and *Silvanus*, who Governing the lower *Germany* with great Wisedom and Courage, was falsly accused to *Constantius*, as if he affected the Sovereignty, and plainly Forced, when the Emperour could by no means be brought to have a good Opinion of him, and he was made to believe, that the *Franks* his Countrey-men would not harbour him, to take upon him the Purple, which done, he was betrayed, and slain by his own Men, who by great Words and fair Promises, were corrupted by *Constantine*. Besides the knowledge of Arms, and the Conduct and Valour of a Commander, joyned with an honest mind, and the Merits of *Bonitus* his Father (which Commendations, *Ammianus Marcellinus* an Eye-witnes gives him) *Aurelius Victor*, witnesseth in his behalf, that he was of a most Courteous and affable Disposition, and though of barbarous Extract, sufficiently adorned with the Learning and Breeding of a *Roman*.

5. Either his Conduct, his Interest, or both sufficiently appear in this, that as his Countrymen kept themselves still, during his Government, presently after his Death, as if the obfaicle was now removed, they bare down all before them, and passing over the *Rhine*, over-ran a great part of *Gall*, having taken forty Cities situate upon the River, and therein an unpeakeable number of Slaves, besides infinite Booty. For this and other Causes, *Constantius* took *Julian* his Cousin *Germanus* into the Partner-ship of the Empire, who e'er he came to the Charge of *Gall* and the Borders, received the News of the taking of *Coloine* by the *Franks*, wherein he was so struck, that he was often heard to mutter to himself, that he had gotten nothing more by his late promotion than to perish in greater Employment. He took *Augyfodorum* (now *Autun*) which the *Franks* had feized on, and thence adventured upon *Antifodorum* (at this day *Auxerre*) whence marching to the *Tricassini*, he was set upon by numerous Enemies, but had the better, taking or putting them to flight, how refolute foever. Piercing farther into the Countries, and sending far before him the Reputation of a Conquerour, he almost as soon took as saw the City of *Coloine*, having it rendred up by Composition after a Peace made with the Enemy. During this Peace, he made use of the *Franks* against the *Alemans* and others; but it was not long e'er they broke it, and when he was employed elsewhere, feized on a Castle seated on the Bank of the *Mesue*, which retaining yet it's Name in part (*Kesell*) he besieged, and fearing that they within might take the advantage of a dark Night to escape over the Ice, he caused Boats to be continually rowed by the Souliders up and down to keep a Chanel, and thereby compelled them for want of Necesaries to yield. Taking up then his winter Quarters at *Paris*, he returned and unexpectedly fell upon that fort of *Franks* called *Salii* in the Spring; who not long before, had taken the Boldnes to plant themselves in this Countrey of *Taxandria*, now *Brabant* in the *Roman* Soil. Who sent a Messenger to desire of him, that they might live peaceably in their new obtained Possessions; but he caused them to yield themselves to his disposal. Having handled the *Chamani*, who followed the Example of the *Salii* in the same manner, he repaired the Castles, which being formerly built upon the *Mesue* the *Franks* had razed.

6. But how these *Salii* came to take up their Quarters in *Taxandria*, or here about *Breda*, we must not fail to take notice out of *Zozimus*. The *Saxons* for some reason or other unknown to us, bore them mortal Hatred (their only Crime it's probable, was the Convenience and Fertility of the Soil) and therefore making a strict Alliance with the *Quadi*, a People bordering on the *Sarmatæ*, resolvd utterly to destroy them; and so they had done, but that they were awed by the Fame and Glory of the common Name of *Franks*. They forced them to quit their Habitations, some passing over into *Taxandria* or *Brabant* and others, feizing on the Island of *Batavia* afterwards: The *Quadi* either set on by the other, or moved by the desire of Gain built them Vessells, and passing down the *Rhine* by the old *Francia* entered *Batavia*, whither the *Salii* had been driven back by the *Saxons*, resolvyng utterly to disposses them of the Island, which they had as it were made their own by primer Occupation. *Julian* received the News of this their Boldnes with much Stomach, and Commands the *Quadi* to desift from their Enterprize, which they durst not but obey, and wherewith the *Salii* perceiving themselves delivered of an imminent danger in way of Gratitude gave up themselves, and all they had into the Power and Protection of *Cesar*. The *Quadi*, though they had lost their prime Gain, yet were resolvd not to fit quite out; Robbing and rifling on the

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Sect. 2. the Sea-Coasts privily, and by stealth as they could whereby they rather much disquieted, than endamaged the Roman Subjects. *Julian* yet affected that by curning, which he could not doe by plain Force, and brought them to such straits, that they were forced to submit, which being done, he lifted many both of them and the *Salii* in the Legions, of whom the Companies continued till the time of *Zozimus*. But as for our *Franks*, though the *Salii* had reason to be quiet, who were either permitted to continue in *Batavia*, or were removed over the Water to other Convenient Seats : Yet the *Ansinarii* would not contain themselves, but made Incursions afresh into the Neighbouring parts of *Gall*, at such time as *Constantius* suspecting that *Julian* aspired after the Empire sent Letters to Check and Admonish him to keep himself within the modest bounds of *Cesar*. Being saluted *Augustus* by his Army left he should be blamed for Idlenes, having returned Message to *Constantius*, he marched into the Borders of *Germania Secunda*, and passing speedily over the *Rhine* fell unexpectedly upon the *Ansinarii*, who expected nothing less than such an attack, trusting to the difficulty of the passages, through which never yet any Prince had Pierced. He easily overcame them, killed and took many, and gave those that remained such Conditions as him self pleased, having got this advantage by this Expedition, as he imagined, that by the Terrorre thereof, the Neighbouring Barbarians would be kept in good Order, and the Borders remain in a settled Condition.

7. As long as he lived it so came to pass, these Nations beyond the *Rhine* thought it sufficient, that none molested them within their own Territories. But he being Dead, *Zozimus* tells us, they were presently up again, resolving to make War upon the *Romans*. *Ammianus* makes it a Common, and united design of them and the *Saxons* together, which he might be able to withstand and prevent for the time to come ; the Emperour *Valentinian*, not only disposed his Forces of Horse and Foot into convenient places and Garrisons, but strongly fortified the Borders of *Gall*, all along the *Rhine* from the *Rhetia*, as far as the Ocean, with Castles, strong Forts and Towers. The *Franks* hereupon desisted, but the *Saxons* proceeding in their design, were first overthrown by *Severus* the *Roman* Captain, and after they had submitted, and had Peace given them, were perfidiously cut off by an Ambush laid for that purpose, in the place called *Deuso*, in the Countrey of the *Franks*, (as is Conjectured) *Deutzium* a place situate overagainst *Colonia*. At this time *Mellobandus* or *Mellobandes*, was King of the *Franks*, the *comes Domellicorum* as is formerly said, in the days of *Valentinian* and *Gratian*; against whom *Macrianus* King of the *Alemans*, having made a Peace with the Emperour, advanced with an Army, wasting all the Countries with Fire and Sword, but was received, and by the Stratagems of *Mellobandus* overthrown and killed. Now were the *Franks*, the Allies and Associates of the *Romans*, many of them flourishing in such Grace with the Emperour; that *Mellobandus* arose to the very Dignity of Consul, which Honour he obtained, not only through the Favour of *Gratian*, who was indeed very well inclined towards his Nation; but also for his singular desert and good Service performed in the Wars, in respect to which he was made General, by *Valentinian* against the *Quadi*, and *Sarmatae*. *Mellobandus* afterwards under *Gratian* overthrew a great Force of *Alemans* at *Argentaria*, a Town situate upon the River *Hellebus* above *Strasburg*, in which Battell *Priamus* (by some corruptly called *Priamus*) was slain, and with him thirty thousand of his Men, as *Ammianus* writes; who also in the War of *Thrace*, which *Valens* unfortunately managed, gives to *Richomerus*, the *Frank*, the greatest praise of preserving the *Roman Army*. *Valens* miscarrying in this Expedition, the Northern Nations still continue their Inroads, which caused *Gratian*, who being himself but twenty years of Age, had his Brother for his Colleague, but thirteen years old, to salute *Theodosius* with the Title of Emperour. He being sick at *Theffalonica*, and the Barbarians out of *Thrace*, invading *Macedonia* and *Pannonia*; *Gratian* was constrained to send *Banto* and *Arbogastes*, two *Franks*, against them, who overthrew the *Goths* in *Macedonia*, and forced them to return back into *Thrace*.

8. The year after the Death of *Gratian*, we have *Richomerus* Consul together A.D. 384. with *Clearcius*, and in the next that follows *Banto* joyned with *Arcadius Augustus*. But three years after, we have other News of the *Franks*; who at such time as *Theodosius* besieged *Maximus* the Tyrant in *Aquileia*, under the Conduct of *Genebalodus*, *Marcomirus* and *Sunno*, pass the *Rhine*, and invade the upper *Germany*, wasting all things as they march along; and having got much Booty, leave behind them many of their Company to drive the same Trade, and return back into their own Country. Of those that were left behind many perished, and such was the Successes

And *Ansinarii* overcome.

*Mellobandus* the French King bears the *Alemans*.

They invade the upper *Germany*.

cess against them, that the *Roman* Captains consulted, whether they should not improve it by an Invasion of *Francia* it self. *Nauxius* would by no means yield to so dangerous an attempt, and returned to *Mentz*; but *Quintinus* his Colleague (for to them two had *Maximus* committed the Care of his young Son, with the defence of *Gall*) animated by the importunate desires of the under Officers would needs proceed, and passing the *Rhine* about the Castle *Ninefium* (at this day *Nugs*) found the Villages void of all Inhabitants, which he Commanded instantly to be set on Fire. But passing farther on, they were cunningly by the Enemy drawn into Bogs, Woods, and unpassable places, where by the envenomed Darts of the *Franks* Gregor. Turn. *sis ex Alexander Sulpij. lib. 2.* they were out-right killed, or died of lingring Deaths, swallowed up by the Quicks, or disadvantageously fighting, were most of them cut off and slain, very few escaping through the darknes of Night and covert of Woods. This overthrow and Disaster is by some esteemed not much inferior to that of *Varus* in the time of *Augustus*, considering that *Quintinus* would not against so Valiant a Nation, whereof his Colleague stood so much in fear, lead less than three Legions. And whether *Arbogastes* who being appointed General by *Theodosius*, against *Villor* the Son of *Maximus*, and had discomfited and slain him after the fight, thought that by reaon of so great a Disaster received from his Countrymen, he himself and those about the Court were in danger, out of hatred to the two Kings *Sunno* and *Marcomirus*, or really being beat according to his Oaths Military and of Allegiance, to advance the affairs of *Rome* though in the destruction of those of his own blood, he advised the Emperour to require satisfaction for what injury had been done, and to give up these persons who had been the Incendiaries, the procurers, and fomenters of the War.

9. The Emperours were so prudent, as to consider what *Tacitus* the Historian Cart. *Georibus* long before had asserted, that the only way to Conquer the *Germans* was to set trans*rhenum* fi them at odds amongst themselves, and therefore gave him Commission, to exercise manus at certis his Enmity or private grudges in such a method as his own Judgment should best dictate to him. He marching to *Coloin* in the sharpest time of Winter, resolvoed to adum fu quan-  
invade them at that seafon, when the Trees being deftite of Leaves should afford do uigentibus im-  
as little shelter and covert as could be, and passing the *Rhine* fell upon the Quar-  
prelare fortuna  
*magis polli quam  
infristris discordis,  
lib. de moribus  
Germanorum.*

*Marcomirus* and the French beaten by *Arbogastes* a Frank but General to the Emperour.

*Arbogastes* only shewed themselves upon the Mountains, and as well at this time as upon other occasions he so besittred himself, that for two years the *Franks* dared not to make any attempt of moment upon *Gall*, or any other place of the Empire, till solicited and induced by the same person, that now so zealously withheld their invasions. *Arbogastes* elevated much with his succses, and that favour and countenance he had received from *Gratian*, was by this time heightened to such confidence and resolution as to brook no Superior. Being by *Gratian* referred to the place next to *Banto* his Countryman, after his Death he arrogated to himself the chieflie command, without any commission or confent of *Valentinian* the young Emperour, having all the Souldiers at his Devotion, whom he so much obliged by a seeming contempt of money, (though he had great wealth, and through his good Conduct and Prosperity in all attempts,) that he would plainly countermand such Orders as were given by the Emperour how just and convenient soever. The young Prince patiently enduring what he was not able to remedy, at length when he understood that the Barbarians inhabiting about the *Danow* were about to invade *Italy*, resolvoed to march in person, and use his utmost indeavour for the relief of that Countrey. He acquaints therewith *Arbogastes*, who according to his custome of contradicting whatsoever he propounded, dislikes the design, which so enraged the Emperour, that he drew his Sword and had therewith made at him, but being hindered by an Attendant, fell upon him with Reproaches and reviling Language; Boiling still with Indignation against him, on a time he gave him into his hands a Paper, whereby he abrogated his power, and revoked his Commission, which after *Arbogastes* had perused, being moved to a great degree of Paffion, he plainly told him, That as he did not give him, so neither should he take from him his Authority.

10. By these and other means an implacable hatred and capital Enmity was begot betwixt them, which the poor Prince wanting Power could not improve to any real disadvantage towards his adversary. *Arbogastes* let him feel the first effects of his Strength in shutting him up in the Palace, and deveting him of the Honours due to his imperial Dignity, to such a measure, that he little differed from a private man, and what attendants and respect he had being worse than none, because performed

**Sect. 2.** performed by *Franks* and such as observed more the nods of *Arbogastes*, than the Commands of *Valentinian*; Hereupon the Emperour by Letters implored the Assitance of *Theodosius* his Colleague. But the Barbarians hovering over *Italy*, St. *Ambrose* the Bishop of *Milan* was desired to go to *Valentinian*, and invite him to the defence of those Provinces, which he understanding rejoiced, hoping the Bisshop by his Authority might interpote and get him better Quarter from *Arbogastes*. Upon a report flying of the Emperour's coming, *Ambrose* according to the pleasure of those who were concerned, put off his Journey, which *Valentinian* understanding, desired him by Letters that he would not defer to come to him. He having received the Message made what he could, but having passed the *Alpes* understood of his Death, which *Arbogastes* procured by corrupting the Eunuchs that waited on him in his Chamber, as we have formerly related, there being but little distance, as One more glorious in his sufferings hath obserued, betwixt the Prifons and Graves of Princes. *Arbogastes* having done the fact, though already in his mind he had swallowed the Imperial Authority, yet would not himself take the Ensigns, but therewith invented one *Eugenius* his dependent and Servant, (as *Claudian* the Poet calls him,) who had been first commended to him by *Ricimeres* his Countryman. Treason when once come to such height as to admit no pardon, must be Rigorously prosecuted. He perwades his new mock Prince the stronger to confirm him in his lame Title, to take to him the Alliance and Assitance of the Nations beyond the *Rhine*, and to make strict League with the *Franks* and *Alemans*. Having raised a considerable Force, they feize upon the Straits leading to *Italy*, intending to obtruct the passage of *Theodosius*, who yet removed the obstruction, and by the mercy of God obtained the Victory against the Pagan upstart, (who bore the banner of *Hercules*,) although the *Franks* and other Barbarous Nations omitted nothing of their Duty. *Arbogastes* after the disaster and Death of *Eugenius* having fled into the Mountains; when he perceived all ways were laid, and all means used for his apprehension, fell upon his own Sword, left it should be said that *Arbogastes* was killed by any but *Arbogastes* himself. A great man, a complete General by confession of his Enemies, in whom those abilities which in others are but scattered and distributed, did truly concerte and unite. And by such true and proper humane means, he still arrived at his end, viz. Prosperity and Succes, preferring *Theodosius* in his Imperial Dignity, depoſing and destroying *Vitor* the Son of *Maximus*, and now had from a Scribe or a man of very low Condition, advanced and established *Eugenius* in the Throne, had not God Almighty himself interposed, and in a miraculous manner (as Christian Writers acknowledge,) dashed in pieces this Pagan's Project.

**11.** *Theodosius* the Emperour Died not long after, leaving two young Sons which he committed to the Custody of *Rufinus* and *Stilico*, with the care of the Eastern and Western Empires. *Stilico* in the West made a League with the *Franks*, who when the *Vandals* invaded *Gall*, did what they could to oppole them, but being inferior in number and strength, were forced to retire into their own Quarters. *Stilico* being Dead, they thought themselves it seems loofed from the Tye and Obligation of the League, and left the *Vandals* shoud get all, pas over the *Rhine*, break into *Gall*, and besides other Cities, take, Plunder and burn that of *Trier* the Metropolis of that Traſt. The *Vandals* as defrouis to keep what they had, as they were greedy to obtain it, make preſently Head against them, but were totally defeated, twenty thousand of them Slain, lost *Godegilius* their King, and had every man been cut off, but that a party of *Alans* feacionally interposed. The *Vandals*, *Alans* and *Suevi* having enough of this Rencounter, left they should any more have to do with the *Franks*, made *Gunderick* the Son of *Godegilius* King, and march to the *Pyrenzean* Mountains, which having passed, they enter *Spain* the first day of *Otober*, A.D. 409, where they reduce much of the Country under their Obedience. Upon rumour of this notable Victory, the *Britains* fearing some attempt upon themselves, stand upon their own Guard, and so do several Cities of *Armoria*, (now little *Britain*) shaking off the *Roman* Yoke, and modelling themselves into a new fort of Government. Yet did the *Franks* retreat back into their own Country, leaving the *Burgundians* alone with a party of *Alans*, to domineer over the Inhabitants of *Gall*.

**12.** The *Franks* for two or three years contained themselves quiet within their own Bounds, onely they fent a party to the assitance of *Gerontius* the *Britain*, who had slain *Conflantius* the *Upurser*, which was cut off and destroyed by *Conflantius* General for *Honorius* the Emperour, who having fent *Uphilas* his Lieutenant against them, he cunningly let them pas by till he could fall in upon their Rere, at such time as he knew *Conflantius* had reached their Front. *Honorius* by the Conduct of this

They bear the  
Vandals killing  
their King.

this *Constantius* had by this time destroyed the *Upurser*, removed the *Goths* out of *Italy* into *Gallia Narbonensis*, and the *Vandals* were thence driven away, so that he celebrated Games for this Freedom of *Italy* as one overjoyed, onely the *Burgundians* were an Eye-fore, who having passed into *Gall* with the *Vandals*, still continued forfaking their Companions when they understood their expedition into *Spain*. *Constantius* therefore resolved to fall upon them, which they being aware of, and knowing themselves unable to bear the Shock defred Peace, and to be received into friendship and confederacy with the *Romans*. He fearing left by some ill accident and uncertainty of War, he should blurn the glory of his former Achievements, was not averse to their Proposals, and according to their request giving them Peace, entered into a League of Friendship and Society. This coming once to the knowledge of the *Franks*, they disdained exceedingly, that the *Burgundians* a People not much considerable either for Reputation or Strength, should there obtain quiet and peaceable Possession, where they themselves hitherto, notwithstanding so many attempts and expeditions, could not fix at all, speedily therefore raising a great Army, they pas the *Rhine* and take and burn *Trier*, under Conduet of *Marcomirus*, if we might believe *Sigonius*, who forgers that *Marcomirus* and *Suno* had been either banished or put to Death by *Stilico*, as *Claudian* the Poet hinteth not obscurely. Against them was fent *Catinus* the *comes Domesticorum*, (forasmuch as *Constantius* returned to *Rome* to take Possession of the *Confutlhip*,) who hasting into *Gall*, overthrew them in several Engagements, and forced them notwithstanding all their courage and resolution, once more to retreat and cross the *Rhine*.

**13.** About this time it must be that the *Franks* had *Pharamond* for their King, in the room of *Marcomirus* his Father. It's very strange that *Gregory Turonensis* a grave and diligent Author, shoud not once mention this Prince. But *Aimonius* both names him and placeth his Reign at this time, and so doth *Proſper Tiro* in his Chronicon published by *Scaliger* and *Pitheus*, who lived about this time, and therefore good credit is to be given to him. This Chronicon in the edition of *Scaliger* at the 25 year of *Honorius* hath these words, *Pharamundus regnat in Francia*, or, *Pharamond Reigns in France*, after which follows the year 26, and at this Note, *Sols fatal defidio hic anno*, *The Sun was this year Eclipsed*. If therefore it be certain that *Pharamond* Reigned the year preceding the Eclipse, he Reigned in the year of our Lord 417. For there was not any memorable Eclipse in any of these years, except that which happened on the 19th of July, A.D. 418. Which was total throughout *Africk* and *Egypt*, being mentioned by the Chronicon of *Alexandria* with this addition, that it fell out on the 14th of the Calends of *Auguft*, on the day of preparation to the *Paisover*, the eighth hour of the day. *Idatus* also assigneth the same fourteenth day of the Calends of *Auguft*, but the heedless Printer or Writer reckons the fifth *Iteria* or *Thurday*, whereas Friday was the day, the Noon thereof the time, almost two hours later in *Italy* than it fell out in *Egypt*. *Pharamond* therefore began his Reign in the year 417, not the 420 as *Scaliger* imagined, who thought that this Eclipse happened in the year 421 following *Bunting* in his Calculations. For in this year, no Eclipse of the Sun could be seen through *Europe* or *Africk*, by reason of the Southern Latitude of the Moon, which still increased through the accession of the *Paralaxe*.

**14.** From the Death of *Marcomirus* and *Suno*, or rather from the time wherein Authors speak nothing of them, the year 395 to the beginning of *Pharamond*, intervene 21 years, during which space it's conceived by some that the *Franks* continued quiet, and contained themselves within their own bounds, as also it is probable that they fo did during the time he Reigned over them, else it's a wonder he shoud not be mentioned by *Gregory*, and fo little spoke of by the rest of the Historians. There be some who conceive him fo busie at home, that he could not attend Foreign matters, fo taken up with making Laws, that he could not have any leasure for Warlike Employments. So addited to the Society of his *Wifegift*, *Lefegift*, *Widegift* and *Solegift*, by the affitance of which Sages he compiled his *Salick Law*, that his Ears were deaf to all other Councillours. But *Chisletius* Physician to the Arch-Duke at *Brussels*, though in another Book written ten years before, he thinks the *Salick Law* to have been made by this Prince beyond the *Rhine*, yet in his *Anasias Childerici* he judgeth it agreeable to truth, that he feized on that part of *Gall* called *Belgica Secunda*, which contained ten fords of People, as the *Remi* (inhabiting about *Rheims* in *Champagne*.) *Suevtones* (those about *Soissons*.) *Catalamni* (those about *Cataloni* in *Champagne*.) *Silvanecles*, *Bellonaci* (about *Bearneism*.) *Ambiani* (*Vide Mirai chron. Belg. pag. 518.*) (*the Metropolis of whom was Samarobrina now Amiens*.) *Veromanus* (*Veromanus* at this day,) *Arcabates* (*Artefens*.) *Nervii* at this day those of *Flannault*, whose Metropolis

**Sect. 2.** Metropolis according to *Ptolemy* was *Banacum* now (*Bamay*), and the *Morini* inhabiting in part the Western Coast of *Flanders*, so called because they Lived amongst the Fenns then in the Teutonick called *Moeren*, whence our English *Moors* are derived. This *Belgica Secunda* (the Metropolis whereof was *Darocorum Re-*  
barique.  
Dies.

his Argument being taken out of an old Manuscript Genealogy, preferred in the Palace at *Brussels*, which faith he was Buried according to the Rites and Customs of *Ala manere bar-*  
*the Barbarians at Rheims without the City, towards Landunum in a little Hill which*  
*in Latin may be called Pyramis*, it being the manner of old, as *Servius* noteth, for *In lib. 1. Aenid.*  
great men to be Buried either under great Hills, or in the Hills themselves, whence it came to pass that Pyramids or great Pillars were wont to be raised upon Graves. Whereforever he was Buried, *Sigobert* writes that he Reigned eleven years, so that his Death must then according to the former account fall into the 43<sup>rd</sup> year of our Lord. His name is by some thought to have been truly written *Waramund*, signifying the truth of the Month, *War* being truth, and *Month* in the Teutonick. But *Scaliger* denieth that *W* could degenerate into *F*, and bids us enquire of *Peter Emendat. temp. lib. 6.* the *Lombard* what *Fara*, of which *Faramond* is compounded, doth properly signifie. For the Language of *Franks*, *Goths*, *Lombards*, *Vandals* and *Burgundians*, with those of other Northern Nations was the same, being all Teutonick in their Original.

15. From the said *Peter* therefore we understand that *Fara* signifieth a live Generation or Off-spring, as also from the Laws of *Lombardy* and the common Speech of the *Danes* at this day, who to express the Inhabitants or Generations of several Countries, to the name of the place add that of *Fara*, as *Sealandfar*, *Hollandfar*, and *Irelandfar*, so that *Faramond* must denote the Month, Source, Original or defence of Nations, Generations or Off-springs. That many names of Men do end in *Mund*, is most notorious to any one meanly skilled in the Teutonick Language, especially the *Saxon* Dialect, to which that of the *Franks* if we may consider their Neighbourhood, must have had a great affinity. And here we must take notice that not only this of *Faramond*, but of all the other Kings heretofore mentioned are purely *Tuertonick*, and thereby abundantly evince the Original both of Names and Persons, to have been no other than truly *German*. But to leave off this Discourse and Etymology of Names, to *Faramond* succeeded his Son *Clodio*, in the fifth year of the Reign of *Theodorofus* the younger. By this time *Aetus* the Roman General had fallen out with the *Goths*, who had formerly been removed out of *Italy* into *Gall*, and having beaten them in several Rencounters, forced them to beg Peace, by which stirs the *Franks* thinking they had a fit opportunity presented, made a new irruption into the *Roman* Territories; *Gregory of Tours* writeth that *Clodio* their King lying incamped at *Dyspargus* in the Borders of the *Tungri*; beyond the *Rhine*, fending out his Spies as far as *Camericum*, (now *Cambray* upon the *Schelde*) after he had underflood that all was safe and passable, invaded *Belgica Secunda*, and setting upon the City *Cambray*, overpowered the *Romans* there lying in Garrison, took the City and subdued all as far as the *Rivulet Somma*. But as to this Expedition, and the place from whence it is taken, there is much difference amongst some modern Writers, some, according to what is alledged from *Gregory*, will have *Faramond* to have kept himself quiet beyond the *Rhine*, and these places in possession of the *Franks* at this time, on this side that River to have been seized and injoyed in the Reign and by means of his Son *Clodio*. Others will account *Faramond* a Prince of *Vide Clodii & Pontani. vid. Franc. lib. 4. c. 12.* such Conduct and Valour, that the *Romans* durst not attempt any thing against him, but that he both obtained and kept what of their Territories he had got into his hands, and these stirs that happened in the time of his Son, were occasioned by his Youth, and want of experience, whereof the *Romans* took the advantage.

16. That *Clodio* held his Royal Seat at *Dyspargus* or *Dysbarsus*, is affirmed by *Himonius*, and by neither party can be denied. But one contends this Castle was *Lib. 1. c. 4.* beyond the *Rhine*, and another affirms it was Seated at no lesser distance from that River, than betwixt the Cities at this day called *Brussels* and *Lorrain*. *Pontanus* *Lib. 2. c. 9.* alledgeth the testimony of *Gregory Turonensis*, who faith it was Seated in the borders of *Tungri*, and *Chiffletius* telleth us of a Manuscript of *Cambray*, or History of the Acts of the French Kings which hath to the same purpose, *Habuitavit Clodio Rex in Disburgo Castello in finibus Tungrorum*; or King, *Clodio* lived in *Dyspargus* a Castle in the borders of the *Tungri*. Now the *Tungri* lived partly beyond, and partly on this side the *Rhine*, in that Territory to which very place or Castle is very near at this day called *Dinsburg*, betwixt *Wezel* and *Dysseldorf*; and that the most ancient Copies

Copies of *Gregory Turonensis* read *Tungrorum*, and not *Thoringorum*, (which being so corrupted, is swallowed by *Sigebert*, and those that follow him.) *Pontanus* appealeth to the Testimony and Edition of *Morelius*. Notwithstanding all this acted, both out of *Gregory* and his own alledged Manuscript, yet *Chiffletius* recants what he had formerly written in behalf of *Tungrorum*, because he was deceived in thinking this *Duburg* the same with *Deifheim*, where *Henchenus* wrote there were two Castles, whereof one called *Duburg*, which the Inhabitants themselves stily denied, affirming the place to be simply called *Burg*. But at last he thinks he hath found out the matter, by discovering two Towns, or Castles, bearing the Name of *Duisburg* amongst the *Franks*, one beyond the *Rhine* over against *Cologne*, at this day called *Duisburgh*, (in old time *Castrum Deusburg*) the fame which *Philip* the Emperour pawned to *Henry* the first, Duke of *Lorraine* and *Brabant*, in the Year 1204. Another *Duisborcke*, a large and noble Town near *Tura*, almost in the midway betwixt *Brussel* and *Lorraine*, which his Friend *Wendelin* thinketh might possiblly be within the Diocese of the *Tungri*, seeing that St. *Hubert*, a few days before his Death, A.D. 727, dedicated a Church at *Tura*, and *Lorraine*, with the Territories about it, was certainly of the *Tungrian* Diocese, as far as the River *Dilia*, so that this *Duisborck* was in the Borders of the *Tungri*, if not within the Diocese it self; *Gramaius* also in his Antiquities of *Brabant*, makes honourable mention of this *Duisburg*, noting in the Margent, that it was wont to feal with a Castle, bearing two Banners or Ensigns.

17. *Chiffletius* adds, that at the writing of his Book (A.D. 1655.) there were thole alive who could remember the ruines of the old Castle of *Dursburg*, in the place where now stands the Village of *Joh de Mulder*, in the Suburb called *Iferen*, that the Pastour of the place reported from the testimony of ancient Monuments, that two hundred years before *Tura* this *Duisburg* was a Castle of the Dukes of *Brabant*, wherein the Princes and Nobility were wont to conflu about State Affairs. He produceth a cutt of the Seal mentioned by *Gramaius*, wherewith the *Scabines* time out of mind have been wont to sign their publick Instruments, and with his Friend *Wendelin*, he affirmeth, that the *Dyspargus* mentioned by *Gregory*, much more agreeith with this place, than that beyond the *Rhine*, and that this was the very Castle which *Clodio* made the Seat of the Kingdom, all this Tract being made famous by the several Castles and Dwelling-houes which the Princes of *Brabant* (defending from those French Kings) chose and appointed to themselves at *Bruxells*, *Loxam*, *Fara* and *Duisburg*. But nothing doth *Chiffletius* by his favour produce, which necessarily concludeth this his *Duisburg* to have been the place. It is ordinary for Colonies to name the places of which they are the new Possessours, after those Cities and Towns from whence they came, and whence they are descended, so that this Castle near *Lorraine* might be both built and named long after this story of *Clodio*. The Dioceses of places have been wont to exceed their Civil Limits, neither can *Wendelin* make out, that the religious Borders are here meant by *Gregory*. It seemeth that *Clodio* first seized on and made this Castle the seat of the French Kingdom, and he might do it in either place, because the one was beyond the *Rhine*, and the other within the Limits of his Expedition. But why doth not *Chiffletius* answere to the Testimony of *Gregory Turonensis*, that *Duisburg* was beyond the *Rhine*, in reference to him who then lived and wrote in the middle of *Gall* it self? And what will he say to the assertion of *Ado Viennensis*, who writes, that *Clodio marching from the Castle Dysporus*, (as he calls it corruptly) *passed over the Rhine*, and *worlfe* the *Romans*, *seized* on *Sylva Carbonaria*, as far as *Camacum*, and *there he took up his Quarters*. If this *Sylva Carbonaria* was part of the *Sylva Arduenna*, or that called now *Boijd Ardenne*, lying about the *Meuse*, and the Countrey of *Leige*, *Clodio* must have made a fine progres, first Northwards, from this *Duisburg*, lying betwixt *Brussels* and *Lorraine*, and then backwards again as far as the River *Schelde*, and the City *Cambray*. Certainly had he formerly taken up his Seat in that part of *Brabant*, he would first have so cleared the Coasts as not to leave an Enemy at his back, neither could he be so little skilled in the Country, as to think the nearest way to the *Schelde*, was to go quite contrary, except intending to leap over it, he took that course which those observe who leap Dircles, by going backwards to fetch the longer run, and so to be carried over with the greater violence.

18. But if *Clodio* placed the Seat of his Kingdom at this *Duisborck* near *Brussel*, he can scarcely be said there to fix it, so small a time did he enjoy his new obtained Conquest. For although *Gregory*, *Aimonius*, and the rest, take no notice of it, yet it appears from the Verses of *Sidonius Apollinaris*, that *Aetus* the Roman hearing of this

Sect. 2. this irruption the Franks had made into the *Atrebates* (or *Artesiens*) in conjunction with *Majorianus*, marched with great secrecy against them, and overthrew the Army of *Clodio*, which they fell upon unawares as they were celebrating a Marriage in all Security. The Verles of *Sidonius* make mention of a Village called *Helena*, *nam, flaminq, si* where this (*Scythian* as he terms her, or) French Virgin was married, as judgeth long *long*. *Aitius, sap- tu, trahabatras- mptus Ager, die se pofas, paginatus bone*  
*Castrum*, a Town now known by the name of *Lens*. He will have the whole Expedition and Affair thus managed. *Clodio* having entered the *Sylva Carbonaria* (but that he did it from *Duisborcke* not a word) passed on in the military high way leading through *Angia*, *Arbus* and *Lutosa*, as far as *Tornacum*, (or *Tourmay*) where others of these artificial and publick ways met, as from *Virovacum* (now *Verinck*) *Tor- nenna*, (*Terone*) *Nemetacum*, or as *Hortius* calls it *Neinetocenna*, (*Arras*) *Camera- cum* (*Cambray*) and *Ponscaldis*, or the Bridge of *Scaldis*, at this day *Eyscamp*, all *Nudibus pto- fimbriis novacula- maris*, *His prospic- hibet frans, crepitatione ad- claffis*

*Clodio et his  
French beaten  
by Aetius.*

Dies.

*Meroneus suc-  
cessor.*

joined Battel with him in a very difficult place, betwixt *Tournay* and the Bridge. On the Bridge leading over the *Schedele*, which was but narrow, stood *Aetius*, and under, or below it, *Majorianus*; whence, saith he, the Wedding which was kept on an hill, nigh the Bank of River, was disturbed, and (to the unspeakable grief no doubt of the Bride) ended in Bloud and Slaughter. That this was a great defeat of the *Franks*, sufficiently appeareth from *Sidonius*, but whether as a punishment of their security and carelessness, they suffered expulsion quite out of *Gall*, and were driven back beyond the Rivers *Meuse* and the *Rhine*, cannot by any thing he saith be determined; some think the contrary, considering that the Poet writing a Panegyric to *Majorianus*, would not have omitted a thing so notable, making for his purpose. However \* *Profer* in his *Chronicon* exprefly writeth, that part of *Gall* near the *Rhine*, which the *Franks* had possessed, was recovered by the Arms of Count *Aetius*. And *Cassiodorus*, who lived at this time, addeth, that in the Consulship of *Felix* and *Principius Rhens*, *Aetius* having slain a great number of *Franks*, recovered that *Tract* beyond the *Rhine*, on which they had seized. As for *Clodio*, notwithstanding this ill success, yet *Gregory* writes, that he was a profitable and most noble Prince, *Ado Vir-* emenius will have him to have reigned twenty five years, but *Profer* sets his death *ro Conf. Aetius* at the 448th Year of our Lord, which contracts his Reign within the number of one and twenty years. As for his being buried at *Cambray*, the modern French Historians, who tell the story, have too great a tale to make good that City was then in the Power of the *Franks*, if not, that his Subjects had the courage thither to translate his Body.

19. After *Clodio* reigned *Meroneus*, not his Son, but his Kinsman, one of his Lineage, in the twenty fifth Year of *Valentinian*. The ancient Manuscript Genealogy of the French Kings, formerly mentioned, and to be seen in the King's Library at *Brussels*, tells us, that being not the Son of *Clodio*, but his Kinsman, he caused himself to be made King, excluding the Sons of his Predecessour. The Manuscript of *Cambray*, called *Cefia Regum Francorum*, gives him the name of *Meronebus*, who being of the stock of *Clodio*, succeeded him. *Pontanus* makes a great Argument to confirm what he formerly had asserted, that *Clodio* lost not all he had got on this side the *Rhine*, because this *Meroneus*, prently after his death, as several Writers testifie, enjoyed what bordered on the River, without any trouble or contest, placed some of his *Franks* upon the River *Axona* (now *Aysne* or *Difse*) in the Borders of the *Rheni*, and was called upon by *Valentinian* and *Aetius* for succour against *Atrila*, the common Enemy, to all those that possessed any thing in *Gall*. He grants therefore that *Aetius* and *Majorianus* might expell *Clodio* out of *Secunda Belgica*, but not out of *Germania secunda*, or the Inferior *Germany*, the *Metropolis* whereof was *Coloine*, and which contained two sorts of People, especially, viz. the *Ubi* and the *Tungri*, to which all, or most of the rest may be referred. For under the Name of *Tungri* are those contained whom *Cesar* calleth by the common Name of *Germans*, as the *Eburones*, (the Inhabitants of *Lynch* or *Leigh*) *Condrufi*, (those about *Condrex* or *Condros*) *Pamani*, *Segni* and *Saref*, which five Nations, together with the *Adnatici* and *Batesi*, were in later Ages comprised under the Name of *Tungri*. But the *Franks* being summoned by *Aetius*, fought most valiantly in that famous *Catalanian* Battel, wherein a great number, if not the greatest part of them,

them lost their Lives, and the remainders returned home with *Meroneus* their King. Sect. 2. By *Rocico* the Monk he is called *Meronicus*, who writes, that he was chosen King, inthroned in the City of the *Ambiani* or *Amiens*, and that from him, in respect of *Gof. Fran. l. i.* his Prudence and good Government, those called formerly *Franks* were after him named *Merongi*, being held in such Veneration, that he was esteemed no less than a common Father. Upon this account he is, in a Manuscript Book containing the Life of *Charles the Great*, in a Table of the Images of the French Kings therunto prefixed, made the Head, or Original of the first Generation, being wholly separated from *Clodio*. He reigned seven Years. The place of his burial is not known.

20. These were the Achievements of the ancient *Franks* for one hundred and seventy years, and such were the beginnings and rudiments of the French Power and Dominion in *Gall*, which if as well the modern as more ancient Historians of that Nation had duly considered, they had not so much doted on the vain *Irojan Title*, nor attributed so much to the fabulous Narration of their *Humabalus*. By what we have already said, may be sufficiently discovered, which was the most ancient Seat of the *Franks*, how by degrees they arrived at their Conquest, when, and upon what account, they passed the *Rhine*, and that they had many Kings before the time of *Pharamond* and *Meroneus*, though utterly unknown to *Gregory Bishop of Tours*, their most diligent Historian. Now we have brought them into *Gall*, we must see how they there behaved themselves, and what Progrefs they made till such time as they became Masters of that renowned Province. But for a clearer Method and way of proceeding (the greatest help to Learning, and best part of Logick) let us first tell the Reader how this Country stood, and who were those that inhabited it at the time of their Invasion. At that time therefore *Gall* was possessed by three sorts of Nations, or People, viz. *Romans*, *Burgundians* and *Goths*. The *Romans* held all from the River *Rhine*, as far as *Ligeris*, or *Loire*, in *Gallic Celta*, except certain Cities of *Aremoricana* (now *Britain*) which revolted, and put themselves under a new form of Government. The *Goths* beyond *Ligeris* possessed all *Aquitain*. The *Burgundians* whatsoever lies about *Rhodanus*, towards the upper part of the *Rhine*, a few Cities excepted, which retained their fidelity to the *Romans*. The hither part of *Spain* was held partly by the *Goths*, partly by the *Romans*, and the farther and more remote, by the *Vandals*, and their Associates.

21. To *Meroneus* then succeeded *Childerick*, or *Childerick* his Son, who was born at *Samarobina*, the City of the *Ambiani* (at this day called *Amiens*) about the Year of our Lord 436. Being fifteen years old he was taken Prisoner by the *Hunes*, together with his Mother, but was rescued and delivered by *Wiomadus* a *Frank*. Having succeeded his Father in the Year 455, with whom he was continually brought up and learnt the Discipline of the Camp, he resolved to recover what he had lost, and burn with desire of enlarging the Power and Dominions of the *Franks*, having a good opportunity put into his Hands by the death of *Aetius* and *Valentinian*. It may be gathered from the verles of *Sidonius Apollinaris*, that after their death he added to the conquest of *Secunda Germania*, and *Belgica Prima*, (which last contained four Cities, or People, viz. the *Treveri*, *Mediomatrici*, *Lewi* and *Veroduni*, the *Metropolis* being *Augusta Treverorum* (now *Trier*) made by *Clodio* and his Father, the Triumph of *Germania Prima* and *Secunda Belgica*, whereof the former contained the *Vangiones* (under whom were of old reckoned those of *Wormes* and *Mentz*, but *Moguntiacum*, or *Menz*, being afterward built by the *Romans* upon the place where the *Meyne* falls into the *Rhine*, it came to be head of *Germania Prima* and so at this day continues) the *Nemetes* and *Iribocci*. Neither yet herewith content, he invaded and subdued almost all as far as the River *Loire*, with which Enterprise *Anitus*, the *Roman* Emperor, then awakened, committed the care of what remained on the other side of that River to *Egidius* a *Patritian*, and the *Magister Militum*. *Anitus* being laid aside, *Majorianus* took the Ensigns of the Empire, who having done great things against the *Vandals*, and others in *Africk*, entered *Gall*, to clear that Country of all Intruders. He resolved first to begin with the *Alans*, as those that were more inconsiderable than either the *Franks* or *Burgundians*. But whilst this game was playing, *Childerick*, King of the *Franks*, plaid such prancks with the Wives and Daughters of his Subjects, that he speedily turned Bankrupt, both of Kingdom and Reputation, having rendered himself very odious to his Nobility for his great Exactions, but especially for his many and notorious Adulteries, he was either forced out of his Kingdom, or foreseeing a storm, prudently retired out of the danger. *Gregory of Tours* writes, that perceiving his Life to be way-laid, he departed into

*Francus Ger- manus primus, Belgaq; secun- dus.*

*Strebat q; Rhenonis force Alemanum libe- ba, &c.*

Goes into exile. *v 2*  
the

**Sect. 2.** the Country of the *Thoringi*, as the present Copies have it, but *Pontanus* thinks that *Tungri* is to be read, both because the same corruption is notorious elsewhere in this Author, and it was much more easier for him to fly to them, and convenient to continue amongst them, who were near at hand both on this and the other side of the *Rhine*, than to make a long Journey into the territories of the *Thoringi*, betwixt whom and the *Franks*, were the *Alemans*, and several other Nations, not all inclined to shew any Hospitality, or afford any Kindness to a *Frank*.

22. Indeed it appears from the Story, that he intended not in his retirement to be far out of the way. For he left behind him *Wiomadus* (or *Windomatus*) his *Greg. L. 2. c. 12.*

truthy and faithful friend, to lie as it were Leiger for him, to observe and watch all fit occasions, to mollifie the Spirits of the People, to affit time in wearing out all Prejudice and Regret from exulcerated Minds, and then to give him a sign when there should want only his Presence to perfect the good inclinations of his Subjects.

*Egidius* got the Kingdom.  
Returns.

*Egidius* cut in two a piece of Gold, whereof the one part he left with him, and took the other himself, commanding him to trust to no other Token, but sending that piece carefully to him upon occasion, thereby to prevent the fraud and cunning of the adverse Faction. He being thus withdrawn, the *Franks* reject all of their own Blood, and commit themselves into the hands of *Egidius*, a Roman Captain, to whom *Amitus*, when Emperour, had given a Command amongst the *Suetones* upon the River *Loire*, and he governed them as King, for the space of eight years, being a Perfon excellently accomplished with all Endowments of Body and Mind, which received greater Lustre from his Profession of the Christian Religion. All this while *Wiomadus* was not idle, but being for the repute of his Prudence and Industry received amongst the number of *Egidius* his Friends, improved the advantage thence afforded all manner of ways, to the Service of his old Master, and when many of his Enemies were removed out of the way by Death, others brought over to his Party, and the greater part either moderated by time, or touched at length with the senfe of some Impropriety in the thing, that they shoule be governed by a mere Stranger, he thought things ripe enough, and sent him the piece of Money, as had been agreed betwix them. *Sigebert* tells us exprefly, that his *A.D. 459.* Subjects returned to their Duty, and desir'd his Return, wherein he was not slack, and being joyfully received by the major part, with little trouble he drove away *Egidius* his Competitor.

23. But *Fredegarius*, in his Epitomized History of the *Franks*, tells a story of *Cap. II.* *Childeric* his betaking himself to *Constantinople*, to *Mauricius* the Emperour, and of his return thence by Sea into *France*, a very pretty piece of Anacronism, the Emperour *Mauricius* living no lefs than an whole Age after *Childeric*. *Wiltshomius* his *Chronicon*, written in the Year 810. mendeth the matter by reading it *Martianus*, who though he lived not fo long before this Exile of *Childeric*, as *Mauricius* did after, yet died in the Year 457. whereas the flight of *Childeric* happened about the Year 461. and his refutition eight years after. But were it for no other Reason, than that *Gregory of Tours*, who was more ancient than the refl., and lived in the next Age to *Childeric*, makes no mention of it at all, the Story were justly to be suspected. It makes nothing for his Sea Voyage, what *Aimonius* ex- *Lib. I. cap. 7.* prefly writeth, that the King being in the middle of his way, sent to give *Wiomadus* notice of his coming, with orders speedily to meet him, which he as readily performed, with the French Nobility, and found him at the Caffle of *Barrum*, the Inhabitants whereof he had commanded to receive him with all Respect and Honour. They fo fully complied with his Commands, that they went out to meet him, and conducted him into their Town, with which Office of Duty and Kindness *Childeric* was fo much pleased, as in Testimony of his Acceptance of so ominous a beginning, he remitted to them the Tribute they had been formerly accustomed to pay. This *Barrum* *Franchett* would have *Barrum Ducus*, or Head of the Dukedom *Lib. 2. c. 15.* of *Barre*. *Belleforest* takes it for *Barr* upon the *Siene*. But those two are far later than this *Barr* now in question; neither was the Dominion of the *Franks* at this time fo large Extent, being bounded with the River *Somona*, otherwife called *Phrudus*, now the *Somme*; *Olivar Vredus* in his description of the ancient *Flanders*, will have it some Fort in *Brabant*, or else *Batavia*. *Chiffletius* concludes it was a Town belonging to *Brabant*, at this day called *Per*, it being a Custome of the *Romans* to change their Teutonick *P*, into their *B*, as might be made appear by many Examples. This *Per*, he tells us, was an ancient Caffle, where now is to be seen an Houfe of Nunnis, and he is the more strengthened in his Opinion, confidering that upon supposal of *Childeric* his flying into *Thoringia*, this place woulde lye convenient for his Journey. From *Amiens*, the Residence of *Childeric* to *Erfurd*, or

or the Royal Castle of *Thoringia*, (the Ruines whereof are yet remaining) are reckoned one hundred and thirty *Brabant* Leagues, in the middle whereof is *Colone* feated on the *Rhine*, where he supposeth *Childeric* to have staid, and thence sent to *Wiomadus*, who prefently met him at *Per*, or *Ber*, fifty Leagues diftant from *Amiens*, and from *Colone* fifteen. But this is altogether uncertain.

24. What way foever he came, he was followed by *Bafina*, the Wife of King *Bafmus*, by whom he had been entertained, a Woman that had broke her Cot-jugal Faith formerly with him, and finding, as she did not shame to tell him, *Gregor. Tur. & Rocca, lib. 1.* his great abilities that way to fatisfie her Appetite, came for that very purpose, that she might full cohabite with him. To this Relation *Fredegarius* and *Aimonius* add a Story of the shapes of several Beasts, as Lions, Unicorns, Leopards, Bears, Wolves, Dogs, and leſſer sorts of Animals, seen by *Childeric* on his Wedding night, with the Interpretation made by *Bafina*, upon which account *Tritheimus* calls her a Witch, although the *Flemings* at this day call a wife and provident Woman by the name of *Bafinne*, and diminutively *Bafneke*. But after his Refitution *Childeric*, to make amends for his former Loofs and Injuries offered to his Subjects, purfued the Wars with all alacrity and vigour. *Baronius*, out of the Acts of St. *Genofeu*, relates how the City of *Paris* being long besieged by the *Franks*, the People opprefed with Famine were miraculously relieved by that Virgin; yet they took the City, and therein *Childeric* placed his Royal Seat. *Sigebert* writes, that the *Franks* invaded *Gall*, not so much to plunder and spoil, as now to make to their perpetual habitation, took *Colonia Agrippina*, or *Colone*, having put to flight *Egidius* the Roman Captain, and slain a great number of the *Romans*. *Rocca* the Monk adds, that *Childeric* at this time fell upon the same City, which after too much slaughter made, he subdued, being then governed by *Egidius* the Roman, who, not able to refit ſuch a Force, betook himſelf to flight, and ſo escaped the rage and fury of the King. Both these Historians farther tell us, that the *Franks* proceeding, besieged and took *Triers*, ſituate upon the *Moselle*, at which time *Egidius*, the Tyrant of the *Romans*, as the Monk calls him, died, and *Satyrinus* his Son, in the City *Sueffo*, was advanced to his Father's Throne. *A.D. 475.*

25. The Year following *Childeric*, with his Army, marched as far as *Aurelia*, or *Orleance*, which having with too much cruelty waſted all the Country about it, at length he took it, and purfling his Victory all along the *Loire*, as far as the Mouth of the River *Meduana*, on which ſtands the City *Andegavum*, or *Anjou*, the year following he took it in alio, and burnt it, putting to the Sword *Paulus*, a Count and Gouvernour of the Town. *Rocca* tells us, that there he designed to have met with *Adonarius*, General of the *Saxons*, who had taken and hazarded the City, but he fled away by boat, and left *Paulus* to keep the City, who therefore thus perifhed in his Stead. Yet from *Sigebert* it appears, that *Childeric* this fame year made a League with this ſaid Captain of the *Saxons*, whom he calls *Andorackius*, both of them together subdued the *Alemans*. *Gregory* adds, that *Odoacrius* made a League with *Childeric*, and that they subdued the *Alemans*, who had invaded part of *Italy*, which *Alemanni* ſome think no other than the *Alani*, being *Callo Germans*, who in the time of *Tacitus* inhabited betwixt the *Rhine* and *Danow*, afterward paſſing over the River, infeted *Gallia Belgica* with their frequent Inrodes. *Rocca* the Monk tells us for a conclusion, that *Childeric*, deſirous to return to his own Houfe, or the City of the *Ambiani*, was taken with a Fever, and left his Kingdom to *Cledonius* his Son. But he omits his laſt Expedition, mentioned both by *Gregory* and *Sigebert*. Having reigned twenty four Years, as *Aimonius* computeth, he died in his Return, at *Ternacum*, or *Tourney*, and was buried there on the left hand of the military way, leading to the Town, at one hundred and fifty foot diſtance from the ſaid way, towards the North, and ſix hundred from the nearest Eastern Bank of the River *Scheld*, being interred according to the *Roman* Cuſtome, which required, that betwixt the Sepulchre and the Highway ſhould be left a ſpot of Ground ſacred to the *Dii Manes*, juſt fo many foot large, as that betwixt this and the military way. But for the proof of the place of his Sepulture, we haue an Argument ſo notable and rare, that it cannot be paſſed over without ſome ſignificant and ſpeciall Remarks.

26. The City of *Tourney* is divided into two by the River *Schelde*, which allo parts the Diocafe of *Cambrey* from that of the *Atrobates* and *Tourney*. On the ſide of *Cambrey* Diocafe are three eminent Parishes, of St. *John*, St. *Nicholas*, and of St. *Brixius*, ſtanding betwixt them both, moft large and conſiderable, whereof the Parfon *Pattus* perceiving the Houfe of the Treasurer, and the Alms-houfe of *Angafis Childe-* *rici per Chiffletius* *un Anwerpia*, *1655.* the Parish, which ſtood neare the Church-Yard, and his own Houfe, to be very ruiuous, after he had taken advice with the *Editici*, or Churchwardens, reſolved to pull

Sect. 2. pull it down, and build up another stronger and upon more deep Foundations. In the Year 1653, the twenty seventh day of May, at three of the Clock in the Afternoon, when they had digged to the depth of seven Foot, or more, lighting of a kind of a stony Rock, there was found a Button of Gold, and presently after a bundle as it were of rotten Leather, wherein were contained more than one hundred Golden Coins, by one *Hadrian Quinquinus*, a Labourer both deaf and dumb, who by his inarticulate Voice and Gestures, called as well as he could the Neighbours together. *Pattus* with two of the Wardens came to the place, with intention to seize on the Treasure for the use of the Church, and furthering the building. There they found moreover about two hundred Silver Roman Coins so eaten with Rust, that they could not be read, and therefore were afterward lost, no reckoning being made of them. Many pieces of Iron almost all confounded with Age, and the moisture of the Ground. Two skulls, whereof one of a larger size, together with the bones of an humane Skeleton. Then within a matter of five Foot farther, many other things of Art and value; as a Sword, that at the first handling it fell into pieces, with the Hilt and Scabbard, *Estines*, or a Case of writing Instruments, the Head of an Oke, with about three hundred Bees (many more it's Conjectured, being carried away amongst the Rubbish) a Bodkin, Buttons, Claps, Nails, Plates, and Bosses all of Gold, and set with an infinite number of Rubies, besides the Skull of an Horse. And that without which, neither the Age nor Person, whom they concerned could ever have been known, the Golden Ring of *Childeric*, King of the *Franks*, and therein his Image and Name engraven.

27. The Golden Coyns were of *Valentinian, Marcius, Leo, Zeno, Bafifius and Marcus*. But the newest was that of *Zeno*, in the seventh Year of whom, or there about, died *Childeric* the first, so that his must be the Grave and Relicks, the Subject of this Story. Besides these, were found an *Axe*, or *Hatchet of War*, by *Cliffetus* called the King's *Francesca*, which lay behind him, together with his *Frames*, or a kind of *Dart*; a piece of an *Horse-shee of Iron*, another *Gold Ring*, a *Crystal-Ball* as big as those of the Tennis-Court, an *Oxhead of Gold* (being the King's Idol) and the top of his *Swords-hilt*, wherein is to be seen a double *Caves-head*, a *Golden Casket for the Hill*, a piece of an *Agate-Cup*, with several other things, of very great Curiosity. The Treasure was presented to Arch-Duke *Lopodus Guilielmus* then Governor of the Low-Countries, for the King of Spain; who giving to the poor of the place more than the value thereof, with reward to the poor Man, who first discovered it, commanded *Cliffetus* to make what Observations he could upon the particulars, and commit his Remarks upon so eminent and noble a Subject to Posterity. This he hath done in his *Anastasis Childericorum, or Resurrection of Childeric*; a Book furnished with much Good, and various, sometimes impertinent Learning, out of which, it will not be amiss for us to make some Observations, which may tend to the Illustration of the Subject in hand; the knowledge of these most dark and confused times, and the farther not impertinent Information of the Reader, to whom perhaps it may be some Recreation after these knotty Disquisitions.

28. That it was a Custome of old time, to bury Treasure and much Riches with Kings, and great Persons ; the Histories of *David*, of *Cyrus*, and many other Princes do abundantly testify, although *Ulpian* telleth us, that Ornaments ought not to be buried with Bodies; the Designation of such things by Will being of no Force, and Null by the Civil Law. That as well Christians as Heathens, have notwithstanding the Law, doth sufficiently evince. Kings and Souldiers were buried in Purple, as *Childeric* in a Robe of Gold, wrought upon purple Silk, as did appear by what remains were found in his Grave ; which time and moisture had not altogether caused to change their Colour. Upon his *Sigillet* or *Gold Ring*, is his Image ingraved, having very long Hair, and large, lying upon both his Shoulders, holding in his Right hand a *Dart*. The Incription *Childirici Regi*, not in Gothic but Roman Letters ; a certain Note, whose *Ring* it was, and to what times it belonged, even those wherein the *Roman Elegancies*, good Arts and Sculpture amongst the rest were not as yet abolished, although remitting much from its ancient Perfection ; *G.* in the word *Regi* being changed into *S*. The writing of *Childericke* was of old used, as well as *Childeric*, as of *Sigibertius*, for *Sigibertus*. I having so much affinity with *E*, that as *Varro* acknowledgeth, the Ancients were wont to make use of them indifferently. Neither ought the Ring, to be suspected, because the Incription is in *Roman Characters* : For the *French Kings* of the first Race were skilful in the Latin Tongue; as it appears in *Theodosieres* one of the number, the Son of *Richimeres*, and *Afila*, expressed in a Golden Coyn, published by *Lib. 14. f. de Religiosis & Jumentis pueris ritibus & pietatis tenui 115. f. Finis legatis. 1.*

CHAP. I. *Contemporary with the Const. Roman Empire.* Childerick.

by *Paulus Petavius* with this Inscription, *Tendom Rex* of the very same Character, as  
this of *Childerick*. *Clodomæus* the first, *Clotarius* the first were both of them Learned in  
the Roman Language, and of the latter *Petavius* published also a Golden Cogn, on which  
was twice inscribed *Clotarius Rex*. The like instance might be made in several others.

29. Indeed granting that to be true, which both *Gregory Turonensis* and *Aimoinus* write, concerning *Chilperick*, the first, his adding four new Letters to those formerly used, and *Ch* amongst the rest, the King with its Inscription might justly be suspected, *Childerick* being Great Grandfather to him, by whom those four should be invented, and therefore his Name written *Hilderick*, the *Ch* not being as yet in use. But who can be so ridiculously credulous, to believe that *Chilperick* brought these Letters first into the World, which are manifestly taken from the Greek Alphabet, and were then in use amongst the *Romans*? from whom perhaps, *Chilperick* might so far take them as to Communicate them, to the Orthography of the *Vulgar French*, for as well that, as other barbarous Northern Nations, might be very deficient in Characters and Writing. But to say, or imagine that those amongst them who understood Latin, could not use *Ch* before his time is more than Extravagant. Therefore, in a Golden Coyn of *Chlotarius* the Father of *Chilperick*, is twice ingraven *Chlotarius Rex*. None that are Learned in the Greek and Latine Tongues, but must needs take notice of the great difference in their Writing, and pronouncing the *Roman* Names of Men and Places; for each Language hath its particular Genius and Idiome, not only of Phrases, but Pronunciation also, to exprefs which, Letters are or ought to be adopted as near as possible. The Name of *Childerick* is German. *Hulda*, *Aventine* tells us, is *Love*; *Hulderick*, *Love* <sup>In Nomenclatura.</sup> of a Kingdom, or *Rich in Love*; or, as *Hadrianus Junius* interprets it, *Rich in Suffrage*, *Hulden* being the same, as to *Grace with ones Suffrage*; the Letter *C* being *En-phonie gratia* added to *H*. But whom the Ancient *Saxons* named *Hylderick*, the *Celte* called *Childerick*, and thence might the *Romans* take it, as more agreeable to their Pronunciation. Therefore, not only *Gregory Turonensis* writes *Childerick* and *Chilperick*, for *Hilderick* and *Hilperick*, as *Chuni* for *Huni*; but *Claudian* also, *Ausonius*, *Sidonius* and *Prosper*.

30. As for the long Hair, which *Chilperick* wore, as his Image cut in his Seal represents him; the Reader must know it was the Custome of the Noblemen, amongst the Franks or *Scambrî* to use that Fashion, which was utterly unlawfull for the Vulgar sort. The Romans when they took any of them, cut off their long yellow Hair, and sent them to the Women for new Fashions, which must needs be a great affliction to them, considering that by the Salick Law, no less a mulct than two hundred and fifty *Denarii* were inflicted, on any one that shoud Poll any Boy without the Knowledge and Consent of his Parents. But their Beards were as short as their hair was long, being close shaved off, as *Sidonius* the Poet describeth them. The Spear which he holds in his Right hand, was not only for War, but betokened Dominion and Empire; it appearing from *Gregory, Ammianus* and others, that the Kings used the delivery of it, as a sign of Investiture ( being indeed the same with the ancient Sceptre ) to which succeeded amongst the German Emperours, a Sword for Kingdoms, and a Banner for Provinces. As to the fashion of the Signet it self, Kings before the use of Arms on Shields, according to the preuent Custome, were wont to sign and Seal with several Impresses and Representations. The ancient *Perian* Kings used the Image of the preuent King, say some, others of *Cyrus*, and others say of *Darius*, which got him the Kingdom by Neighing. *Alexander the Great*, as writes *Curtius*, sealed such Letters as were sent into Europe, with an old King, such as were for *Asta*, with that of *Darius*. *Sylla* caused to be Ingraven in his Ring the Image of *Fugurtha*, whom he had Conquered. *Augustus Cæsar* at first Sealed with a *Sphynx*, and when he perceived that gave occasion of Discourse, with the Image of *Alexander*, and at last with his own ( cut by *Dioscorides* ) which last Fashon was followed by his Successours. Yet *Galba* broke the Custome, Sealing with his Paternal device of a *Dog looking from the Deck of a Ship*. And *Commodus* tells *Clodius Albinus*, that he shoud receive his Letters sealed with the Seal of *Amazonia*; the ancient Kings of the Franks wore their own Images in their Rings, representing only the Head and part of the Breast, by the Romans called *Effigies Thoracatus*, and Περιπολές Βασιλιγές, by the Greeks. Such is this of King *Chilperick*, and a later of *Chilperick* his great Grandson, having after the Fashon of those of the Eastern Emperours, their Breast-plates adorned as it were with *Gemmæ*.

31. But amongst the other Rarities presented to the Arch-Duke, was there an Image of the Head of an Oxe of pure Gold, whereof the Eyes, Nostrils and Horns were decked with Rubies. The Brain-pan was hollow and open, having a cover, and

Sect. 2. and the whole perious and hollow, as far as the Throat for the receiving (it's probable) of Wine or other Liquors for Adoration. On the cover was a Button, either for to hang on it Magical Toys, for Garlands, Flowers, or the like Gifts, or Offerings. This hung on the Forehead of his Horse, being fastened to the Head-stall, from which *Patrus* the Priest loosed it, and was indeed the King's Idol, and Companion in his Warlike expeditions. For the *Franks* were at this time *Pagans* (or *Giftia Reg. Fran- Fanatics*, as an ancient Author calls them) using various sorts of Images and corum.

Representations ; and amongst others, it seems this of an *Oxe*, which whether they had it from the *Egyptian* Custome of worshipping the Bull *Apis*, or each People received it from a more general abuse of Religion, at the dispersion of Nations as some conceive, is not fit in this place to be discussed. *Cliffetius* observes, that after Christianity came amongst them ; they were yet much addicted to this sort of Animal, being wont to be drawn by them in Chariots, which Custome yet continues amongst the Inhabitants of *Taxandria* or *Brabant*, where the most ancient *Franks* first seated themselves. He conceives the Idol to be hung at the Forehead of the Horse out of a Religious humour, which *Tacitus* long ago observed to be in the *Germans* (Predecessours and Progenitors of the *Franks*) who attributed much unto the Neighings, or various noise made by Horses, taking thence their prefaces, and counting no *Auspicio*, so certain and infallible. But as the Horse his Face was adorned with this Idol of Oxes Head, to his trappings with a number of Bees of the same Metal ; there being betwixt the Natures of Bees and Oxen, so great affinity, that as Naturalists unanimously agree, Bees are generated out of the corrupted Carcasses of Oxen, and as both *Bernardinus Gometus*, and *Kircher* have observed in several Drones, which in their Entrails retain something which manifestly bears the shape of the Idol of *Childeric*. All those Bees were of one bigness, weighing each thirty fix Grains of pure Gold, having none of a larger size, or Kings amongst them, which Office *Childeric* desired alone, and without any Representation of a Competitor to enjoy, whilst the little Bees expressed the duty of loving and obedient Subjects.

Lib. de mirabilis Germanorum.

Gometus dy in  
lib. V, foliis. lib. 4.  
Ostentat Pam-  
phili, cap. 1.

32. Hereby feasonably, as *Chiffletius* judgeth, may be determined that Question so much of late debated, and by none Satisfactorily determined, *viz.* What were the Arms of the ancient French Kings? *Guagninus* tells us, that it was a constant Report continued to his time, that three Toads were born by them in their Armour, which *Papirius Massonus* also confesseth; but affirms the opinion to be grounded upon no Authority. *Nicolaus Gillius* reports, that *Clodonaeus* the first bore in his Escutcheon three Crescents, which at length he rejected and exchanged for Lilies, but he who lived the last Age is not at all to be heeded, relating a thing which happened one thousand one hundred Years before, without some Testimony of Antiquity to back him. In like manner, *Paulus Emilius* tells us a story of *Clodonaeus*, who being to be Baptized, instead of three red Diadems, which he bore in a White shield whilst he was *Pagan*, took Lilies, which hath no more Foundation in Antiquity than the former. Neither were Lilies then born by the ancient French Kings. First, because as now they are the Arms of *France*, they are Golden, which Colour is not natural unto Lilies, envied by *Venus* her self for their Whiteness. Again a Lily consists of six Leaves, these of *France* but of three; and lastly, none of these Kings used them, forasmuch as *Duchesne*, Historiographer to the French King, confessed in a Letter to *Chiffletius*, that he could not obserue Lilies in any Seal of the French Kings before *Philip Augustus*. Upon this Account, those both of the Line of *Meroneus*, and *Charles the Great* are excluded, to whom those Lilies in their Tombs are fally ascribed, which gave *Peireskius* just occasion, as well as other Circumstances, to Quarrel with the Tombs of *Clodonaeus* at St. *Genouefeu*, and *Chilperick* at St. *Germans*, and to esteem so little of those at St. *Denis*; that he thought all those most ancient Monuments to have been built at the same time, and not long before the Reign of St. *Lewis*. *Fauchet* Conjectures, that the first Heralds that invented the Coat Armour of the *Franks*, intending to denote their Original from the *Sicambri*, who inhabited the Fens of *Freisland*, toward *Holland*, *Zeland* and *Gelderland*, gave their Kings the flower *Panilea* or *Iris* (being a little Lily of a yellow Colour, which growth in Marsh Grounds, and flourishing in *May* or *June*) in a blew Field imitating water, which when it stands still acquireth the Colour of the Skies. But not to speak of Geography, which gives to the *Franks*, as we have seen, dry Ground as well as Marishes; *Chiffletius* rejects this flower partly, because there is of it no mention in Antiquity. Especially, for what he discovered in the Grave of *Childeric*. *Renatus Cerferius*, would have them to have been the Head of a Spear, which afterwards came to be changed for its similitude into Lilies: But he brings *In Clodoneus.*  
*In Clodoneus.*  
*Lib. 3. Annal.*  
*Præf. ad Taci-  
rum Francium.*

CHAP. I. Contemporary with the Const. Roman Empire. Clodonæus. 337

brings no Authours on his side, and confounds the Spear or *Framea*, with the *Francisca* of the *Franks*. Sect. 3.

33. Having taken so much pains to tell what they were not, at length, he concludes what the Arms were, *viz.* No other but Bees, wherewith the trappings of Childerick his Horfe were all over garnished, as I remember I have seen at Paris, in the Church of *Noſtre Dame* the Horfe of St. Lewis, (who at the upper end of the Body of the Church, hath there his Statue on Horfe-back at the Right hand, as one goes toward the Quire,) juſt fo beltowed, and fet out with Lilies. His main Argument is taken from Childerick's Horfe. The Bees he conceives did at length degenerate into Lilies, for more Reasons than one. First, because the Lilies of France as they are painted, are not much unlike Bees, especially such as are found in the old Coins of the Ephesians, and Delphians, which have their Wings so long and stretching out, that together with the Tail, they make a Figure much resembling the shape of the Modern French Lily. As many Lilies were born, and in uncertain numbers, by the French Kings descended from *Hugh Capet*, so many Bees were found in the Grave of Childerick. The Lilies of France <sup>Effe apud par-tem divine me-ritis & hauis</sup> were accounted of Celestial Original by the Vulgar, and Bees are not derived from inferior Pedegree, by thoſe Heraldis the Poets. These Flowers *De lis*, (as we English must call them, because the French do) are blazoned in a blew Azure field, which is the Element or Camp of our Bees, who exercise themselves continually in the Air. A Bee you know gathers Honey, to which Pliny gives grand Epithetes, and which is alſo of a yellow or Golden Colour. A Lily is a Royal flower, and fo is a Bee a Royal (what ſhall I call it) Inſect. But that we may tell the Reader, how by degrees the Arms, or Devices of France came to be changed; he muſt know, that Bees were thus in repute with Childerick, and Clodonius his Son, till ſuch time as he turned Christian, which was, A. D. 496. Though the ſtory hath gone, that he then rejected the Toads, and exchanged them for Lilies. From this time Chiffletius queſiſteth, he and his Son Clotharius, uſed no other Image or Representation, than that of the Croſs, for in a Golden Coin of this Clotharius, which Paulus Petavius (as Gaffendus telleth us) received from Peireskius and published, which also Chiffletius in his *Vindicia Hispanica* hath exemplified; there is to be ſeen on one ſide his own Image, and on the other a Croſs. The Kings of the ſecond race uſed no other *Symbolum* in their Seals, nor Monuments. As for the third, Fanechet writes, that he could not make any certain Obſervation, of any Lilies uſed before Lewis the Groſs, in whose Reign, or a little before thoſe Enigmas called Arms began to be Hereditary. This Lewis began his Reign in the Year 1108, and the *Cruſado*, or expedition into the Holy Land (from which Families derive their Arms, or Enigmas of diſtinction) was undertaken in the Year 1096. At which time Chiffletius imagines, that unſkillfull Heraldis being to give Arms to the French King, painted the Bees to ill-favouredly, that they represented Toads, as well as that for which they were designed: Fanechet produceth indeed an old Coat Armour, wherein Lilies were fo badly painted, that one might take them as well for Toads as Flowers. At length Philip Augustus, who travelled to *Jeruſalem*, A. D. 1190. First took the Lilies into his Coat Armour, but many in number of fo late ſtanding are the French Lilies, which were afterward reduced to the number of three in the Reign of Charles the Sixth, who departed this Life in the Year of our Lord, 1422.

34. To speak briefly of the other remaining Rarities ; the Style or Pin, where-with he wrote was of Steel, such as the Ancients used to write with in Tables, covered over with Wax. It was quite confounded in its Golden case, to which Chifflet procured another to be fitted, and affirms it was not only serviceable for writing, but for stabbing also, if need should require ; this *Graphium* or *Stylus*, having been too often employed in such Service, as appears from the *Roman story*. The *Graphiarium*, or *Cafe*, was all of pure Gold, not sparkling with Gemmes, as the other Royal Ornaments ; but ingraven all over with little Crofes, upon which Account, seeing the King himself was a Pagan, Chifflet conjectureth it was given him by St. Genouefue, the Patroness of *Paris*, a Virgin much honoured by him, and for whose sake as the Legend tells the story, he remitted the Sentence of Death to several Offenders. From the keeping of the *Graphium*, he thinks the *Grafones* or *Graves*, which Anfwer the greater sorts of Counts to have been denominated. But the *Pagillares*, or *Diptyche* (when consisting but of two Leaves) or Tables on which he wrote, were confounded by time and moisture, only the Gold case remaining, wherein they were set. Sometimes these Tables were of Box, sometimes of

Sect. 2. Ivory, or other choicer Stuff. According to the Wealth and Quality of the owner.

35. It was the Custome for the Arms of Princes and great men to be Burnt or Buried with them, as appears from *Cyrus Eptiætion* and others, and *Tacitus* witnesseth particularly concerning the *German* Nation. Which gave occasion since the days of Chrifitianity, to the setting up of Coats Armoiries upon Graves; and fixing them unto Heres, and daubing or hanging the Walls of Churches with them, as is extravagantly practized in the Low Countries, the Provinces of *Holland* especially. Accordingly with *Childerick* was Buried his Sword, the Steel whereof all fell apeices, but was discovered to be about two feet and an half in length, having only one Edge, as intended to Cut and not to Stab. The Gold and sparkling Gemms which adorned the Scabbard, and Hilt remained intire, weighing twelve ounces and two drachms. Besides this Sword which had a Golden Hilt adorned with Gemms, so as to make it futable to the Scabbard, there was the head or Iron of a Battle Axe very much eaten with rust, three parts of a foot long, and half as broad, the figure whereof as of all the rest of those things, *Chifflet* caused to be cut in Copper and stamped in his Book. This Axe or Hatchet was by the Spaniards called *Francisca* from the *Franks* their uing of it, as *Iffore de Hispaliſ* affirms, *ibid. 18. cap. 6.* being called *Francisca* or *Francia* in the same feneſe, as in the Acts of a certain Council, *Charles the Bald*, Emperour, is said to have come in a Golden Robe after the French faſhion, *Habitu Francico*, with the Legates of the Apoftolick See. *Argentum dimicis*, *ibid. 5. c. 33.* Molt Authors in describing the *Francisca* make it a *Bipennis* or two-edged, and their Authority is of ſuch weight, ſome of them being capable of ſeeing them with their Eyes, that we can little doubt of their Testimony. Yet this of *Childerick* was *Bipennis* per ſe, a plain Axe, fo that we must believe the *Franks* ued two sorts of this Weapon, *pennum eſt & though Bipennis be taken ſometimes for a ſimple, ſingle or plain Hatchet. Besides *Haffar*, vcl. 13. this *Francisca*, was found the head or Iron of a Spear or Javelin of a triangular form, *ram vocabulum frater*, *ram vocabulum fratrem*, *mentem angustam & levem*; both of *Framea* and *Hafsa*, defiſcribing it accordingly to have been a ſhort kind of Spear, with a narrow and light Iron, but fo sharp and convenient, that they could fight either *Cominus* or *Eminus* with it as they ſaw occation. So that *Pontanus in p[ro]p[ri]o sel[ectione]* was greatly miſtaken, imagining the *Framea* to be the ſame thing with the *Francisca*.*

36. As it was a Custome for great Persons to have their Arms buried with them, fo alſo their Horſes and Grooms, ſometimes their Wives with other Servants and Attendants, as is clear in the Story of the *Indians*, *Scythians*, *Galls*, *Danes* and *Germanians*. With *Childerick* was Buried his *Bucephalus*, whom it pleatheth *Chifflet* ſo to name, not because he had the figure of an Ox-head upon his Shoulder as he of *Alexander*, but bore on his forehead his Maſter's Idol. The bones of his Head and Jaws were remaining, with a Shoe of Iron almost conſurned, yet entire at the firſt view, which ſhewed his Feet to have been none of the biggeſt. And beſides the Golden Bees formerly mentioned, ſo many Golden plates and boſles were found belonging to his Bridle and Trappings, as diſcovert theft to have been exceedingly Royal and Magnificent, which the Relatour thinks deſigned rather out of reſpect to the Idol than the Rider. But the Bones of the Horſe diſcovered abundantly, what Man's ſkull the other was found with that of the King, it being the Custome to have the Groom as well as the Horſe, either Burnt or Buried with his Maſter. The Groom of *Childerick* was very young, as appeareth by his ſkull compared with the King's. Princes being wont to have ſuch small attendants upon their Stables, (perhaps only as Pages of the Stirrup for they could not doe the work.) In a certain Diptyck of Ivory belonging to the Cathedral of *St. Lambert in Leige*, wherein is described *Saminanus* or *Sabinianus* the *comes Domesticon Equitum*, and Ordinary Consul in the year 505, under *Anastasius*, are also drawn to the Life two little Dwarfiſh Grooms leading out of the Stable the Emperor's Horſes, and below them other five of the fame Stature, amonſt whom two having their hands bound behind them, and an Horſe-fhoe or ſomething of that Nature hanging at their Noſes or Mouths. The whole Decription of them is to be ſeen in a Brafs Cutt in *Chifflet's* book.

37. The Buckles, Claps or Buttons belonging to the Ornaments of the Horſe exprefſed in Latine by the word *Fibula*, were of pure Gold and ſet thick with Rubies and other Gemms, an Honour peculiar to Sovereign Princes. *M. Brutus* of *Plin. lib. 33.* old complained that Tribunes were fo luxuriant then as to wear Golden *Fibulae*. *Cap. 3.* *Aurelian* the Emperour was the firſt that gave common Souldiers leave to wear *Vopfus*. *Cap. 11.* them of Gold, whereas formerly they had only ued thoſe of Silver. *Leo the Emperour*

peror forbade the wearing of Pearl and Jacinth in Bridles, Saddles, or Girdles, but permitted ſingle *Fibulae* of Gold to be worn by private perſons, with this caution, that what was Sacred as he terms it to his ufe and Ornament, they ſhould not dare to imitate. *Joannes Rhodius* complains that of the ancient Roman *Fibulae* none could be found but thoſe of Brads, and thoſe alſo very rare, onely *Pancirollus* tells us of a Golden one he ſaw, the figure whercof was ſent to *Charles Emanuel Duke of Savoy*. In the East the ſingle Golden ones were peculiar to Princes and very great men, as appears by the privilege granted to *Simon* the High Priest by *Demetrius* to be Clothed in Purple and to uſe a Golden *Fibula*, as *Jonathan* had received the ſame privilege from *Alexander* and *Antiochus*. The ancient *Fibula* of the *Romans* was without an Hook, reſembling a kind of a Bow to which a Bodkin made a String: But thoſe of *Childerick* though various in ſhape, yet for the moft part imitate the Modern ones in the Hook, and the Ring into which it is inſerted. Had *Pancirollus* lived to fee this Treaſure, he would have been ſenſible how much Light might thence have been obtained for clearing of the thing ſo much controverſed. They were fo many of them and fo maſſy, that altogether they weighed 17 ounces of Gold. The form of them is very well repreſented in the Book of *Chifflet*, neither the ſpace of 1200 years, nor the moiture of the place, having at all corrupted the ſubſtance of the Gold, nor changed the lively and sparkling Colour of the Gemms. The Crayſtall ball found in the Grave, he thinks was ued by the King in his Sicknes, a virtue being aſcribed to thoſe Balls by Natuſalifts of refrehing and cooling the hands of thoſe that lie ſick of acute Fevers. But we have made too long a Digreſſion.

### S E C T. III.

From the Death of Childerick, and the Promotion of Clodonæus the first Christian King, to the Ruine of his Family, or of thoſe called the Meroningers.

The ſpace of two hundred ſixty four years.

*Clodonæus ſucceeds.*

**T**O *Childerick* ſucceeded *Clodonæus* his Son, begotten on *Bafina*, and the Heir of his Courage as well as his Kingdom, being by ſome called *Hludowicus*, and by others *Hludowicus*, *Ludovicus*, and *Ludum*, according to the diuinity of Nations and Dialects, in the eleventh year of the Emperor *Zeno*, the ninth of *Odoacer* King of Italy, the ſecond of *Felix* the Roman Bishop, A.D. 484, *Theodorich* King of the Goths, and *Venantius* being Confuls.

2. *Clodonæus* not onely filled *Gall* with the fame of his Achievements, but affrigged all *Europe* by the Noife of his ſuccesfull Arms. *Gall* was at this time held by four feveral Nations, all which Lorded it over the poore Natives, viz. the *Romans*, *Goths*, *Burgundians* and *Franks*. He eſteeming it a thing belo[ve]d him, and unworthy of his Progenitours, to content himſelf with what their Valour had devolped upon him, reſolved to raife his Name as high as their Renown by new Conquests. The *Romans* he thought fit to begin withall, because their Power now feemed utterly decayed, and upon the Invasion of Italy and theſe Western Provinces, the *Præfecti Prætorio* kept to themſelves ſuch Cities as they had formerly Commanded. Having drawn in *Chararicus* and *Ragnarius* his Kinſmen, and petty Princes of the *Franks*, in the fifth year of his Reign he marched againſt *Syagrius* the *Roman*, who held the City of *Succio* now called *Soissons* and provoked him to Battel, who not at all diſmayed with the terror of fo great a force as *Clodonæus* brought along with him, came forth and Ingaged, but had the fortune though he fought moft valiantly to be overthrown, and fled for ſuccour to *Tholouſe*, to *Alaricus* King of the *Goths*, who overcame with the threats of *Clodonæus*, delivered him up into his Hands,

*Sect. 3.*

*A. D.*

*CCCLXXXIV.*

*Theodorico &*

*Venantius Cœf.*

*C. 12.*

*Gregorius Tur-*

*nest. lib. 2. c. 29.*

*Ammonius. l. 1.*

Sect. 3. Hands, and he caused him presently to be beheaded. Then did the Victorious King subdue Soissons with the other Towns adjacent, and enlarged his Territories as far as the River *Loire*, the Romans being utterly dispossessed of and driven out of *Gall*, their Dominion over which Country now received its period, after it latel from out of *Gall*.  
And drives them  
498 or 489. their time of *Julius Caesar*, his first Invasion about 546 years, in the year of our Lord 488 or 489, *Probus* and *Eusebius* being Consuls.

3. But amongst the Allies and Associates of *Clodonæus*, *Chararicus* is said as solicitous about the event to have carried himself rather as Neuter in this War, though defended of the same Stock with the King. For at this time there were several Reguli of the *Franks*, who Reigned in *Gallia Belgica* called *Austra*, and *Francia Orientalis*, as that Country, now called *France*, was known by the name of *Francia Occidentalis*; of these *Sigebert* had his Seat at *Coleine*, *Ragnacharius* at *Cambray*, and *Chararicus* in some other place, which it seems they held as Appendages, being defended of the blood Royal, and acknowledging *Clodonæus* for their Superior. He having finished the War with *Syagrius* and unwilling to lie idle, fell upon the *Thuringi*, and in the tenth year of his Reign forced them to receive his Commands. And in this same year he Married *Clotildis* or *Crotildes*, the Niece of *Gundebaldus* King of the *Burgundians*, of whom he fell inamoured upon this occasion. He sent on a time his Ambassadors to the Court of the *Burgundian* to establish a Peace, <sup>*Ammonius, lib. 1. c. 13.*</sup> who whilst they made their abode there, took much notice of a Maid that dwelt in the Palace, whom they observed to be extraordinary both for beauty and for deportment. They inquire who she is, and have answer it is the King's Niece, who takes care of her Education, her Parents being Dead. The Ambassadors returning, tell the King they have done all they had in Commission, and fall into large Commendations concerning the Maid, affirming her a Person worthy of the greatest Monarch living. He is hereupon smitten, falling in love with her he never saw, and without hoping by Marriage with her so to order his matters, as to make himself King of *Burgundy*; he sends one *Aurelian* to take more notice of her, and upon liking richly to present her, to Wooc her for him, and to know how she could stand affected to the Match.

4. *Aurelian* being entred *Burgundy*, and drawing near to the Court, Commands his followers to hide themselves in the adjoyning Woods. He Clothes himself with the Rags of a Beggar, and goes to make trial if he could speak with *Clotildis*, who was gone to Church, it being then the Lord's Day. He amongst other Beggars stands and expects her coming out, and when Service was done, out the came to give her Alms to the Poor. She reaches money to *Aurelian*, who lays hold on her Hand, and uncovering it makes as if he would kiss it. Hereat she is offended, and going into the Palace, sends for the Beggar and expostulates with him for his sauciness, who giving her no answer to this Demand, takes the opportunity to do his Message, telling her that her Master the King of the *Franks* hearing of her excellent Vertues, desired her in Marriage, and he goes to shew her his Ring and the other Presents, but turning about finds that his Bag wherein he conveyed them, and which he had laid behind the Dore was stolen from him. But inquiry being made, the Bag was found and restored to him as a Stranger, out of which he then takes the Presents, which receiving he made him this answer. *It is not lawfull for a Woman that is a Christian to Marry a Pagan, but if Almighty God be pleased so to order it, that I may be a means to bring him to an acknowledgment of his Creatour, I refuse not but submit to his pleasure.* *Aurelian* answered there was no doubt but the King would comply with her, and thereupon the desired him that all might be concealed from her Uncle. He returns and gives his King an account of his success, who is more and more inamoured of her by all Reports he receives, and the more because the Kingdom of *Burgundy* he had already swallowed in his hopes. He sends, and by his Ambassadors asks her in Marriage of her Uncle, who without much ado consents and delivers her to be conveyed to his Presence. Not long after *Theodorich*, King of the *Goths* in *Italy*, sends and demands *Andalfeda* the Sister, (*Jornan* des faith the Daughter) of *Clodonæus*, and obtains her for his Wife. And so these three potent Nations Invaders and Sharers of the Roman Empire, became allied and confederate amongst themselves.

5. *Clodonæus* four or five years after his Marriage undertook a War against the *Alemans*, it being as contrary to his restleſs humour, as his ambition to lie idle. They foreseeing the Storm whilst yet beyond the *Rhine*, resolved that seeing there must be a War, the Seat of it should not be their own Country, and passing the River would give him some tolerable pretence to quarrel with them. Some say <sup>*Papinius Melissenius, lib. 1. cap. 17.*</sup> they came into *Gall* to seek out new Seats, and entring into *Germania Secunda*, encamped

## CHAP. I. Contemporary with the Conf. Roman Empire. Clodonæus.

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camped at *Tulbiacus* a Village belonging to the *Agrippinenses*, or those of *Coleine*, <sup>*Sect. 3.*</sup> according to *Tacitus*. *Miræus* in his *Chronicon Belgicam* calls it a Town of the *Ubii*, at this day known by the name of *Zwillich*, and *Pontanus* writes it *Zulpich*, but whatever was the Name, a great and bloody Battel was here fought by the *Franks*, for preservation of their Conquests, their fame and reparation, by the *Alemans* for their Liberty and their Fortunes. After much contention and slaughter on both sides, *Clodonæus* saw plainly that the Enemy got ground, whereupon with a sorrowfull Heart and weeping Eyes cast up to Heaven, saith *Gregory*, he devoutly implored the assistance of *Iesus Christi*, whom as he said *Clotildis* preached to be the Son of God, and who was reported to afford help and assistance to persons in distreſs, and procure Victory for such as believed in him, vowing faith in his Name, and therein to be Baptized, if by a Victory now obtained over his Enemies, he might but have experience of his Divine Power. This Prayer made, the Face and Posture of the Battel was instantly changed, and the *Alemans* who had lately born themselves as Victors were constrained to flee, and their King being slain, humbly to beg pardon and peace of *Clodonæus*.

6. *Sigebert* the Prince of *Coleine* received a wound in his Foot, of which he ever after continued lame. *Lipps* would have *Adalgerio* King of the *Boii*, amongst other Princes to have been in this Battel, but *Marcus Vespurius* as well as others deny it, affirming that it doth not appear by the Testimony of any ancient Writer, that <sup>*Remm Boiorum, l. 2.*</sup> this Fight touched, or any way concerned that Nation. However, great was the Reputation that *Clodonæus* got by the Victory. *Theodorich* King of the *Goths* in *Italy*, by Letters yet to be seen amongst *Cassiodorus* his various Epistles, congratulated <sup>*lib. 2. ep. 41.*</sup> with him, and moved some say by the intreaties of the *Alemans* interceded for them, advising him to use his Fortune and Power moderately toward the Conquered, who yet as it seems from *Ennodius* had no such good Quarter at his Hands, but that they <sup>*In Panegyrica*</sup> rather chose to accept of the offer of *Theodorich*, who kindly invited them into *Italy*. The Ambassadors of *Theodorich* brought with them a man skillful on the Harp, as a present to *Clodonæus*, who having formerly defred such an Artift of him, he wrote to *Boetius* requiring him to find out the most expert in all *Italy*. But *Clodonæus* returning home after his Victory, recounted to *Clotildis* his Wife the story of his Prayer, and what had followed upon it; which opportunity she, who had often solicited him heretofore, now taking, so wrought with him, that he took upon him the Profession of Christianity, being Baptized by *Remigius* Bishop of *Rheims*, as will be amply set forth in its proper place.

7. At this time Reigned over the *Burgundians* *Godegisilus*, in conjunction with *Gundebaldus* his Brother, but fearing that at length he should be sent after his Brother, *Chilperich* the Father of *Clotildis*, whom *Gundebaldus* had Murthered, he sends privately to *Clodonæus* and offers him a yearly Tribune, on condition he would stand close to him and assist against the Tyrant. *Clodonæus* promises him his utmost assistance, and levying a great Army marches straight against *Gundebaldus*, who utterly ignorant of what had passed betwixt them, sends to his Brother requiring his assistance for oppofing the Injustice and Violence of their common Enemy. *Godegisilus* returns him good words and fair promises, but joyning his Forces with *Clodonæus* at *Divio*, they fall upon *Gundebaldus* near the River *Oscara*, and putting him to flight drive him to \* *Avenio*, which done, *Godegisilus* gives up part of the <sup>*Dives Metropoli*</sup> *Burgundians* <sup>*Ducatus Burgundie*</sup> <sup>*die hodie Dijon,*</sup> <sup>*de qua haec Me-*</sup> <sup>*rula inter Pla-*</sup> <sup>*ra. Divitio nomen ab*</sup> <sup>*Forces the Bur-*</sup> <sup>*ges, milie potius*</sup> <sup>*restaurator, po-*</sup> <sup>*ligeretur propter loca*</sup> <sup>*admodum impo-*</sup> <sup>*deratur. Numerus ab*</sup> <sup>*Divitio qui plati-*</sup> <sup>*mus isti sunt Cul-*</sup> <sup>*torum impositum pa-*</sup> <sup>*tatur. Hac rite*</sup> <sup>*nihil in Burgan-*</sup> <sup>*dis pulchritudo.*</sup> <sup>*Cestrum vocatur*</sup> <sup>*a Gregorio Tur-*</sup> <sup>*\* Avenio urbs*</sup> <sup>*Salinorum sede*</sup> <sup>*Asigenum Mercede*</sup> <sup>*in Campania.*</sup>

8. All this while *Alaricus* Reigned securely over the *Visigoths* or Western *Goths* in *Gallia Narbonensis*, having under his Dominion the whole Country lying betwixt the Rivers *Rhône* and *Loire*, as far as the *Pyrenean Mountains*. *Clodonæus* was so incensed against him for holding the *Arian* Heresie as *Antoninus* believed, or rather

Sect. 3. rather envied him so much for the large share he had of *Gall*, that he resolved to pick a quarrel with him, and for that purpose sent his Ambassadors to him to give him a meeting at the Borders, and to settle some Rules about the receiving of Fugitives, terms so ticklish as he knew would give offence. And *Alarius* sent back the Ambassadors both without their businels done, and without any respect due to those of their *Character*, which advantage *Clodowenus* readily took and denounced War against him, as well to vindicate and affer the Law of Nations, as the Catholick Faith. The Noife of this War was quickly blown over into *Italy*, and came to the Ears of *Theodosius* the Father-in-Law of *Alarius*, who offered himself straight as Mediator betwixt them, writing his Letters to them both, to the Kings of the *Herculi*, *Thuringi* and the neighbouring Nations, (Yet to be seen amongst *Cassiodorus* his Epistles) for an Accommodation. " *Alarius* he advisedst not to be too confident upon the reputation of the *Vifigates*, for the great things by them formerly atchieved; he bids him consider what an alteration Peace and Idlenes work in the minds of men, and not to commit that to the chance of fortune, which with infinite labour and travel had been so long a time procuring, but stay till he could fend to the King of the *Franks*, and be content that the quarrel be taken up by the Interposition and Arbitration of Friends. He tells *Lodinus*, (for so is *Clodowenus* there called,) that he could not but wonder he should be so easily moved, and upon so slight an occassion to make War upon his Son-in-Law, for it would be the pastime of the Enemies of both Nations. Bids him consider they are both Kings of most flourishing People, but in the flower of their Age, and that therefore they ought not lightly and out of love to contention bring their Kingdoms into extreme hazard; he also propounds to him the mediation of Neighbour Princes, and commands him to lay by the Sword, which he could not in Honour see drawn by either of them. In conclusion, by the privilege of a Father and a Friend, he threatens that which foever of them should neglect his Advice should find the whole power of his *Goths*, and all his Friends and Allies ingaged against him.

9. *Clodowenus* thought it an extravagant and proud humour of the *Ostrogoths*, to imagine that he sat at the Helm of the World, and should take upon him to be Moderatour of Nations, not content to have by his mediation obtained fairer terms for the *Alemans*, than otherwise had been granted them. "Concerning his threats and slighting his Admonitions, he answers him in short, that he flood affected toward the King of the *Ostrogoths*, just as it was fit he shoud and no more, for he perceived him resolved to give harbour and relief to his Enemies, that he made no War upon *Alaricus*, but *Alaricus* upon him, which being as good as denounceed against him, he demands why he may not defend himself, and desires he may not farther be provoked to act any thing which may be contrary to his own Principles, and the dictates of good Nature. This answer quite alienated the mind of *Theodorich* from him, who sent speedily to the Neighbouring Kings before mentioned, inveighing grievously against him as a man that rejected every thing, that had the stamp of Just and Right upon it, made his Sword the rule and measure of his Actions, and was absolutely deaf to all reasonable proposals. He insists upon it as the interest of all Nations, to put a stop to the growing Power of the *Franks*, which would procure the Destruction of all other Kings doms, if after the *Alemans*, the *Visigoths* should be destroyed. Headaveth that a Council of Princes be formed, to which *Clodowenus* might be summoned to give an account, and forasmuch as the safety of each was included in the prudence of all together, each one must send his Ambassadors to deter him from the execution on what he had but as yet designed.

10. *Gundebaldis* the *Burgundian* was not deaf to any Propofal made against *Clodonæus* whom he hated, more for his greatness and Power than for his Religion, though he himself was a bitter and inveterate *Arian*. For it can scarcely be believed that he who had Murthered one of his Brothers already, and had now shut up the other in *Vienna*, intending toufe him in the like fort, could be much troubled with the dictates of Conscience; neither doth *Clodonæus* in his anſwer to *Theodorich*, alledge any thing concerning Faith or Religion against *Alaricus*, though the Historians of those times being Churchmen, look upon such Contentions through Religious Glasses, (more suitable to the Organ than the Object,) being as little skilled as practized in secular Policy and State Mysteries. By this time *Godezifilus* and his followers were sorely strained in *Vienna*, where Provisions were so scarce that

*orūm circumiacenti trahit nomen dæc: p:ys de viennœ. A Venerio Africano exule biennio adscitam & inde Biennam vocatam in vulgo tradidit. Salis hoc videt Merula. Alpinam vixit Aufius 4. Paternal. Et Carm. 7. de uribis. Notat ibi Venerius ex Plinio & Prolemae Viennam Austria ut hinc, ut in hisc coenominatione huic fusse sed Viana nomes habuisse.*

### *Godegisilus*

## CHAP. I. Contemporary with the Conſt. Roman Empire. Clodonæus.

*Godegofius* thought fit to put out of the Town the mean and the useless Multitude. This being done, it happened that the Man that had had the charge of the Aqueduct, was thrust out among the rest, which so enraged him, that presently he went to *Gundebalodus*, and discovered to him how he might easily take the City. He led a Company of select Men into the Aqueduct, who following his Directions, with Iron Bars removed the Stones that stopped the passage, and without much labour opened a way for the Souldiers, who entering the City, surprized the besieged, set open the Gates to their fellows, and easily made themselves Masters of the place. *Godegofius* fled to a Church of the *Arians*, and there was slain, with a Bishop of that Profession. The Franks that served him, all gathered together in a certain Towre, as resolved to fight it out, rather than be knocked on the Head, but *Gundebalodus* commanded no harm should be done them, and sent them away to *Alarius* at *Thoulouse*, as into banishment. Such Senatours, and other *Burgundians*, as were of his Brother's Party he flew; the Country which now is called *Burgundy*, faith *Gregory of Tours*; he festered under his own Authority and Dominion; and to the People he gave milder Laws, that they might not be capable of oppressing the Romans.

12. But *Procopius*, an Author more ancient than *Gregory the Bishop of Tours*, *Anastasius*, tells the story a little different from his Relation. He writes how the *Germans*, as *Decio* he calls them, or *Franks*, having invaded the Country of the *Goths*, pitched their Camp about *Carcaso*, a City of *Gallia Narbonensis*. That *Alaricus* having levied very considerable Forces, lay down in a very safe and convenient place, expecting, it seems, the Auxiliaries of *Theodoric*, his Father-in-Law, out of *Italy*. But the *Franks* behaving themselves as Soldiers are wont in an Enemies Country, and foraging far and near, the *Goths* began to be angry with their King, and charging him with Laziness and Cowardise, unanimously required that he would lead them out to battle, affirming they could easily beat the *Germans* without the conjunction and Assistance of *Theodoric*. *Alaric* thus necessitated to fight, led them out, but with so ill success, that he himself lost his Life, together with the greatest number of his Men. *Procopius* adds, that the *Franks*, presently after this Victory, besieged *Carcaso*, wherein the great Riches formerly taken by *Alaricus the Elder*, at the taking of *Rome*, were reported to be kept, amongst which was the rare and costly Furniture of *Solomon*, that had been carried from *Jerusalem* to *Rome*, at the taking of that City. But hearing of this Siege, *Theodoric* marched thither with all haste to raise it, which the *Franks*, understanding, durst not abide his coming, but packed up their baggage, and departed, after which they seized on that Tract of *Gallia*, which lieth upon the *Rhône*, and toward the *Ocean*, whence *Theodoric*, not able to drive them, there permitted them to settle themselves, and kept that part of the Country which he had recovered. This is the Relation in short which *Procopius* gives us, much more probable than the stories which *Cassiodorus* and *Jordanus*

Lays Siege to  
Arles.

Sect. 3. tell us, who desirous to speak well of the *Goths*, the one because of his Relation to *Theodoric*, and the other out of respect to his own Country-Men, brag of great things achieved by the *Goths* against those *Germans* whom they will have quite defeated, and to have lost more than thirty thousand of their Men. That these flourishes appears from this, that these *Franks* were not only able to keep the Field, but lay Siege also the same year to *Arles*, the *Metropolis* of *Provence*, a thing more usually practised by the Conquerours, than those that are so shamefully beaten, as they would make them to have been.

Takes Bourdeaux, and defeats the *Goths*.

13. In the mean time the *Viggoths* considering that *Amalaricus* the Legitimate Son of their deceased King, was exceeding young, sent him into *Spain*, there to be reserved for better times, and made choice of *Gislaricus*, his base Brother, to reign in his stead, being by reason of his Age in a better condition to grapple with those difficulties that now prelief upon them. *Theodoric* was so kind, as to take upon him his Protection, and for that purpose, as was pretended, sent his Commanders and great Forces out of *Italy*, whereby, in effect, he became King of the Country, as *Procopius* not obscurely hints, which *Gislaricus* well enough perceiving, boild with Difdain and Anger, and entered into a Conspiracy against *Theodoric*, but being not able to effect any thing, and having few either Hands or Heads to employ, but what were at his devotion, upon discovery of his Design, was deprived of his Fortunes, and fled to *Transmundus*, King of the *Vandals*, into *Italy*, whence not able to procure any considerable assistance, at length he went into *Spain*, and after several fruitles attempts, was at last slain, and an end was put to all his troubles. But to return to *Clodonæus* and his *Franks*, after the raising of the Siege he sends *Theodoricus*, his Son, to take in the *Gotick* Cities, while he makes himself Master of several lying on the Sea Coasts, and amongst the rest, of *Tholoufe*, the *Metropolis* of the Kingdom, and wherein was kept the Royal Treasure. Having taken *Bardigala*, or *Bordeaux*, he therein wintered, and in the Confines of this City defeated a number of *Goths*, who having survived the former Battel, had united themselves in a considerable Body, to great slaughter being made of them, that the place retained the Name of the *Arian* Camp, from this very occasion.

After other  
places subdued  
he returns to  
*Tours*.Is made Consul  
by *Anastasius* the  
Emperor.

14. But the Conquerour was not content with the Conquest of those Cities, nor with the Accession of the *Cadurci*, *Rubeni* and *Arverni*, who yielded up themselves into his hands; neither yet did several parcels of *Acquitaine* satisfy him, on which he had seized, having his mind fixed on *Provence*, which he sorely stomached, that *Theodoric*, partly by Force, and partly by content of the Inhabitants, should have got into his Power. Impatient of a Competitor in the whole Country, he resolves to drive him out of *Gallia*, and for that purpose lays a Siege to *Arles*, the chief City of *Provence*, situate upon the River *Rhone*, over which then lay a wooden Bridge. Here was fought a sore and bloody Battel, the great shocke of which was sustained by *Tolas*, the Captain of the *Goths*, who after much slaughter removed the *Franks* from this Post, as *Abtharick*, the Successor of *Theodoric*, relates in a *Apud Caffet.* Letter to the *Roman* Senate. But the *Franks* though hindered from passing the Bridge, got over at another place, and stoutly besieged the City; yet being neither able to storm the place, nor starve out the Inhabitants, they revenged themselves upon the naked Country adjacent, by Plunder and Devastation, of which, when they would make no end, *Theodoric* sent an Army of *Gepidae* to restrain their Excursions. This obliged them to retreat, which they did, laden with very great booty, and *Clodonæus* flourishing with Military Glory, returned, and took up his Quarters at *Tours*.

15. As there he lay, Ambassadours arrived out of *Greece* from *Anastasius* the Emperor, who sent him the Ensigns and Ornaments of the Consulship. For that Prince being then in *Mesopotamia*, and hearing of the great things performed by him, thought it convenient, by such a kind of Empyr respect, to gain his Favour, and the rather, because *Theodoric*, the *Gotick* King, and the Emperor were at this time at odds about *Pannonia*, on which the *Goths* had seized, and the difference betwixt them was rife to an open War, *Romanus*, the *comes Domesticorum*, and others being about this time sent to waste the maritime Coasts of *Italy*. *Clodonæus* having received the Presents with the Rescript of his Election, sent for *Theodoric* his Son, intending to make a very formal solemnity, and in the great Church of St. *Martin*, invested himself with the *Tunica trabeata*, and the *Chlamys*, and with a Diadem on his Head, rode through the City, casting, as he went along, Gold and Silver to the People, being from that day forward, as *Gregory of Tours* phraseth it, termed *Tanquam Consul et Augustus*. From these words *Tanquam Consul*, as also from the want *Tanquam Consul* & *Augustus* of his Name in the *Foſti*, it appears that by the Consulship now conferred on him

*Cadurci Rueri-*  
*us* *Rubeni* *et*  
*Arverni* *qui*  
*Querci in Gallia*  
*Celtica*.  
*Rueri item Ra-*  
*egnois in Gallia*  
*Celtica*.

Sect. 3.

was not meant the ordinary Dignity and Magistracy which gave the characteristic Note to the Year, but the *Consulatus Codicillaris*, or that by Rescript or Patent, being honorary, and first brought up by *Julius Caesar*. But about this remarkable paſſage in History, various are the Opinions and Judgments of Writers, as their Interests and Relations do severally bias and incline them.

16. *Baronius* will not believe that he accepted of the Honour, because his Name is not found in the *Foſti*, for he concludes, that the Emperor would never offer him the Honorary or Titular Consulship, being a thing much below him, and unusual to be conferred upon those of his Dignity. But the Cardinal measures the Actions of the King by his own Inclinations, and just like the ancient Historians that were Churchmen, looks at them still through a Glafs of Religion, imagining that a Sword was made of the same Materials as a Bishop's Crofer Staff, or a Cardinal's Cap as a Soldier's Helmet. The reaſon that moves him to believe that *Clodonæus* would not accept of the Offer is this, that the Emperor was an *Arian*, and he would not have to doe with an Heretic, full as probable as the conceits of those People who believed at *Rome*, that when our *Henry* the Eighth, and Queen *Elizabeth* were by them excommunicated, they would not only be cut off from the Body of the Church, but from Humane Society, and wither away and perish for want of Commerce with other Princes and Nations. What he farther alledges concerning the meanness of the Honorary Consulship, is founded but upon his own Surmis; for though it was lower than the Magistracy it ſelf, and the Annual Dignity, yet was it wont to be conferred on very deserving and eminent Persons, and the thing was ſo new, and unusual to the *Franks*, that this might be ſome motive to accept it; beſides, we might inſtance in marks of Honour of a more inferior Nature, and not go far from home, which have been accepted in later times, both by Kings and Emperors.

17. But he was now accounted *Tanquam Augustus*, and the *Purple Tunick* and the *Chlamys* were Ensigns and Ornaments of Royal Dignity, as well as the Diadem. *Fauchet* therefore the Preſident interprets them as ſent in token that he ſhould remain invested with that Right and Superiority which the Emperors formerly obtained in *Gallia*, noting farther, that as the Bifhops of theſe times did dutifully demean themſelves, to the Majefty of the Emperors, ſo new Kings were not wont to wear Crowns, till ſent as Gifts from ſome greater Persons. Yet cannot he deny, but the giving of a largesse to the People, was a thing uſual and ſolemn to them that obtained the Consulship, and he was not thenceforward called absolutely *Augustus*, but *Tanquam Consul et Augustus*, to note that his Dignity was but borrowed. But farther, *Fauchet*, and ſome other Modern Writers, will needs that he received the Patriate alſo, or Honour of Patriatian (not unusual to be given to Kings) from *Anastasius*; and *Papirius Maffous* amonſt the reſt, is pretty poſitive, *Hift. lib. 1. p. 24.* further obſerving, that this Honour was far diſferent from the other of the Consulship, the Dignity of Patriatian being perpetual, or for Life, whereas that of the Consul was but annual. But *Baronius* tells him, that for all this, the Honour of the Patriatian was inferior to that of Consul; and that it was thore common; and to boot, he erroneously affirms, that all ancient Authors make mention of the one, but are wholly ſilent as to the other. Laſt of all, *Chibletius*, no friend to the Grandeur of the French Monarchy, ſticks to that of Consul, as not willing to allow the King of the *Franks* too much Honour. But what he confeſſeth beſtowed and received from *Anastasius*, he uieſt as part of Promifes, for uhering in a grand Conclusion, which he much labours, nay sweat to make out. This is that the French Kings, by Permission and Authority of the Emperors, enjoyed their Kingdom, and to held it, though got by force and violence, that as Vaffals they submitted and ſubjected it unto them, and obſerved and obeyed their Rules and Commands. In ſum, he would from this and other Inſances prove, that both the Kings and Kingdom of *France* are obnoxious and ſubject unto the Empire.

18. However, this Ceremony being over, *Clodonæus* departed from *Tours* to *Paris*, where, as *Gregory* words it, he placed the Chair of his Kingdom. There being ſettled, he buil'd himſelf with Domellick Affairs, and with ſomething shortly after which happened amongst his own Countrymen, the occafion rather being taken by the King, than given by *Sigebert*, *Canarius*, *Rachnacharius*, and others of their petty Princes. *Sigebert*, who having his Seat at *Colein*, injured no ſmall Dominions on both ſides of the *Rhine*, thought he was not ſufficiently reſpected and rewarded for the great Services he had done *Clodonæus*, and therat grew diſcontented, when in the mean time *Clodonæus* promised his Son *Chlodorick*, that he ſhould certainly ſucceed in the Inheritance after his Father's Death, and find him

*lib. 2. c. 38.*  
*Et frizes on the*  
*Estate and County*  
*of Sigebert.*

Sect. 3. him both his loving and his constant Friend. *Clodwick* whatever the King spake or meant, made such an Interpretation as suited his Ambition, concluding that he advised him to hasten his Father's end; therefore following him over the Rhine, he flew him in the Wood Barconia, the same as some think with that of Forreft, which at this day is called *Vesterwald*. Thefeat done, he gives *Clodowes* notice that his Father is dead, and desires him, to send some he could trust to receive his Treasure. He gladly lends those that would bring it away, with what farther Infructious it's uncertain; but one of them as *Clodwick* opened a Chest, wherein he said his Father was wont to lay his Gold, bade him thrust down his hand and search it to the bottom, and as he so did, and inclined his Body, his up with his Bipennis or *Francifa*, and struck out his Brains. *Clodowes* having received the News hastens to the place, and there professing to the People, that he was wholly Innocent as to any design against Father or Son, easily persuades them to receive his Protection, and lays the Countrey to his own Dominions.

*Charick* had as we formerly hinted stood Neuter in the Battel, which *Clodonæus* fought with *Sigrius* the Roman Captain, and envying his good Succes, carried himself with little Respect toward him; all which the King bore in an exal-  
cerated mind, and by a Wife getting both him and his Son into his hands, compelled them to be shaven and take Orders; the Father to be made Priest, and the Son to be or-  
dained Deacon. On a time when the Father bewailed his Condition, the young Youth  
laid his hand upon his Chin, and shewing the small Rudiments he had of a shaven  
Beard, affirmed, that those leaves would in so flourishing a Tree grow again, and  
prayed, that he who had been the cause of cutting them, might as speedily perish;  
which Speech coming to the Ears of the King, he thought it fit to make fire work  
of it, and commanded them both to be put to Death. He thus made an end of  
them; but there was one yet behind, the greatest Object of his Jealousie and In-  
digation, which was *Rachnacharius* the Prince of *Cambray*, and the *Atrebates*; a  
Man of a luxurious Life, and exceedingly puffed up with a Conceit of his noble  
Extract, which so far transported him, as to affirm, that the Kingdom of the  
*Franks* of right appertained to himself, being indeed the Great, Great Grandson  
of King *Clodio*. By doating on *Faro* his Minion, and his Lafcivous Carriage, he  
so provoked his Subjects, that they confpired against him, and sent to *Clodonæus*,  
opportunity to betray him into his hands. He who only watched for a convenient  
opportunity, most gladly closed with their Proposals, and to the Conspirators  
sent good store of Gold as they thought; but it was only Bræf's money cunningly  
delivered. *Clodonæus* raises an Army, and marches to them; a Battel is pitcht on  
both sides, but *Rachnacharius* hath his hands bound behind him, and is so pre-  
fented to the King, with his Brother *Richarius* in the same posture, both whom he  
upbraids, that being of the Royal stock, they should suffer themselves to be bound,  
and therewith kill them in the place. They being dispatch'd, he procures another  
Brother they had, *Riznomeris* by Name (otherwise called *Ricinurus* and *Ricimirus*) to be slain, and so possesseth himself of all their Dominions, and their  
Treasurie. Many other Princes out of Jealousie he put to Death, and to many of his  
Kindred, that one day as his Nobles stood before him, he bemoaned his Condition,  
that he was an Alien amongst strangers; having never a Kinsman to stand by him  
in Case of necessity, yet some thought he spake craftily, to see if any one  
would present himself as of the Royal Race. But the Traitors who complained,  
how that their Gold was turned to Bræf, he refused otherwife to require than with a  
severe reproof, as deserving Death it self, for their Ingratitude and Treachery to  
their Prince.

Chrysops disc

20. While *Clodoneus* thus endeavoured to secure to his own Posterity, what he and his Ancestours with so great labour had obtained, about two years after, Death summoned him to other Mansions in the thirtieth year of his Reign, and in the five and fortie of his Age. In several Authours he hath several \* Names, of which we must adverteize the Reader, left he be confounded and mistaken in his perusal of the Histories of these obscure times. In his Epistle to the Bishops after the *Great thick War*, he calls himself *Cotonucus*. *Theodoric* King of *Italy*, directs his Letters to him by the Name of *Ludvin*: In his Epitaph recited by *Aimoinus*, he is called *Clodoneus*; in the Testament of *Rhemigius* the Bishop, who baptiz'd him *Fludowicus*; by *Sigebert* the Historian *Ludowinus*; by *Contractus* and *Albericus*, *Clodoneus*; in an ancient Table at *Brussells*, where he is pictured *Claudius*, and *Clodoneus*; with the *a* vowel, commonly by the Modern *French*. In the said Table, as his Father is pictured with his back turn'd, and with a strange and foreign Cap on his head, to signifie his flight and Exile; so he is to be seen, with his Eyes lift'd up to

## CHAP. I. Contemporary with the Const. Roman Empire.

Theodoric  
Clodomir  
Childebert  
Clotharius.

wards Heaven, and his Hands closed as praying and imploring divine Assisſtance, in Memory, as it seems, of the Battel fought with the *Alemans*. He was certainly a confiderable Man, and for his great Achievements against the *Romans*, *Alemans*, *Goths* and others; and for enlarging to ſo great a Proportion, the bounds of the French Empire deferedwely obtained from Pofterity, the Surname both of the Warriour, and of the Great: As for his Piety, how it could conſit with ſuch particulars as we have mentioned, let *Baronius* and other Church-men, who are moft concerned look to that: He was buried at *Paris*, in the Church of the Holy Apoftles St. Peter and St. Paul, founded by himſelf, which is now changed into that of the Abby of St. *Genouefue*, where his Effigies was to be feen in the days of *Papirius Malfonus*. His Death happened, five years after he had slain *Alaricus* in the twenty fourth Year of *Anatolius* the Emperor, the twenty ſecond of *Theodorich* King of Italy, A. D. 514. M. *Aurelius Caffiodorus*, whom we have to often mentioned without a College, being Conſul. So ſome collect, but *Scaliger* perhaps with better reaſon caſts it back to the 509. Year of our Lord.

21. He left four Sons behind him, *Theodoric*, *Clodomir*, *Childeric* and *Clotha*. *Diodorus* *Die Meru et Gre-*  
who divided his Kingdom equally amongst them. *Theodoric* reigned at *Metz*, *et aliis sitis* *in Gre-*  
*Clodomir* at *Orelance*, *Clotarius* at *Sooissons*, and *Childeric* enjoyed his Father's seat *et aliis sitis* *in Re-*  
at *Paris*. E'er they were well settled, the *Danes* under Conduit of *Cochilaichus*, *pro Mero ma-*  
their King, invaded the Maritime Coasts of *Gall*, and light upon a certain Village *tra Metropoli-*  
belonging to *Theodoric*, which plundering and wasting at their Pleasure, with *macta hau ita* *primum imperi-*  
their Booty and Captives they indeavoured to put to Sea again ; their King refusing *to go aboard*, till he faw them all shipped and put off. But *Theodoric*, having *fecit Regnum*, *et aliis sitis* *in Re-*  
timely notice of this Piracy, sent his Son *Theobald* with a considerable Power *et aliis sitis* *in Re-*  
into those parts ; who being a young Man of excellent Endowments, so ordered *tra Sitia ad* *confluentum Sel-*  
his matters, that he surprized their King e'er he could get to Sea, and then with a *lie in Nefastum*, *Genibus alio no-*  
Fleet he had ready at hand, fit upon the Danish Navy and defeating them, recov-*menti Auctili et*  
ered all the Booty they had got. At this time, three Brothers reigned over the *Arcuetani bedie-*  
*Thoringi* ; *Badericus*, *Herminefredus* and *Bertharius*. *Herminefredu*s first flew his *Liquitum Carnes*, *ram vadificatione*, *Anglia Sella-*  
Brother *Bertharius*, who left a Daughter called *Radeburg*, besides several Sons. *nium ville de Gas-*  
Not herewit content at the Infigation of *Almaberga* his Wife, who used several *triges* *urbis Gallie*  
Tricks to increase his Jealousie and Ambition ; he called in *Theodoric* to his Affili-*Belgice*.  
ence against his other Brother, promising to divide his Territories equally with  
him : joyning therefore their Forces, they fell upon *Badericus*, and easily over-*Luita Meru*  
powering him, destroyed both him and the greatest part of his Army. This done, *par Panorum*, *et aliis sitis* *in Re-*  
*Theodoric* departed home not doubting, but the Conditions of the League would be performed. But *Herminefredus* thought nothing less ; for being once rid of *Vt Gregor. Th-*  
him, he fortified the whole Country, and refused to surrender the share due to *renes. lib. 3<sup>o</sup>*  
*Theodoric* ; who hereupon boiled with Anger against him, but for the present  
found no sufficient opportunity to revenge himself. Inserted upon another Subject.

found no sufficient opportunity to revenge her wrongs.

22. But it was not long, e'er his thoughts were diverted upon another Subject, by the advice and procurement of his Mother. The Murther of her Parents, still ran in her mind, she had often in vain desired their Deaths might be revenged; but now the thought Providence had decreed it, giving her so many Sons, of whom, though one or two might perish in the Attempt; yet she concluded the thing would be accomplished amongst them. To perhafe them, she used powerfull Rhetorick, such as suited the Passions both of a Daughter and a Mother, to which she added, as she thought as powerful Reasons, drawn from the same principles of Ambition, and Cruelty which she affirmed, would produce the same Effects towards the Grand-Children, and to much worse by how much the Baits and Allurements of so great Territories as they now possessed, were greater than those of their Ancestours, overcome (it's probable) rather with hopes of bettering their Condition, than of preventing the mischief by her objected, they levied Forces and with their joyn't Powers refolded upon an Invasion of Burgundy. Before this time *Gens-  
de-bald* was Dead, and *Sigismund* his Son had succeeded him, whose first Wife was the Daughter of *Theodoric* King of Italy, and by her he had a Son called *Sygritus*; but after her Death married another, it seems some waiting Woman, which as the  
Custome of Step-mothers is, very much hated, and maligned the Youth. He  
was sufficiently sensible of it, and so imprudent, that on a Festival day he upbraid-  
ed her for wearing his Mothers clothes, which drove her into such a Rage, that  
she never ceased to inflame his Father against him, telling him of strange Designs  
he had to usurp and joyn the Dominions of his Ancestours, to the Italian Kingdom  
*Yours,* *of*

Sect. 3. of *Theodorich* his Grandfather. *Sigismund* at length overcome with her Importunities, caused the poor young Man as he slept to be strangled; and presently after, though too late repenting, went and spent his time in a Monastery, bitterly lamenting his cruel Jealousy and Paricide, which was shortly after revenged upon him, as our Authors observe.

Burgundy invaded.  
King Clodomir slain.  
They make War upon the Thuringians.  
And subdue them.  
Difference amongst the Kings themselves.

23. For the Sons of *Chrotilis* in obedience to her Commands, invade *Burgundy* with a great Army. He made as great Preparations for resistance, as time would give him leave, and Courageously opposed himself against the Invaders, but in Battle had the worst. His Brother *Godomir* escaped, but he himself was taken together with his Wife and Children by King *Clodomir*, and committed to close Prison at *Aurelia*, or *Orleans*, where while he remains, *Godomir* gathers together his dispersed Forces, raises new ones, wherewith joyning a fresh Army, he renewes the War. Hereupon *Clodomir* being obliged to buckle himself to Action, would not be persuaded to spare *Sigismund*, because he should leave an Enemy at his back, but, though some Church-men foretold that in Case he slew him, he should miscarry in his Attempt, and receive the very same measure, put him to Death together with his Wife and Children. Then the following Spring did he invade *Burgundy*, and as soon as *Godomir* appeared in the Field, he put his Army to flight, but giving the Chace, the heat of his Bloud, and desire of Glory to transport him, that he came up with the middle Ranks of the *Burgundians* before he was aware, and being known by them was incompanied, and when he refused to yield to quarter, was immediately slain. His Head was set upon a Spear, by so sad a Spectacle, to terrifie and dishearten his followers; but they were thereby stirred up to greater Animosity, and moved to revenge his Death, which they did to purpose, pursuing them so far that they utterly defeated them, and then returned home with the News of *Clodomir*'s death. *Clotharius* his Brother married *Gondeace* his Wife, and with her his Kingdom. *Chrotilis* his Mother, as soon as Grief would give her leave, sent for his three Sons, *Theodobald*, *Gunthar* and *Clodonal*, and with all Care imaginable brought them up.

24. All this while, *Theodorich* his mind was fixed upon *Herminfredus* Prince of the *Thuringians*, whose fluffling and refusal to allow him his share in the Booty, they had unjustly got, so overpowered his thoughts, that these Wars were scarcely able to give him any diversion. He persuaded his Brother *Chlotharius* to joyn with him, promising him a share of the Prey, and by a fat Speech to the principal of the *Franks*, wherein he painted out the cruel usage of the *Thuringians* toward their Ancestors, he prevailed with them to undertake the expedition, and that with much alacrity. Accompanied with *Chlotharius* his Brother, and *Theodobald* his Son, he invaded their Country; where as he was to pass, they had digged Pits and covered them over with Earth, and the device took at the first, a small number of Men and Horses falling into those Snares; but the thing being once discovered, the *Franks* were so cautious in their March, that none of these Wiles would farther succeed, and coming once to ingage their Enemies, they overthrew them with great slaughter, that the River *Onofrads*, is said to have been so filled with dead Bodies, that they passed over upon them, as on a firm Bridge. *Herminfredus* with much adoe escaped, and secured himself in a Fort, whither after his retreat, *Theodorich* sent to him, and with great Promises and Obscurations persuaded him to come to him to *Tulbiacum*, where as they once walked together upon the Wall, he fell down and died of the bruise. *Gregory* protestes he knew not how he fell, although many affirmed, that *Theodorich* was the caule of his Death. *Aimoinus* writes exprefly, that he took his opportunity, as they walked and discoursed together, and threw him down Headlong; and this no whit Contradicts the probability of the Fact, that he being Dead, he procured all his Children to be strangled. This done, all the Country he subdued under the Dominion of the *Franks*, who as *Aimoinus* observes, had formerly inhabited the Territories of *Thuringia*.

25. That *Theodorich* his Conscience was not so tender, but it could sufficiently digest such a Murther as this, farther appears, from what he attempted against his Brother *Chlotharius*, while they yet remained in *Thuringia*. Having a design to make him away, he sent for him to consult about some pretended busines, and behind the Hangings, in a Room where they were to sit, placed some armed Men, who being in good time discovered by *Chlotharius*, he refused to consult without his followers at his back; so that *Theodorich*, seeing his design was brought to light, fell off excusing himself, in which Art he was very expert, and presented him with a Silver Dill, which afterward repenting he had been so bountifull, he sent his own Son *Theodobald* to beg of him. *Chlotharius* returned the Dill, and retires home, having

*Gregor. Tare.*  
*lib. 3. c. 6.*  
*Aimoinus de Ge-*  
*ffis Francorum,*  
*lib. 2. c. 4.*

## CHAP. I. Contemporary with the Conf. Roman Empire. {*Theodorich* *Childerbert* *Clotharius*

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ving married *Radegund*, the Daughter of *Bertharius*, late Prince of the *Thuringians*. But still the Invasion of this Countrey, gave occasion to farther mischief. A report was spread amongst the *Arverni*, that *Theodorich* was slain; whereupon *Archadius* one of the Senatours, sent to *Paris* to *Childerbert*, and invited him to come and take possession of his Brother's Kingdom. He came with all speed, and by the means of *Archadius* got into the City; but upon the Rumour that his Brother was alive, and returned out of *Thuringia*, he secured the place, and retired with intention to make a Journey into *Spain*, in behalf of their Sister *Chrothilda*. This Lady had been at the importunate suite of *Amalricus* King of the *Goths* in that Countrey, by her Brothers given him in Marriage; but was not treated in any Fashion becoming her Birth, or Quality, on the contrary handled like a Slave, affronted upon all occasions, and Contumeliously used, upon the Account of her Religion especially. For her Husband moved with his *Arian* Zeal, as well as the violence of his own Dispositions, caused Excrements and filth to be cast in her way, as she went to the Orthodox Church, and beat her so cruelly, that the Blood trickling out of her Body, he therewith dyed an Handkerchief; and as *Gregory* reports, sent it to her Brother. *Aimoinus* tells us, that tired with those Indignities and cruel Usages; she wrote Letters to her Brothers, which came to the hands of *Childerbert*, as he lay in the City of the *Arverni*, which he had by Force wrested from the Dominion of *Theodorich*.

26. *Childerbert* exceedingly provoked by these Letters, and being a Man expert in whatever concerned War, with all speed marched into *Spain*, hoping to surprize *Amalricus*. But he found him not unprovided, either by Sea or Land, and by Land it was agreed, that the Controversie should be decided. There wanted no Courage on either side, but the *Franks* had the advantage in their Horse, which being too strong for the *Goths*, bore down all before them, and after great Execution utterly routed them. *Amalricus* flying for his Life, made toward a Church of the Orthodox Christians, but before he could enter was overtaken, and slain by a Trooper of the *Franks*. *Childerbert* hearing he was Dead pursued his Victory, with the Terror whereof the Citizens of *Toletum* being struck, he easily took the place, in which finding his Sister, and exceeding great Treasure, with them he returned into *France*; where e'er they arrived, *Chrothilda* died in the way, and being brought to *Paris*, was there buried by her Brother. But while *Childerbert* invades the Dominions of another, he looses what he had lately made his own at home. For *Theodorich* disdaining to loose his Towns, on which the other upon the Rumour of his death, had so confidently seized, thought not himself obliged to the manners of staying for his return, but with all speed attempted the recovery of his own Inheritance. Entring the Countrey to punish the Inhabitants for their easiness, in submitting to an Usurper, he waftes all with Fire and Sword. *Archadius* who had betrayed the City, fled to the *Bituriges*, but *Placidina* his Mother, and *Alchima* his Sister were taken and confined to *Cadurcum*. There was one *Munderic*, who affirming himself the Kings Kinman, Challenged the Sovereignty as his due, and prevailed with many of the ordinary sort, to own him for their lawfull Prince. Refusing to repair to *Theodorich*, as knowing sufficiently for what purpose he was sent for, he secured himself in a Castle called *Vidoriacum*; he and all his followers resoving to die rather, than to put themselves into the hands of their Treacherous Enemies. Yet when all other attempts failed, by reason of the strength of the place, and valour of the Defendants, *Theodorich* procured *Aregillus* to Trepan him, who took an Oath (his hands touching the Sacred Altar) that he should receive no harm. When he brought him forth, upon a Watch-word given, the Souliders were to fall upon him, which *Mundericus* perceiving upbraided *Aregillus*, with his perfidious dealing, and vowing that he should, not reap any benefit by his Treachery, presently ran him through with his Lance. Then the Souliders coming on, he so laid about him, that he killed many upon the place, and sold his Life at so dear a rate as could be imagined. Being thus made away, his whole Estate was seized by *Theodorich*.

27. *Theodorich* being thus employed, *Childerbert* returns, and whether induced by their own Inclinations or the mediation of Friends the two Brothers make a Peace, giving Hostages on both sides, who within a while were all sold for Slaves, the League being of no long continuance. But while they were friends *Chlotharius* and *Childerbert* resolved to make another expedition into *Burgundy*, and if possible to perfect the Conquest of that Countrey. They invited *Theodorich* to joyn with them, but he having Married the Daughter of *Sigismund* plainly refused, neither would

A War against  
the Burgundians.

*Binaries vulgo*  
*Berry.*  
*Cadurci.* People  
de quibus quo-  
rum Metropolis  
sunt Durocortum.

Sect. 3. would he permit any of the *Arverni* to serve in the War. Yet did they manage their matters with that dexterity, that they took *Angulodunum*, and driving *Godomir* quite away, made themselves Masters of all *Burgundy*. Thus *Gregory* tells the story as done in the Life time of *Theodebald*, but *Cædolofus* who lived at this very time, and had more reason to understand how matters went than he, relates other passages antecedent, which he omits, and speaks of the Death of *Theodebald* before the Conquest of that Country. From his Letters to the Senate and People of *Rome*, it appears that *Abalarick*, who by this time had succeeded his Grandfather *Theodebald* in *Italy*, sent a great Army against the *Franks*, that *Theodebald* Brother of *Clodomir* and King of the *Franks* Died, during the stay of the *Goths* in *Burgundy*, and the *Franks* declining a Battel, the *Burgundian* betaking himself to the Patronage of the *Goths*, \* recovered by intreaty what he had formerly lost in Fight. However no long after, *Godomir* or *Gundemar* as some call him, for all his *Gotthic* Alliance, was by *Childebert*, *Clotharius*, and *Theodebert* their Brother's Son beaten quite out of his Kingdom, spoilt of all Power and Dominion, and driven into Exile.

28. So that here the Kingdom of the *Burgundians* receiveth its period, who being a People of *Germany* and living beyond the *Rhine*, had first under *Honorius* the Emperor Ground allowed them to inhabit in those parts of *Gall* lying nearest to that River. After the Overture received from *Aetius* under *Valentinian* the third, *Sapadia* was given to such as remained of them, which they parted with the Natives and there planting themselves, quickly began to spread through the Neighbouring Territories, and by degrees made themselves Masters of that part of *Gaul* called *Lugdunensis prima*, *Maxima Seguanorum*, *Vienensis*, the *Alpes Graiae* and *Lemine* with the Province lyng on this side *Durenia* now called *Durance*. These Kings of theirs are mentioned in our Books: *Gundicanus* who assited *Jovinus* the Tyrant in assiting the *purple*, and being overthrown by *Aetius* the Roman General obtruded Peace, *Gunderik* and *Chilperick* his Sons assited *Theodoric* the second King of the *Gebs*, against *Reciarius* King of the *Suvi* in *Gallacia*. *Chilperick* had his Seat at *Genova* (now *Geneva*) upon the lake *Lemanus*. The Sons of *Gunderik*, viz. *Gundebald* (or *Gundebad*) *Godegisil*, *Chilperick* and *Godomar* divided the Kingdom amongst them. *Gundebald* by degrees having made them all away, Reigned alone as we have lately seen, and by *Chilperick* his Brother had two Nieces: *Chrona* made a Nun, and *Chrotildis* whose Children fully revenged upon his Death the Treachery of their Grandfather. For *Sigismund* his Son was taken and Slain by *Cloodomir*, who also defeated his Brother *Godomar* though he was Slain in the purfuit, and could not perfect the Conquest. But this was done for him by *Childerbert* and *Clotharius* about the sixth year of *Justinian* the Emperour, and the seventh of *Abellaric* King of Italy, A.D. 532. Thus much we thought to add in a summary way concerning the ancient Kingdom of *Burgundy*, both that the Reader's memory might be helped as to the Succession of the Kings, and that by the Territories which this day go under that Name, he might not be mistaken concerning the true extent of the Country.

29. To return to our *Franks*, *Childebert* and *Chlotharius* the two Brothers having got possession of the fair Territories of the *Burgundians* were not therewith satisfied, but this Morel rather whetted their Appetites, and fitted them for swallowing a greater bit, viz. The Patrimony of their own Nephews. The three Sons of *Clodomir* were all these while Educated under the tender Eye of their Grandmother at *Paris*, which *Childebert* grudged no fee, and fearing that by her means they might become more Potent than he thought would well conifit with his own Interest; he sent to *Chlotharius* his Brother who having Married their Mother, and with her having got Possession of their Inheritance, he doubted not would be most ready to lisen to his Advice, to meet him speedily at *Paris* there to confut, whether they had better have the Boyes, and caufe them to enter into Confuls, or rid them of their Lives, and themselves of all occasion of fear and jealousy at the same instant. *Chlotharius* needed no Wings to make him flie to *Paris*, where when arrived, there needed as little Consultation, but calling for that *Archadius*, who by his Treachery had ingratiated himself with *Childebert*; they sent him to their Mother with a pair of Scifers and a naked Sword, bidding her make choice of one of the two, to cut out and determine the Fortune of her Grandchildren. She falls into a great Rage, and in her fury lets fall this Exprefſion, that she had rather see them Dead than havent, if o the caſe flood that they must not Reiga. *Archadius* takes her at her word, and returning speedily to thole that fent him, tells them that the Queen complied fully with their desires. They hereupon haſte thither where the Children

## The French King Theodoric Dies.

## The Seats

## And Kings of the Burgundians.

## **CHAP. I.** *Contemporary with the Const. Roman Empire*

{ Childebert,  
Clotarius  
Theodobert.

35

Two of *Codemir's* Sons mur- Lie, and *Chlotarius* taking the Eldest Boy throws him on the Ground, then runs thered by their Uncle. his Sword into his Body under the Arme, and so dispatches him. He that was next to him in Age affrighted with his cries and lamentations, casts himself at the Feet of his Uncle *Childberit*, and calling him Father, useth all the Rhetorick which in so great an Agony his Childlike Abilities could afford to save his Life. *Childberit* was moved with the Anguish he saw him in, and with tears in his Eyes besought his Brother to spare him, offering him anything he would ask in return for so great a kindness. But barbarous and furious *Chlotarius* in great heat upbraids him with his Inconstancy, that having given Original to this Enterprise, he now deferred the caufe, and vowed that if he would not put the Boy from him, he shoud die in his stead, which made his Courage fail him, and he deserting the Child, *Chlotarius* feized on him, and Murthered him in the same manner he had done his Brother.

The third turns  
Monk.

30. So perished two of the Sons of *Cleodomir*, whereof the Eldest was but ten years old, and his younger Brother exceeded not seven, which feat accomplished, their good Uncle sent after their Attendants to wain on them in the other World, as had been anciently the custome of Princes. But part of their Pray they mislaid; for, while they were busie with those two, the third, *Clodoaldus* by name, possibly being in some other Apartment was conveyed away by his Servants, and rejecting all hopes of an earthly Kingdom shaved himself, entered into Orders, and being afterward made Priest, lived and died with great Reputation for Sanctity, at *Novi-  
genuum* a Town distant but four miles from *Paris*, which from him received a new Name, and at this day is called St. *Clow*, after the manner of the Abbreviations of the Modern French, at present the Retirement of the Duke of *Oreance* and the Princeps *Henrietta of England* his Lady. In all this affair we hear nothing of *Theodorich*, which makes us more confident he was Dead before this, whatever some of our Historians write to the contrary. *Theodobert* his Son succeeded him in his Kingdom of *Metz* or *Austraia*, having Married *Wilsgarda* the Daughter of *Waco* King of the *Lombards*, over whose Head he afterward brought another Wife upon this occasion. The Goths having after the Death of *Clodonus* recovered much in *Gall* that he had taken from them, *Theodobert* sent this his Son *Theodobert*, and *Chlotbarius* also *Guntharius* his eldest Son to recover those Territories out of their Hands. *Guntharius* went as far as the *Ruteni*, and then, for what cauſenobody knows, returned. *Theodobert* proceeded as far as the *Biturices* or *Bearne*, where he took the Castle *Deas*, and coming before another Town called *Capraria*, one *Deuteria* preſented her fell to him to mitigate his displeasure againſt the Inhabitants, and he fo demeaned her ſelf, that he fell in love and afterward Married her, though he had another Wife, and ſhe an Husband yet living in another place.

31. Yet do our Historians speak much in Commendation of *Theodobert*. His Father having Murthered *Sygnalid* his Kinsman, sent and Commanded him to deal in the same manner with *Gynald* his Son, but he shewing him his Father's Letters, he sent him out of the way, and when he came to be King restored him his Patrimony. His Father Dying after he had Reigned above two and twenty years, *Childebert* and *Clotarius* his Uncles did all that lay in them to deprive him of his Life and Inheritance, and might have done much if he had not had timely notice of his Father's sicknes, and got to the place before he expired. Being stoutly defended and secured in his Throne by those of his Subjects, living about *Lodium* or *Leige*, his Uncle *Childebert* who was the better of the two, and perceived he could not prevail against him, invited him to his Court, made much of him, and presented him very richly at parting, putting him in hopes that he shoud succeed him being Childeberts. Now he was King, he carried himself as a Prince both Great and Good, Governing with Justice, respecting the Clergy, endowing Churches, relieving the Poor, and besides many other good deeds, remitting all the Tribute that was due to his Exchequer from the Churches of *Arvernum*. However *Deuteribia* whom after his coming to be King he had Married, having a Daughter now Marriageable by her other Husband, was so jealous of him, that she caused her to be put into a Chariot that was drawn by untamed Heifers, and Drowned at *Virodum* in the River *Mola*. This coming to the knowledge of *Theodobert* to gratifie his Displeasure, as well as the earnest desires of the People, he put away *Deuteribia* though he had by her a young Son called *Theodwald*, and took to him *Wifegarda* whom he had Married seven years before. She Dying not long after, he Married another, but would not have to doe with *Deuteribia* any more.

Ruteni Roi ergo  
nisi Populus Gal-  
liae Celtice quo-  
rum Metropolis  
Segodunum Indie  
Rodes.

Theodosbert S.  
of Theodoric  
like to be re-  
ined by his  
Uncles.

Sect. 3. *Childebert and Theobald* his Nephew were now very gracious. Notwithstanding the Clemency that's ascribed to the one, and Goodness to the other; yet considering the temper and custome of their Family, a wonder it were if this friendship did not tend to the Destruction of some of their nearest Relations, to the shedding of some of their own blood. They now lay their Heads together, and consult how to ouer *Chlotharius* of his Kingdom, raise Forces with such speed, and march against him with such expedition, that being surprised, he was not in case to take the Field, but rather concealed himself in a Village about *Orleane*, where yet they discovered him, and were about to finsh their Work, when miraculously they were prevented. *Chrotilis* hearing that of her two Sons that remained, the one was about to sheath his Sword in the Bowels of the other, and calling to mind how since the time she had first set them on work of killing their Relations, her Children had neither spared Uncles nor Nephews, nor any others whatsoever, but like Savage Beasts, the more blood they tafted, the more they thirsted after it, she exceedingly afflicted her self, and going to the Tomb of St. *Martin*, poured out her tears and Prayers to Almighty God, deprecate his displeasure, and implored his help in this time of extremity, to take up the quarrel betwixt her two Sons e'er it should proceed to farther mischief. And according to her request, to prevent what the most feared, on a sudden such Storms and Tempests of Hail and Thunder arose, that overthrew all their Tents, broke the order of their Armies, and beat to the Ground the two Aggressours, who prostrate on their Faces, asked pardon for what they had done, and sent to *Chlotharius* to desire all past might be forgotten, and a firm League of Amity and Alliance might be Concluded. He at whose Quarters not the least disturbance of Weather had happened, readily granted their request, and so through the Prayers of their Devout Mother as our Authors observe, all matters were composed.

33. *Childebert* being now at leisure, began to think of his expedition he had made into *Spain*, and how he had taken the City *Toledo*. He thought he had not done enough to revenge the injuries offered to his Sister, but especially desired to become Master of that Countrey, of which at that time he had but had a prospect. He easily perswaded his Brother *Chlotharius* who bore a mind as resolute and ambitious as himself to joyn with him, and together they march as far as *Cæsarangusta*, (now *Saragossa*) which refusing to open to them they closely besiege. Such was the condition of the Town, that the Defendants perceived they had nothing to trust to but their Prayers, and made their solemn Proceffions about the Walls, which the Franks seeing at a distance, imagined they were about some magical Charms and Incantations, and apprehending a Countreyman, demanded of him what might be the meaning of such a shew. He answered, that they Prayed to Almighty God for the preservation of their City, which the Kings understanding, desired forme Reliques of St. *Vincent* the Martyr, formerly a Priest of the place might be sent them, and raisng their Siege departed into other Quarters of *Spain*, which having subdued and wasted they returned home with very great Booty. So lame is the account we have concerning this expedition from *Gregory of Tours*, and such as follow him, and as herein they are deficient, so they totally omit another affair, the knowledge whereof is more necessary to the understanding of the State of this Nation. At this time *Belisarius* as we have in its place shewn at large, was about to make War against the *Goths* in *Italy*, who being for prefed with the difficulties that impended, *Theodatus* their King sent and made an Alliance with the *Franks* on these terms, that to them should be resign'd all that part of *Gall* which the *Goths* had hitherto possest with twenty thousand *Aurei*, on condition that with the *Goths* they would joynly manage the War against *Belisarius*.

34. But e'er this accord could be perfected *Theodatus* Dies, and *Vitigis* succeeds him, who perceiving plainly that he could not call that Army which lay in *Provence*, under the Command of *Marius*, to his assistance, but the Countrey must be exposed to the Inroads of the *Franks*, caused it to be delivered up into their hands, with so much money as *Theodatus* had promis'd to procure their friendship, (for they were ever most averse to the *Goths*,) and their assistance against the Emperour *Justinian*. *Childebert*, *Chlotharius* and *Theobald* having received the money and Territories, and divided them amongst them, imbraced the Amity of the *Goths*, and promised them succours, but professed they could not send them any of their own Nation, because they had entred lately into friendship with the *Greeks*, and promised affiance to *Justinian* in this War. But thus became the *Franks* Masters of *Provence*, and that with consent of *Justinian* the Emperour, who confirmed at their desire what the *Goths* had granted, as *Zonaras* observes out of *Procopius*. Now did *Tom. 3. Annal.* they

An expedition  
into Spain.

Provence deliver'd  
to the *Goths*.

they posses the famous Colonies of the *Phocians* at *Massilia*, at *Aqua Sextia*, and *Arctatum*, and as *Procopius* testifies, began to stamp Gold Coins, not with the Image of the Emperour, as the custome was, but with the Effigies of their own Kings; whereas to the *Perfian* King himself it was not lawfull, nor to any other Barbarian to Coin Gold money, though that of Silver was permitted them. Afterwards the War growing hot in *Italy*, *Theobald* that he might seem mindfull of his word, sent ten thousand Foot to the assistance of the *Goths*, but these were not *Franks* but *Burgundians*, who were Commanded to say, that they came without any Orders received from him, for fear of disobliging the Emperour. When the War was grown out in length, and both *Goths* and *Romans* were wasted and spent, our *Franks* conceived it easie to get a good share of *Italy*, and repined to sit idle at home and be lookers on, while others disputed a province so near adjoining. Forgetting then their late Oaths and accords both with *Romans* and *Goths*, (for this Nation of all others is most faithles, saith *Procopius*,) with an Army of fifty thousand men under Conduct of *Theobald*, they invaded *Italy*.

35. Amongst them there were some few Lanciers to guard their King. The rest were Footmen without either Bows or Lances, wearing a Sword, a Shield, and a Battle-Axe, the Iron whereof was broad and sharp on both fides, and the Handle very short, and this upon a signal at the first Charge, they were wont to cast from them to break the Enemies Shields and kill their men. How they deceived both *Goths* and *Romans* we have shewed in a more proper place, as also how passing the *Poe*, they sacrificed such Women and Children as they found, and cast them into the River, as the first spoils of War, retaining yet (as *Procopius* affirms,) though Christians much of their old superstition, and using Sacrifices and other impious Rites in making their predictions. We need here put the Reader in mind how they were straitned for Provisions, and how *Theobald*, being seriously admonished by *Belisarius* to consider what he was about, resolved it was best for him to quit *Italy*, and so returned home, for which relations we are beholding to *Procopius*; *Gregory of Tours* saying little to the purpose of these matters, and telling an idle story of the Daughter of *Theodoric* King of *Italy*, begotten on the Sister of *Clodomus*, as that he Married a Slave, and for that being prosecuted with War by her Mother, she poisoned the old Woman in the Chalice, for which being deploied by the *Goths*, they chose *Theodatus* King of *Tuscia* for their Prince, who put her to Death for her unnatural cruelty towards her Mother. This you must know the Kings of the *Franks* took most heinously, and sent to *Theodatus* vowing to be revenged on him for the Death of their Kinwoman, except he would compound the matter. He sent them fifty thousand *Aurei* to be friends, which *Childebert* and his Nephew *Theobald* parted betwixt them, *Childebert* ever bearing evil will to *Chlotharius*, who was yet even with them, having got into his hands all the Treasure of their Brother *Clodomir*. Notwithstanding the receipt of this money, yet *Theobald* invaded *Italy*, and being straitned for Provisions, returned home with very great Spoil.

36. To let pass this fable of *Gregory*, and apply our selves to the Narrations of *Procopius*, who was an eye-witnes of most of these Transactions, we are told further by him that the affairs of the *Goths* being well-nigh funk, and *Belisarius* lying before *RVenna*, *Theobald* thought to make an advantage of their Necessities, and sent to *Vitigis* their King, offering that if he would divide *Italy* with the *Franks*, he would bring such an Army into it, as should easily drive thence *Belisarius* with his Greeks. The noiss of this Embassie coming to *Belisarius* his Ears, he sends his Messengers to *Vitigis*, who convinced him and his *Goths* that it was their interest rather to make an accord with the Emperour, than those perfidious *Franks*, and a refutation they took accordingly, sending away the Ambassadors with a flat denial. Yet for all their good thoughts of the Emperour's Alliance, was *Vitigis* within a little time despoiled of all Dignity, and carried Prisoner to *Constantinople*, and *Totila* was chosen King in his stead. He having taken and defaced *Rome*, sent to *Theobald* for his Daughter in Marriage, and received answier that he could not be esteemed King of *Italy*, nor ever would be, having taken *Rome* but not able to keep it, having demolish'd part, and quitted the rest to his Enemies. This caused him to cast away all thoughts of demolishing any more of that City. He supplied it with Provisions, commanded to be re-edifid what was beaten down at his first taking of it, sent for the Senators and others home that were confined in *Campania*, and held the Solemnity of the *Circenian Games*. Of such Reputation and Authority at this time was *Theobald*.

Sect. 3.

Thraco wasted  
and a quarrel  
with the Empe-  
rour.

Theodobald dies.

Theodobald his  
Son succeeds.

37. As he was of great Reputation, he was sufficiently sensible thereof, and as of his own Disposition he was bold and active; he now began to entertain greater Conceits and Imaginations in his Head than formerly. While *Narses* was buffered in *Italy*, and the Emperour's Forces employed against the *Goths*, he thought of no less <sup>Agathias, lib. 1.</sup> than invading *Thraco*, which having Conquered and wasted he designed to lay Siege to *Constantinople* it self. He levied great Forces, and that nothing might be wanting to so great a design, he sent to the *Gepide*, *Lombards* and other bordering Nations to make them sensible of the danger they were in, and to shew how intolerable a thing it was, that *Justinian* in his Imperial Edicts should call himself *Francicus*, *Alemanicus*, as also *Gepidicus* and *Longobardicus*, besides other Titles, as if he had indeed Conquered those Nations. And indeed to speak the truth, as well in behalf of *Theodobald* as others, that *Justinian* took the several Titles of *Alemanicus*, *Gothicus*, *Francicus*, *Vandalicus* and *Africanus*, is evident out of his Edicts. But as for some of them he might justly doe it. The *Goths* he subdued having taken *Vitigis* the King, and made great slaughter of that Nation by his two Generals *Belisarius* and *Narses*; the *Vandals* also he had in manner quite destroyed in *Africk*, which might confer also upon him the Surname of *Africanus*. But to the Title of *Francicus*, if we may so say, he had no Title at all, having nowhere given them any except we call that an overthrow, when *Narses* defeated the *Alemans*, their Clients or Dependents, which was after the Death of *Theodobald*. Of this affront (for no less he accounted it,) he was highly sensible, and though as *Agathias* judgeth, in all probability he had perished in the attempt, yet left he no Stone unturned to punish *Justinian* for his Arrogance, and had certainly undertaken the expedition, had not Death put an end to him and his designs altogether. But concerning the manner of his Death, there are several relations. *Gregory* writes as if he died of a Consumption, or some other lingring Disease, and that his Physicians made many applications to no purpose. *Agathias* tells us this story, that Hunting on a time in the Woods, a fierce Bull ran with all his force against a Tree, which pushing down, one of the Boughs thereof light upon *Theodobald*, and so wounded him in his Head that he died the very same day of the hurt. In the fourteenth year of his Reign as *Gregory* reckons, or rather his fourteenth being completed, thirty seven years after the Death of his Grandfather *Chlodowagus*, the twentieth of *Justinian* the Emperour, and the fifth of *Totilas* King of *Italy*, A. D. 546.

38. To *Theodobald* succeeded *Theodobald* his Son, a Child, and under the Government of his Schoolmaster. After the Death of *Totilas* in *Italy* succeeded *Tisias*, who being utterly overthrown, the *Goths* that remained were forced to submit to the Yoke, but presently growing weary of it they sent to *Theodebald*, desiring him to consider their Condition, and how the Tyrant of the world prospering in this his course of destroying Nations, their turn could not be far off, but the old Enemies and Wars would be renewed, such as the *Marii*, *Camilli* and the *Cesars* had made against the ancient *Germani*, who had also professed themselves of all beyond the *Rhine*, so that just perfors their successours would seem to demand nothing but what was their own. *Theodebald* being utterly unexpert in all things that concerned War, and hating busines and labour, was averse to their Proposals, alledging rightly that it was neither Policy nor Piety by such a rash and needless adventure, to cast themselves into manifest Danger. But *Leutharis* and *Burilinus* notwithstanding the inclinations of their King, entered into a League and promised the Ambassadors aid. These were Brothers, *Alemans* by Nation, but of so great authority amongst the *Franks*, that they Governed their Compatriots, being first owned and preferred by *Theodobald*. Now if we give credit to *Afinius Quadratus*, (saith *Agathias*) an <sup>vbi supr.</sup> Italian born, but one that wrote most accurately the affairs of *Germany*, these *Alemans* are a strange and mixt People, which their name sufficiently testifies. *Theodoric* King of the *Goths* having now made himself Master of *Italy*, had subdued them and made them Tributaries. As soon as he was Dead, and the War broke out betwixt *Justinian* and the *Goths*, flattery the *Franks*, and by all means endeavouring to gain their favour, both lost several other places, and were forc'd to quit the Nation of the *Alemans*; for being to fight not so much for their Dominion as being it self, they conceived themselves bound to relinquish all their distant and supernumerary Subjects, and square and limit their affections by the Rules of Necessity. The *Alemans* being thus quitted by the *Goths*, *Theodobald* thought it as much his interest to gain them, and so bringing them under, left the Dominion over them and his other Subjects to his Son *Theodebald*. They began now, especially the wiser sort, to be civiliz'd, and in their civil Government conformed themselves much to that of the *Franks*. As to Religion they differed, beftowing on

on Trees, Rivers, Hills and Groves Divine Honours, by cutting off the Heads of Horres and other Creatures, and Sacrificing them to these dumb deities. Sect. 3.

39. *Leutharis* then, and *Burilinus*, as we have formerly shewn, with confidence enough invaded *Italy*, and had such success as was answerable to their rashness and Indiscipline. Before this, *Justinian*, while *Totilas* yet lived, had sent his Ambassador to *Theodebald* to desire he would joyn with him against the *Goths*, the ancient Enemies of his Nation, but received this answer, that with the *Goths* an alliance was already made, and that if any thing he retained in *Italy*, it was by consent of *Totilas* and the free surrender of that People; for the Reader must call to mind what we have already hinted, that *Theodebald* had moreover made tributary to him the *Cottian Alpes* with those toward the Sea, and *Liguria* and the maritime Coasts of *Venetia*, without any Right or Title, as the Emperour alledged. With this answer he dismissed the Ambassador, *Leontius*, a man born of a confular House, and sent *Leondardus* unto *Cesar* under the same Character; and not long after the defeat of *Leutharis* and *Burilinus*, died without issue in the seventh year of his Reign. Some *Faustris* in vita tell us that by his Testament he left his Great Uncle *Chlotharius* his Heir. But *A. Mauri apud Pa- prium Maffoniam*, lib. 1.

*Theodebald* dies. Chlotharius, having told his Reader that he died miserably of a Disease which from his birth had hung upon him, adds that whereas the Law of his Country called *Childerbert* and *Chlotharius* his two Uncles to the Succession, a most grievous contention arose about it, which had like to have destroyed the whole Family. *Childerbert* was both grown old and very Diseased, so that he appeared a mere Skeleton, and he had no Male Issue, only Daughters. *Chlotharius* was not very old and had four Sons, all full of Spirit and Vigour. He objected therefore that the Estate of *Theodebald* was not to go to his Brother, whose Kingdom in a short time would fall to him and his Sons. Neither did his hopes deceive him, for within a while the old man of his own accord gave up his Inheritance to him, fearing its credible power of the man, and desirous not to have any quarrels with him. And not long after he himself Died, and so the Monarchy of the *Franks* was devolped upon *Chlotharius*. *Gregory* writes that *Childerbert* died of a lingring Disease at *Paris*, where he was buried in the Church of *St. Vincent*, which he himself had built. And that *Chlotharius* feiz'd on his Kingdom and Treasures, driving his two Daughters into Exile, whereof the name of one was *Crotberga*, and the other *Crotfhinda*, as appears from *Aminus*. *Childerbert* died in the forty ninth year of his Reign, the on and thirtieth of *Justinian*, A. D. 557.

To whom succeeded *Chlotharius* Monarch of the *Franks*, and Lord of all *Gall*, which had not happened to any of that Nation before him, and shews us that the best things of this world are sometimes granted to the worst of Mortals. Yet was he not contented, but behaved himself in that manner, as if all was his due without acknowledgment of the power and intercet of his Benefactour. *Chrammus* one of his Sons was ordained as a scourge against him, whom being a young man very stout and crafty, he had made Governor of *Aquitaine*. He bore himself higher than the quality of a Governor, or indeed that of a King would permit, acting all things like a Tyrant, and taking no other measures than from his own mere Lust and Pleasure. His Father being informed what courses he took, sent for him that he might give him better Counsel, but he instead of coming to his presence, goes to his Uncle *Childerbert* at *Paris*, whom he incites so far against his Father, that they enter into a League to deprive him both of Life and Kingdom. *Chrammus* hereupon goes back to *Aquitaine*, and in his passage endeavours to bring all places to submit to his Commands, his Father being now employed in a War with the *Saxons*, which hindred him from marching against him in Person, but he sent *Cherebert* and *Gentran* two others of his Sons to chasfise their rebellious and unnatural Brother. They sent to him to restore what without any Right or Title he had seized, and to gain time he promised he would doe it, asome write, or as others, answere that he could not doe it, yet professed himself his Father's Subject and Vassal, and desired to keep what he had with his good leave and blessing. They now way satisfied with this answere prepared to fight, and then such an hidous tempest of Thunder and Lightning happened, as diverted them from their Intentions. *Chrammus* then betakes himself to craft. He cautes a Rumour to be spread that his Father was slain in the War against the *Saxons*, to which his two Brothers giving credit halft away into *Burgundy*. He followed them, and taking in his way *Cabilloum* proceeded as far as the Caile of *Divio*. In the mean time his Uncle *Childerbert* believing al so that his Brother was Dead, lead an Army to *Reims* and wasted the Country with Fire and Sword, which done, he Died of a Fever, saith *Aminus*, and was Buried at *Paris* by *German* the Bishop in the Church of *St. Vincent*, of which he himself had been the Founder.

Zz 2

*Cabilloum* (locis)  
*Chalons* (for *Sone*)  
*apidem* *Adorium*  
*Cabilloum* in *Divio* *Ac-*  
*dovum* *Divio-*  
*nemum* in *Galla-*  
*Celica*  
*Reims* *olim* *Da-*  
*rcovatum* *vitis*  
*Gallia Belgicæ*

41. *Chram-*

Sect. 3.

41. *Chramnus* thus deprived of his Uncle's Affilence, betook himself to *Conobus* King of the *Britains* in *Aremorica*, where he presently renewed the War. His Father having made an end with the *Saxons*, concluded he was now by any means to be supprest, and for that purpose marched himself in the Head of an Army into *Britain*, making his Prayers to Almighty God, that he would be Judge betwixt them, and as formerly to *David* over *Absalom*, so he would please to give to him the Victory over his unnatural Son. This Prayer he made, but not with that Fatherly tenderness which he did, whom he took for his Example. For it pleased God to give him the Victory, instead of rejoicing for the safety and Preservation of his Son, as we may believe *David* would have done, by the great sorrow he underwent for his Death, he cauſed him with his Wife and Daughters, (his Labour for whose Preservation cauſed him to neglect taking ship, and so to be surprized) to be ſhut up in a poor Cottage, and therein to be burnt to Death. But if we can believe *Gregory*, he ſhewed abundance of good Nature in his Wars with the *Saxons* lately mentioned. They themſelves gave the occaſion, rebelling and denying the payment of their accuſed Tributes. But when he was come near their Country, they ſent their Mefſengers to him and offered to pay the Arrears, and what he plead more, ſo he would but withdraw his Army and leave them to their wonted reſope and quiet. He thought it reaſonable, and aduifed that they ſhould not proceed farther againſt them, left they finned againſt God; but his Men alledged they were Lyars, and there was no truſt to be given to what they ſaid. Then did the *Saxons* offer the half of their Goods to purchase Peace, which the King willingly would have accepted, and uſed the ſame Argument as formerly to his Souldiers: But they would not thenreſe Acquieſce. Then did the poor People offer their Clothes, their Cattel, and all other moveables they had, with half their Lands, ſo they might have their Wives and Children free, and Peace to live with them. The King then was very earneſt with his Men foretellying their Ruine, if they would not reſt ſatiſfed with ſuch unreaſonable Propofals, and flatly refuſed to accompany them in the War. Hereupon they fell into a great Mutiny, and running with violence to his Tent tore it in pieces, and loaded him with reproachfull Words; affirming they would kill him, if he refuſed to go along with them. He was forced to go, but *Battel* being joyed after an innumerable Company ſlain on both ſides, the *Franks* recovered a mighty overthrow. *Chlotharius* in great trouble then asked Peace, profeſſing that he was drawn into the Action by Constraint. Which having obtained he returned home.

His Character.

42. So is the ſtory told by *Gregory* and *Aimoinus*, both favourers of the *Franks*, to the advantage of *Chlotharius*, which little ſuits with the conſtant Depoſition of his whole Life. Twice he committed Paricide: First killing his Nephews, and afterward his own Son, with his innocent Wife and Daughters. Besides Whoredom and Polygamy; of Inclit he was guilty, in marrying two Sisters, the one while the other lived, and he frequented her Bed. *Redegund* was his firſt Wife, who was deſcended of the Royal Blood of *Thuringia*, as we ſaid before, after her the Wife of his Brother *Clodimir*, and the Wife of his Nephew *Theobald*. Besides theſe he married *Ingunda*, by whom he had five Sons. *Gunthar*, *Childeric*, *Charibert*, *Gunthram*, *Sigibert*, and *Chlothinda* a Daughter. Then when this his Wife recommended her Sister *Aregund* to him, to provide her a wealthy Husband; he himſelf fell in Love with her, and took her to Wife, and by her he had *Chilperick*; beſides *Chramnus*, by another Woman called *Chunfena*. Having this load upon his Conſcience, no wonder, if he was a little ſenible thereof, especially when he knew he could not live much longer. He came, as *Gregory* tells us, to *Tours*, where at the Sepulchre of St. *Martin* he earnestly prayed, that his ſin might be forgiven. Then went he and hunted in the Foreſt *Coria*, where being feiſed with a Fever he re-turned to the Village called *Compendium*, where as he lay desperatly ſick, he uttered theſe words: *Woe is me, what think you? What kind of heavenly King is he, di Compeij? qui kills ſo great Kings in this manner?* which expreſſion *Papirius Malfonus* ſo inter-prets, that being a deliſer of God, and impious all his Life, he could not die otherwise, but with his laſt Breath accuſed him as grudging Life to mortal Men. Yet he died not till the one and fiftieth Year of his Reign: Or rather, that completed, and was buried by his four Sons at *Soiffons*, in the Church dedicated to St. *Medard* of his own founding, in the thirty fourth Year of *Juſtinian*, the nineteenth after the Conuſpicioſ of *Basilis*, A. D. 560.

And Death.

43. For four Sons he left to ſucceed him and no more, *Gunthar*, *Chramn* and *Childeric* being dead before him. *Cherebert* Reigned at *Paris*, *Chilperick* at *Soiffons*, *Gunthram* at *Oreleance*, and *Sigibert* at *Metz*, over the *Mediomatrices*. But this di-vi-

*Compendium (lo-  
di Compeij?)  
opidum vero  
Mandatum (le  
Peuple de Ver-  
moudio) ad  
Coſtumatum fla-  
vorum Axon-  
um et Oto-  
niacum (Oto-  
niacum) in  
Galla Belgia*

ſion

## CHAP. I. Contemporary with the Conſt. Roman Empire.

Cherebert  
Chilperick  
Gunthram  
Sigibert

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ſion was not made before ſome Quarrelling betwixt the two Brothers, for *Chilperick* was before-hand with them, and feizing his Father's Treasures, which lay at *Paris*, therewith hired Souldiers, and began to ulip upon them all. But they timely gathered together, and forced him to quit his pretensions, and come to an equal diuſion of the Kingdom by Lot, which fell out as we have obſerved. *Cherebert*, (or *Charibert*) married *Ingoberga* a very devout Woman; who having two Maids called, *Marconeſa* and *Neroſida*, he fell fo desperately in Love with them, that he rejected their Lady. For this *German*, the Bishop of the place, severely rebuked him, and as ſome ſay, ex-communicated him, but he remained incorrigible, and therefore by the just Judgment of God both of them were ſpeedily taken away, with a Son he had by one of them; and himſelf not long after dyed at a Caſle called *Blavia* in *Aquitaine*, and was buried in the Church of *St. Romaia*. *Gregory* mentions another Wife he had, *Theodogildis* by Name, the Daughter of an Herdsman, as the other two were deſcended from a Cottage, who after his Death ſent to his Brother *Gauthram*, offering her ſelf to him in Marriage with all her Treasures. *He* ſeemed to comply with her offer, and receiving the Treasures throug; her into a Monastery at *Arles*, were tired quickly with the Austerities of that fort of Life, the ſent privily to the Gothic King of *Spain*, making the ſame offer, she had done to *Gauthram*; but the Abbots ſurprized her as ſhe was going out of the Monacit, and cauſing her to be ſoundly beaten committed her to cloſe Cufody, where in great Trouble, ſhe spent all her Wearisome days. This is the Account we have from *Gregory* and *Aimoinus*, concerning *Cherebert* King of *Paris*, which ſhews him Guilty of one of his Father's vices, although otherwife, as appears from other Writers, he excelled in Virtue, both him and all his Predeceſſors. Amongſt many other things worthy of Memory, he is celebrated for his kindnes towards *Vul-  
tagoba* the Wife, and his two Couſin Germans, the Daughters of *Childerb*, whom he very much eſteemed, though not only ouled of their Inheritance, but banished by his Father. He is farther ſaid to have hated War and Contention, and to have been a great lover of Peace, Justice and good Letters. For he was the firſt of thoſe Kings that understood Latin, his Father, Grandfather all before him, having only ſpoken the *Sicambrian Dialect*, as appears from *Venantius Fortunatus*.

*Blavia ( locis  
Blati ) opidum  
Saoneum ad Se-  
rum mariti-  
num Aſſulari-  
um Galia in Cel-  
tica.*

His Character.

His three Bro-  
thers ſucceſ-  
d him.

*Gauthram* ſteſily  
given.

44. And as they made themſelves the Heirs of his Kingdom, ſo of his vicious Course of Life, for all were Inheritors of their Father's intemperance; two of thoſe that survived eſpecially, *Gauthram* (or *Gustrann*) had four Sons by di- vers Concubines; the Names of which, we are of *Aimoinus* his mind, that it is not worth the while to mention, being ſuch like as they were, and all dying with their iſſue before him. Yet this vice excepted, he is otherwife reported to have been a very good Man, a Prince both very just and upright, and of him this very ſtrange ſtory is related. Being on a time hunting in the Woods, and his followers diſperſed here and there, as the manner is, with one of his moſt truſty Servants, he ſate down under a Tree, and leaning his Head in his Companion's Boſom fell aſſlep. As thus he ſlept, a certain Animal crept out of his Mouth, and made toward the Bank of a Rivulet adjoyning, as if it would go over, which his Servant perceiving, he drew his Sword and laid it a croſs the Brook as a Bridge for it to paſs, which accepting it went over upon it, and entering at the Foot of a certain Mountain after ſome hours ſtay, returned by the ſame Bridge into the Mouth of the King. Hereupon he preſently awaked, and told to his Companion a ſtrange Dream he had had; as that he beheld a vast River, over which lay an Iron Bridge, which having paſſed, he entred into a certain Cave at the bottom of a Mountain, wherein he beheld inefſimble Treasures, the hidden *Gaza* of the ancient Fathers. Then the other tells him, what he had ſeen come out of his Mouth, and it's agreed that the Mountain be ſearched, wherein juſt as he ſaid a Cave was found, and therein an unſpeakable quantity of Gold and Silver, out of which the King at firſt intended to ſend a very rich Vefel to *Jeruſalem* to our Saviour's Sepulchre; but conſidering the diſſiculty of the Journey, and how the *Saracens* infested thoſe Coasts, he changed his mind, and beſtowed the Preſent on the Church of *Caſilo*, which he had cauſed to be built over the Sepulchre of St. *Marcellus*, and as long as the Tomb of the Martyr continued in *Gall*, nothing for Workmanſhip could be found that was comparable to it. This Dream of *Guntram* hath been much written and ſpokeſ in later times. *Marius* tells us, that it's at this day to be ſeen (he wrote but in the Year, 1635.) engraven on a Marbkle in a very ancient Nunnery, in a Town called *Vefiniano*.

Chron. Boſ. ad  
A. D. 594.  
Decimo militari  
called  
Vefiniano

Sect. 3. called *Palme* ten miles distant from *Besancion*, an imperial City situate in the middle of the County of *Burgundy*. Some that think it not altogether impossible, for the rational Soul to be separated from a Man's body, and yet the Body live, a certain kind of Life flowing from that Temperature into which a spiritual substance can have no Energy or natural influence, do much concern themselves about the Creature that went in and out at the King's mouth.

45. But, to our busines. *Sigebert* knowing, that as to the matter of Women all his Brothers were much blamed, resolved not to split his Reputation upon the same Rock, and therefore sent into *Spain* to *Athanagild* (or *Athanabild*) King of the *Goths*, to ask his Daughter *Bruna*, or *Brunia*, in Marriage. Having received her with a very rich Portion; for that she was an *Arian*, he caused her to be Christened, faith *Gregory*, or baptiz'd faith *Aimoinus*, and the later adds, that cauſing her to be instructed in the Catholick faith, he changed her Name from *Bruna* to *Brunechild*; whereas the other calls her *Brunechild* at first, making no mention of any change of Name. The noſe of this Match being spread abroad, and, as in ſuch Cafes is uſual, the fame of the Ladies worth being very great. *Chilperick* the other Brother who was already provided of a great number of Women, ſent into *Spain* to procure her elder Sister, promising that if he could be ſo happy as to enjoy her, he would diſmifs all his other Wives. *Atavarſild* believing him, lent his Daughter to him, *Galfonita* by Name, with a great deal of Treasure, and his Ambaſſadours at the delivery of her demanded of *Chilperick* an Oath, that he would never put her from the Dignity of Queen. He readily gave it, but being of a very ficklē and inconstant Humour, *Fredegundis* one of his former Wives, again wound her ſelf into his Favour, and prevailed to be once more reſtored to his Bed. Having got ſo great an opportunity of working her ends, ſhe ceaſed not to improve it, and knowing the had got fast hold of him, carried her ſelf as Queen, and put all affronts imaginable upon *Galfonita*. She poor Lady hereupon makes her Complaints, and for a time is put off with good Words; but at length, the diſcrence increaſing, at the Infliſhment of her Strumper, he, who had been taken by an Enemy, was in Honour ingaged to have redeemeſt her with his Sword, may if the Cafe had to require, with his very Life, as *Aimoinus* obſerves, was not ashamed, when ſhe thought nothing leſs, in their common Bed to cauſe her to be ſtrangled; a Villany unknown to a Tyrant, a *Frank*, and much more to a King, in ſuch a manner to violate the Dignity of Marriage. His Brothers were inraſed at the Fact, and thinking themſelves highly obliged to puniſh it, agreed together to deprive him of his Kingdom. And that the thing took not, *Chilperick* was not ſo much beholding to his own Policy, as the ſlightneſs of the Council, and Advice upon which the Design it ſelf was founded.

46. But, to leave the wiving of thoſe Kings, and come to ſomething more fit for them to Pratiſe, and us to Write, not long after the Death of *Chlotharius* their Father; the *Hunes* refolved to invade *Gall* out of *Pannonia*, with intention there to Plant themſelves, as *Attila* long before them had attempted. *Sigebert* having notice of their Motions and delighting in War, for which Nature had very well qualified him, determined to paſs the *Rhine*, and if they ſtill proceeded to give them Battel in the farreſt parts of *Thuringia*, which was then ſubjeſt unto his own Juridiſtion. At the River *Albi* they met and fought, where *Sigebert* remained Victoir over a moſt fierce Nation, having ſlain many thouſands of them in the place; and returning home, expected thanks from his Brothers, as the common Protecſor of all their Dominiſons. But on the contrary he found, what in the leaſt he never could have expeſted. *Chilperick* in his abſence had faſt upon his Towns, and amonſt others, had made himſelf Master of *Reims*, ſo that his Sword which was not yet fully dry, he muſt again bathe in the Bloud of his Countrymen and Relations. *Sueffio* or *Soffons*, the ordinary refiſcence of his Brother, he takes by Force, and therein *Theodoreb* his Son whom he ſent to ſafe Cuftrdy, then engaging in Battel with him himſelf, he routs his Army, puts him to flight, and immediately recovers what was his own before his expedition. Having done thus much, he was no good Natur'd, as to make a Peace with him, and not only reſtored him his Son, whom he ſent away with great Gifts, but the City of *Soffons* alſo; and then being at his cafe, he ſent *Goga* the *Major Domus*, or his principal Minifter into *Spain* to fetch *Bruncibild*, which he did to his forrow, as the event proved. For after he came to have once an Inter'eſt with the King her Husband, he alienated his mind from him by degrees, and at laſt perſuaded him to put him to Death; from which Aet proceeded ſuch Effuſion of Noble, yea alſo of Royal Bloud amongſt the *Franks*, and ſuch slaughters were made, that in *Sibylla* her Prophecy

*Sigebert* Marries  
*Bruna* the King  
of *Spain*'s Daugh-  
ter.

*Chilperick* Mar-  
ties her Sister.

But strangles  
her in Bed.

The *Hunes*  
overthrown in  
Battel.

*Galfonita* al. *W.*  
ſonta & *Galfonita*  
iha.

*Albi*, *Potonnes*  
d'au, *Germanie*  
*Celeritatis*  
*fluvius*, *Germanis*  
*Elbe*, *Bohemis*  
*verb*, *apud* *quæ*  
*Originalis*, *monte*,  
*Elbe* &  
*Elbe Germanis*  
*under* ſigni-  
*cat*, *aque* *in Am-*  
*er* *in Albi* *influ-*  
*unt* *sude* *romani*  
*fori* *eff* *ur*  
*atiqui* *austrani*.

## CHAP. I. Contemporary with the Conſt. Roman Empire.

{ *Chilperick*,  
*Guntram*,  
*Sigebert*.

Prophecy they now accounted to be fulfilled, which foretold, that *Bruma* ſhould come from the parts of *Spain*, before whose Face the Nations, or rather, the Kings of the Nations, ſhould perifh; but the her ſelf ſhould be kiſſed to death by Horſes.

47. In the mean time the *Saxons* being Neighbours to *Thuringia*, did much miſchief to that Province, ſo that *Sigebert* was obliged to ſend one *Lupus*, an induſtrious Man, and a very good Soultier, to reduce them to reaſon, which not being able to doe without blowſ, he fell upon them, and on the Bank of the River *Bor* *Venamini Forti-*  
*daha*, cut in pieces many thouſands of them, beſides multitudes that were drowned in the River. Yet notwithstanding this People would not contain it within its own bounds, but playing again the ill Neighbour, *Sigebert* himſelf, with a complete Army, marched againſt them, and fending away his Horſe, fought on foot at the Head of his Men, which fo animated them, that they got another notable Victory. At this Battel was preſent one *Conda*, now very Aged, but formerly an excellent Soultier, who loſt two Sons in the Fight, young Men of very great valour. *Theodoric*, the Son of *Clodoneus*, in coniſideration of his worth, firſt made him a Colonel; then *Theodoreb* having more experience of Conduct, gave him the place of Great Maſter of his Houſhold, and after his Deatḥ he was, in a manner, Tutoř to *Theodoreb*, during his Minority. Afterward he ſerved *Chlotharius* in the ſame capacity, he had one *Theodoreb*, who did nothing of moment without him, and at laſt, having ouſtived so many Kings, he was to dear to *Sigebert*, that he, and he alone, ſate with him at his Table, than which, amonſt the *Franks*, a greater Honour could not be conferred on a Subjeſt. On the Death of his Sons *Venantius* *Fortunatus* wrote an Elegant Poem, from which we have this Account of the Battel, and the Fortune of this excellent Captain, which otherwife had been buried in eternal oblivion. *Gregory* and *Aimoinus* writing of the Wars againſt the *Saxons*, ſpeak nothing of this *Conda*, but great things of *Mummolus*, who obtained veſtoral notable Viſtories over them, and the *Lombards*, which the Reader may find in the Hiftory of this People, who at ſeveral times and under conduct of veſtoral Captains invaded *Gall*.

48. Not long after the finishing of theſe Wars with the *Saxons* and *Lombards*, the Brothers fell at odds amonſt themſelves, the quarrel beginning betwixt *Sigebert* and *Chilperick*, whose Son *Clodoneus* ſeized upon *Burdigala*, but was thence expell'd by one *Sigifus*, who concerned himſelf in behalf of *Sigebert*. In the mean time a diſpute also aroſe betwixt *Sigebert* and *Guntram*, who aſſembled all his Biſhops together at *Paris*, to determine the Controverſie, but the Civil War being to grow into greater flames they refuſed to ſtand to their determination, to great were their fins, as *Gregory* obſerueth. *Chilperick* after this fruitleſs Mediation was ſo far incenſed, as to faiſh *Theodoreb* his eldeſt Son, who had, when a Priſonier, giuen his Oath never more to fight againſt his Uncle, to invade the Countries of the *Turoni*, *Pitavi*, and all the other places beyond *Ligeris*, which having formerly been part of the Inheritance of *Cheribert*, had faln to *Sigebert*. At *Pitavi* or *Poitiers* he gaue Battle to *Gundobald*, who endeavoured to put a ſtop to his Carrere, and gave him a notable overthrow, with which ſucceſs animated, he waſed with Fire and Sword the greatest part of the Country about *Tours*, and if they had not yielded themſelves in time, had utterly deſtroyed them. Thence he removed to the *Lemmaices*, and *Cadurci*, the Territories of whom he invaded, waſed, deſtroyed, burnt their Churches, cauſed their Service to ceaſe, killed their Clerks, demolifhed the Monasteries of Men, deluded the Women, overthrew all things, to that in the Opinion of *Gregory*, the groans of theſe Churches were greater than they had been in the very days of *Dioſcletian*. *Sigebert*, as he had ſome reaſon, being moved with theſe violent Courſes of his perfidious Nephew, ſent and raiſed Forces beyond the *Rhine*, out of *Thuringia*, and the neighbouring Nations, which making up a great Army, he led them againſt *Chilperick*, who fearing that his Brother *Guntram*, had defered him, because overcome by the Threats of *Sigebert* he had let his Forces paſs the readieſt way through his Country, deſired Peace, which being granted, he capitulated that the places his Son had waſed, might not be called to account, having done nothing but what they were conſtrained to doe by Aet of a violent and terrifying Nature.

49. By Virtue of the Accord, he was to give up all that *Theodoreb* had lately Conquered, which done, the Army of *Sigebert* was to diſband and march away. But being ſtrangers, and having no other motive to the Service, but the deſire of pay and Booty, they refolved, ſeeing their time was to be ſo ſhort, to make the best

*Burdigala*, *badi*  
*Bordeaux*, *opidum*  
*Bituriges*  
*Vibisferum*, *de*  
*qua confine Sinc-*  
*rum in appendice*  
*Gallia*, *Bituriges*  
*Celtici*, *dalli*  
*duabus ſex genit*  
*Colonia in Aqui-*  
*taniam*, *altra*  
*Bاورum*, *Vibis-*  
*ferum altera*, *bu-*  
*ſtratibus*, *a-*  
*grum*, *Bauerum*,  
*lenum*, *ill* *Tar-*  
*bellicum*. *Ut*  
*inimicis Menores*  
*in Geographis*  
*Galle*.

5

left use of it they could ; and therefore rifled all the Towns about *Paris*, and so returned, being nothing pleased with *Sigebert* for his so short Entertainment, who over-powered some with good Words, and others with harsh Deeds, causing several Mutineers to be stoned. Now all differences were composed betwixt the Brothers, and nothing was expected but a perpetual Amity, and a good Correspondence not to be infringed. But see the natural Disposition of these *Franks* : *Chilperick* the Year after raises Forces, and again makes Excursions into the Dominions of *Sigebert*, making waste of all things he light upon as formerly, which obliged his Brother to recall the Army, he had lately remitted into *Germany*. He himself marches toward *Paris*, and sends Orders to his Subjects living about *Tours* and other places, to make head against *Theodober*, who having no mind to the Employment; he sent *Godegisilus* and *Guntram*, two of his Officers against him. Upon their appearance in the Field most of his Men deserted him, yet would he be with a few, in Comparison, give them Battel, and being slain was carried by *Arnulfus* to the City of *Engelime* and there buried. *Chilperick* upon the approach of *Sigebert*, when he heard that his Brother *Guntram* had made his Peace with him fled, to *Tourney* with his Wife and Children, and therein fortified himself. *Sigebert* took in all Towns on this side *Paris*, and came as far as *Rothomagus* or *Rouen*, whence returning to *Paris* again, thither came to him his Wife *Bruncibilla* with her Children.

approach of Sigebert,  
th him fled, to Tour-  
S. *Sigebert took in*  
r Rouen, whence re-  
bildus with her Chil-  
Tornacum, hodie  
Tournai, oppi-  
dum Belgarum  
ad Scalidum sta-  
vium.  
*Rotomagus Roi-*  
*en hodie Metro-*  
*polis Venerio Casiorum in Gallia Celicata.*

*King Sigeber  
stabbed.*

Is succeeded  
*Childebert* his  
Son.

ici Seuanum iterat. *Et Mætronam fluvius.* Les Brûlés Celiques. *Le Peuple de Brie Celique, aux our de Meaux.* Et de la *Seine* au *Marne.* Aut si *Meldi* Martini atque Belgici, *Strato* difterit ait, *Ac Celeri* istud indicat cum *Brævæ* sive *Sabatæ* fuerit in *Meldi*, ad subvenientes exercitus in *Britanniam*.

*¶ Chilperic et Venantius tradit.* I. q. *Propter quod solidum adjutum ferunt.* Absit litera C, quod in aliis nominibus, *Scaligero* momenti fieri debet, *et Hilpric, Hilpe Angli etiamnam Hile auxilium.* Rich datus est litera.

*Hilpric* potis si interpres *Barbarus exxit,*  
*Adjutor fortis hoc quoque nomen habet.*

51. *Chilperick* was enraged upon hearing thereof, fearing the Craft and Wit of the Woman, who he knew would never be reconciled to him, nor his Wife *Fredegundis*, but would work his Son to her own Will, and thrust him on to dangerous attempts against his Family. He goes down therefore with fome Forces to *Rouen*. They take Sanctuary in a Church of St. *Martin*, whence they refuse to depart, till he had given them Oath, not only for the immunity of their Perfons, but of their Marriage also. The Accord is made, and being come out of the Church, he feasts them for two days together, but then takes away his Son, not at all regarding

ding his Oath. As he returns, News is brought, that those about *Campania* and *Reims*, had risen up in Arms, and taken from him the City of *Soffons*, which rai-  
fed in him such Indignation, that speedily increasing his Forces by new Levies, he  
goes against them, overthrows them in Battle, and retaking *Soffons*, puts many of  
the Nobility to death. Then sends he his Son *Cledonanus* against the People inhab-  
iting about *Tours*, joining with him, as his Counsellor and Assistent, one *Deside-  
rius*. Against them *Mammolus*, the Patriarch of King *Guntram*, made head, and  
giving them battle, got the better, killing, *Aimoinus* faith, no less than fifty thou-  
sand of their Men, with the loss of twenty thousand of his own followers, though  
*Gregory* mentions but twenty four thousand on the one side, and five thousand on  
the other. This put *Chilperick* much out of humour, and *Fredegundis*, his Wife,  
observing it, thought it a fit time to turn his Rage and Displeasure upon *Meroneus*  
his Son, whom she accused of Treachery, and abetting the Interest of *Brunichildis*.  
At her instigation he is shaven, and being thrust into a Monastery in an Island cal-  
led *Anisola*, near to the *Cenomanie*, there it is commanded that he be ordained  
Priest. But by the persuasion of one *Guntram*, a Count, he makes his escape thence,  
and reassuming the Habit of a Lay-person, comes to *Tours*, and takes Sanctuary in  
the Church of St. *Martin*, where *Gregory* the Bishop, our Historian, refused to  
give him the Communion, till he threatened to cause a Massacre of the People there-  
about to be made. He continued here for some time, to the great regret of his Fa-  
ther, and *Fridiegundis* his Step-Mother, who used all means possible to intrap him.  
Being by her Wiles drawn out of this Church, with intention to be slain, though  
he escaped the danger, at length, after he had had recourse to *Brunichildis*, but was  
rejected, he was circumvented by the People called *Taranamenses*, who pretending  
they would revolt to him from his Father, he used all speed imaginable to put himself  
into their Hands. But having him once in their Power, they sent his Father no-  
tice, who used all expedition to come at him, which he dreading, and expecting to  
be cruelly handled, he prevailed with one *Gailenus*, his follower, to kill him,  
which he did with a Knife, run into his side. The King coming after he expired,  
caused *Gailenus* to be tortured to death, with several others of his attendants. The  
Report went, that this Train was laid for this unfortunate young Man by *Guntram*  
*Bofo*, who was very dear to *Fredegundis*, because he had slain *Theobald*, another  
Son of *Chilperick*, and by *Egidius* a Bishop, who had been a long time very fami-  
liar with her.

lier with her.  
52. *Childebert* all this while reigned in the room of *Sigebert* his Father, a Child of scarcely five years old when the Succession was devolved upon him. By the procurement of *Gundebald* his faithful Friend, the Estates resolved to stick cloſe to him, rejecting all Proposals which could be made by *Chilperick* his Uncle, who ſeeing that he had escaped his Hands, and that his Subjects were not to be moved from their Fidelity, made a Virtue of Necessity, pretended great kindneſs, and at his demand releaſed *Bruncibildis* his Mother, and ſent her to him. *Guntram*, his other Uncle, feemeſt more ſerious and ſincere in his pretensions, who having loſt all his Children, after that grief would give him leave to conſider the ſtate of his Affairs, caſt his Eye upon this his young Kinsman, as him whom both Nature and Providence designed for his Heir, and therefore he ſent to him, offering him all kindneſs, and defring that he would do him the favour to ſee him. Thoſe about the youth weighing all circumſtances, were of opinion, that conſidering he had no Children of his own, he could have no Plot upon him, and fo they came to an Interview, at a Bridge called *Perreux*, where there wanted no expreſſions, nor other signs, of Joy and Affection. After long Embraces, *Guntram* told him, that ſeeing that his Sins had pulled down the Judgment of being Childeſes upon him, and that thoſe who proceeded from the Loins of others were to inherit his Territories, and his Treasures, he thought none fo fit as himſelf, his Nephew, whom he now adopted for his Son, defring that ſuch affection might grow betwixt them, as became ſo near a Relation, that one Buckler might protec them, and one and the fame Lance defend them againſt their Enemies. In caſe it ſhould so happen, that he ſhould have Children, he promised he would look upon him as his Son, and have the fame kindneſs ever for him as he had at preſent, expecting the like from him, which his Nobility promiſed in his behalf. After this they dined lovingly together, and making each other rich Preſents, parted aſunder, having agreed upon a joint Embaſſy to *Chilperick*, to require that he would reſtore ſuch parcels of their  
er cour-  
his Un-  
A a a  
Dominions

Dominions

Sect. 3. Dominions as he had got into his Hands, or otherwise to expect and prepare for War. *Chilperick* slighted the Message, spending his time in making Circques both at *Soussons* and *Paris*, for entertaining with Shews the People of those parts.

Sixt. in Britain. annus and Bodiclus, both Counts of that Countrey, had by Oath covenanted betwixt themselves, that whosoever was the longer liver, shoud patronize and defend the Sons of the other, no otherwise than his own Children. It happens that Bodiclus dies first, and leaves behind him a Son, named Theodorick, whom Malciatus treats so contrary to his Oath, that he outs him of his Inheritance, and lays it to his own Demains. Theodorick thus abused, wanders a long time up and down in a defective condition; but at last the Britains took pity on him, and fell with such violence upon the Usurper, that they kill him, together with Jacob his Son, and settle Theodorick in what was left him by his Father, Warochus, another Son of Malciatus, stoutly making good his own Inheritance. In the mean time *Chilperick* busies himself with Prætextatus the Bishop of *Rouen*, whom accusing of having conspired with his Son Meroneus against him, he brings him to his Tryal before a Synod of Bishops. Prætextatus denied all that was objected. The Bishops either flattered the King, or at least held their peace, only Gregory of Tours, the Historian, as he himself tells us, stood to the truth, and for so doing came into trouble, but he told the King his own freely. *Chilperick* seeing he could not prevail, but that the Bishop justified himself sufficiently, set fome upon him, who persuaded him that an end might speedily be put to his troubles, and he might not in vain contest with the King, to confess himself guilty, which he did, casting himself at his feet, acknowledging that he endeavoured to depose him, and settle his Son (whose God-father he was) in his Throne. *Chilperick* most unworthily takes advantage at this confesse, and falling at the Feet of the Bishops, demands Justice against him, and afterward sends them a Book of Canons, wherein this was contained, *That a Bishop being taken in Murther, Adultery, or Perjury, should be depesed*. He required that either his Coat or Rochet might be torn in pieces, or that the hundred and eighth Psalm, containing the Curles of *Icarius*, might be read over his Head, or that they would proceed to excommunication. The Bishop of *Tours* withheld all these demands, urging the Canons, against which the King had promised that he would act nothing. But Prætextatus was taken from them, and committed to Prison, whence endeavouring to make his Escape, he was grievously beaten, and sent into an Island of the Sea, near adjacent to the City *Constantina*. This happened a little before the death of Meroneus.

54. Not long after Samson, the youngest Son of *Chilperick*, died of the Dysentery, joyed with a Fever. He was born then when *Chilperick* was besieged in *Tourney* by his Brother, and Fredegundis being in great apprehension of death, neglected the Infant, as soon as it was born, and in a desperate humour would have suffered it to perish, but he reviled her for her neglect, and commanded it to be baptized, after which it scarcely lived four years. Fredegundis also her self was at this time very sick, but recovered, to the ruine almost of her Husband's Family, through her implacable Malice against his Sons. He, though his Charge and Care by the death of his Children might have been lessened, yet grew more covetous than ever, at the instigation of his Wife, laying such heavy Taxes upon his People, that many of them made the best of what they had, and departed out of his Dominions. The Lemones made an Insurrection, had slain (Aimurus faith they did slay) Mark Lemones for the Collectour, but that he was rescued by the Bishop; and burnt all the Books and Papers they could come by, that concerned the Tax. To supress this Rebellion, the King sent certain of his Officers, with competent Forces, who punished the Rioters with great severity, and Churchmen, amongst others, whom the Courters, as Gregory tells us, falsely accused; which done, more heavy Impositions were laid upon the Countrey. Not long after, *viz.* in the fifth year of Childerbert, which was the nineteenth of *Chilperick* and Guntram, several Prodigies appeared, and were followed by a violent Disease, which raged all over *Gall*, being that which Physicians call *Cholera Morbus*. The Parties were taken with a Dysentery and Vomiting, which were accompanied with a great pain in their Reins, and in their Heads or Neckes. That they vomited was yellow or green, and many thought they were poisoned, it's certain that such Herbs as are accounted to resist Poison, did

Heavy Taxes imposed on the Subjects of France.

Then followed a Pestilence.

did relieve moſt that made uſe of them. Beginning in *August*, it firſt destroyed a multitude of Children, and then invaded thoſe of riwer years. *Chilperick* himſelf was brought very low with it, and when he recovered, his youngſt Son, as yet not baptiz'd, fell ſick, whom when they ſaw in danger, they cauſed to be chriftend. When he grew ſomething better, his Brother Childerbert was feized with the Difeafe, whom his Mother Fredegundis perceiving in danger of death, began to conſider, and entertain more ſerious thoughts than formerly.

which defroyed vñ numbers 55. In this good fit, which was not like long to continue, ſhe became a Preacher of Mercy to the King her Husband; she defred him to conſider in what danger they were to be bereaved of their Children, and affirmed that the Cries and Tears of Orphans and Widows pulled down their Judgments upon their Heads; therefore the he brought him that he would no more burthen his People, but commit to the Fire the Books of the late Tax, which he did with his own hands. Not long after thiſ their youngſt Son died, whom from the Village *Brennacuſ* they conveyed to *Paris*, and cauſed to be buried in the Church of *St. Deniſ*, Childerbert, their other Son, being very weak, they carried in a Litter to the Church of *St. Medard* in *Sousſons*, and laying him at the Sepulchre of the Saint, made Vows for his Recovery; but he died at midnight of a Conſumption, and was buried in the Church of *St. Crispin* and *Crispinian*, Martyrs, the whole City being in deep mourning, as for their nearest Relations. Of thiſ Difeafe also died Austrigildis, the Wife of King Guntram, fo wicked at her death, that unwilling to die alone, she procured two of her Phyſicians to be fent after her, through her falfe Accuſations. *Chilperick*, by the loſs of his Children, was grown very charitable, giving much to the poor, and liberally endowing many Churches. Yet the bewitching words of his Wife Fredegundis made him forget natural Affection it ſelf; for whereas he had but one Son remaining, Chlodowen by Name, ſhe cauſed him to be ſent to *Brennacuſ*, a place, as ſhe thought, infected, for there her own Children had yielded to Nature. Here, as he lay, he let fly ſome foolish words concerning his future greatness, (for he thought he had reaſon to expect to be King) and the punishment he would inflict upon his Enemies. The report hereof being brought to her Ears, ſhe was filled with Rage and Jealousie, and accused him of very wicked Deſigns unto his Father, who was ſo uxorious and unnatural, as to give him up into her Hands. Within a while ſhe cauſed him to be ſlabbed with a Knife, and gave out, that he had killed himſelf, which his miſerable Father eaſily believed, and rejoiced in his deſtruſion. His Mother was put to a cruel Death, his Sister condemned to a Monaſtry, and all their Estates were feized to the uſe of the Queen, who cauſed a young Woman, with whom Chlodowen was ſaid to be in Love, to be burned alive, and others that favoured his Caue, with various torments to be defroyed.

The Britains in vnde Gall. 56. During theſe Domeſtik Miseries, which if he could have underſtood it, happened to *Chilperick*, the Britains, under conduct of Warochus, their Count, invaded his Dominions with Fire and Sword, againſt whom ſome opposition was made, but only with thiſ Effect, that exasperated them the more, and made them commit great outrages in their Incursions. He attempted alſo ſomething againſt his Nephew Childerbert, though to no purpoſe, whioe Officers had both honesty and ability faithfully and ſuccesfully to ſerve him. Betwixt his Brother Guntram and him, there was no good Intelligence, and it happening that Mirothe, King of Gallicia, who then reigned over the Suevi, ſending his Ambaſſadours to Guntram, he intercepeted at Poitiers, and cauſed them to be conveyed to *Paris*, where he clapt them in Prison, and diuifed them not till after a whole years duſtance. With Lewigildus the King of Spain, he ſeems now to have been at Peace, notwithstanding the juſt offence given to the Nation of the Goths in the matter of Galfuintha; for that King ſent his Ambaſſadour to him, Egilanus by name, with whom, being at preſent a violent Arian, though afterward in his miſery he recanted, Gregory our Historian had a diſputation, which *verbatim* he has published in his Book. Not long after the Ambaſſadours, which *Chilperick* had ſent to Tiberius the Emperor, returned, after three years ſpent in their Employment, and after ſo much labour and toil, were ſhipwreckt in the Haven. For not daring to put into the Port of Marſeilles, by reaſon of the Diſſentions riſen amongst the French Kings, they made for that of Agathe, a Town belonging to the Goths, and before they could land, their Ship was by a Tempeſt driven, and ſtriking upon ground was broken to pieces. The Ambaſſadours, and moſt of their followers, yet escaped upon Boards ſafe to land, and moſt of their baggage was ſaved, though, as uſually happens

Sect. 3. happens in wrecks, that the adjoining Inhabitants, instead of relieving those in distress, rob them of what the fury of the Waves hath spared, the Townsmen pifred all they coul'd. *Gregory* the Bishop tells us, he then waited upon the King at *Novigentum*, where he shewed him a Jewel he had, made up of Gold and pretious Stones, weighing fifty pounds, for the adorning and ennobling the Nation of the *Franks*, as he said, adding, that if he lived, he wold doe more in that kind. He shewed him also certain *Aurei*, sent him by the Emperour; whereof each weighed a pound, being stamped with the Emperour's Image, encircled with this Inscription, *Tiberii Constantini Perpetui Augusti*: and having on the reverse a Chariot with four Horses, and a Driver, with these words, *Gloria Romanorum*. Besides many other things the Ambassadours had brought him.

Civil Wars again  
amongst the  
King.

57. Mention being here made of the Difsentions of the Kings, we are told by our Authour, that while the King lay still in this Village of *Novigentum*, or Saint *Clos*, Ambassadours came to him from his Nephew *Childebert*, making offers of Peace and a strict Alliance, by virtue of which they were to out *Guntram* of his Kingdom, and part it betwixt them. *Chilperick* was very glad of the overture, being very desirous to beget an ill Understanding betwixt his Brother and Nephew, and loothing them with good Words and large Promises, of making *Childebert* his Heir, (forasmuch as he had not now any Son left him,) dismifed them with very great rewards. The caufe of the Quarrel betwixt *Childebert* and *Guntram*, it feems, was this: *Guntram*, after his Brother's death, had given part of *Marseilles* to his Son *Childebert*, but now thought fit to deprive him of it, which the young man much stomaching, firſt strengthened himſelf by this New Alliance, and then ſent to him, requiring he might be put into Poffeſſion of what was his own, elſe he lets him know the keeping of this inconfiderable thing ſhould coſt him the looſing of far greater matters. *Guntram* however refufes to put him in Poffeſſion, and aware of ſome force to be attempted, ſecures all the Avenues of his Kingdom. *Chilperick* takes his opportunity at theſe their Difſentions, and ſends *Desiderius* with an Army into the Territories of *Guntram*, who takes \* *Petrogoricum*, † *Aginnum*, and all other Towns in theſe Quarters of *Aquitaine*.

*Metropolis Venna, Eta anni impensa Perigrina.*    † *Aginnum, bidec Agen, Ataropolis Valcarum Nitibrigum, ad decraram Garunna*

Several Prodi-  
gies.

58. The following Year, which was the seventh of *Childebert*, and the one and twentieth of his two Uncles, in the Month of *January*, there was great Thunder and Lightning. Flowers appeared upon Trees, and a Comet appeared, encircled, as it were, with Darknes, having a terrible Tail. On *Easter-day*, at *Soissons*, the Heavens ſeemed to burn. Not far from *Paris* it rained Blood, and ſo stained the Clothes of many, that it could not be got out. Theſe Prodigies were followed by a grievous Contagion, which ſwept away multitudes of People, dying suddenly, affoon as the *Bubo* appeared on their Groins. This fame Year, wherein alſo *Tiberius* the Emperour died, had *Chilperick* another Son born, after ſo many he had lost, which fo affected him, that he commanded the Priſons to be ſet open, and forgave many Debts owing to his Exchequer. His Son he would have baptiz'd at *Paris*, whither he went on *Easter-Eve*, and becaue by the common Agreement of the Kings, a Curse was laid upon him that ſhould come into that City without the Knowledge and Confeit of the reſt, to avoid the Curse he was fo cunning, as to have ſeveral Reliques of Saints to be carried before him at his Entry. All this while the diſference about *Marseilles* continued betwixt *Guntram* and his Nephew, who now again ſent his Ambassadours to *Chilperick*, with offers of entring into a more ſtrict Alliance; and deſires to join with him in an Invafion of *Guntram's* Dominiſons, to force him to reaſon with dint of Sword. The Agreeſment being confirmed on both ſides by Oath, *Chilperick* being of himſelf ſufficiently inclined to the War, preſently raifed an Army, and marched to *Paris*, where having done much harm to the Inhabitants, he entered his Brother's Territories, and waſhed all where he came with Fire and Sword. Some of his Officers he ſent to take an Oath of Fidelity from the *Biturices*, who refuing to break their Faith, gave Barrel to *Desiderius* his Captain, and to great slaughter was made, that of both Armies perifhed more than ſeven thouſand. But it ſeems the *Biturices* had the worſt, for *Chilperick* his Men proceeded toward their *Metropolis*, and made ſuch havock and deſtruſion of all things, as, if we can believe an Historian, and a Bishop, the like was never heard of in former times, not ſo much as an Houſe, nor a Vine, nor any other Tree, being

being left ſtanding, and as great Indignities being offered to all hallowed places, by which theſe Forces did paſs.

59. This did *Chilperick* by himſelf without the conjuſtion of his Nephew's Arms, which might more imbolden his Brother *Guntram* to make head againſt him, and that he did with ſuch ſucceſs, that falling upon his men in an Evening, he cut off the greaſteſt part of his Army, and compelled him the day following to ſend, and defire a Peaſe, which was granted, the matter being put into the Hands of certain Commissioners appointed on each ſide. Then did *Chilperick* recall all his men he had ſent into ſeveral Quarters, who yet in their paſſage did very great miſchief to the Country People. This defolation by War was followed by a great Murrain and Death of Cattel, which raged in ſuch a meaſure, that it became a ſtrange fight to fee a Cow, or any other ſuch like Creature. In the mean time, *Childebert* got his men together, and made up a conſiderable Army, which fell ſuddenly into a Mutiny, crying out that the Biſhop of *Rheims*, and ſome others of the prime Minifters were Traitors, ſelling his Countries, and Cities unto his Enemies, and Tumults arose to that height, that they came to the King's Tent, demanding them to be delivered up into their hands, and they with much adoe escaped, the Biſhop amongst the reſt flying as fast as his Horſe could carry him, and leaving one Shoe behind him for haſte. What this Mutiny of the Army pro cured we know not, but *Childebert* in the Ninth year of his Reign, had his ſhare of *Marseilles* delivered up to him by his Uncle *Guntram*. What content forever he received hereby, his Uncle *Childebert* about the ſame time had his former ſorrows renewed, his young Son now scarce a year old being taken away by a Dyfentery. This cauſed him to give cool Entertainment to the Ambaſſadours of *Leviorib'la* the *Spaniſh* King, who being ſent to him to ask his Daughter in Marriage, for the Son of that King, though he had already conſented to the Propofals, yet upon notice of his Son's Death, he recalled back the Ambaſſadours, who were now on their way homewards and would neceſſary change the Bride, pitching, instead of his Daughter begotten on his beloved *Fredegund*, on another which he had by *Audonera*, lock't up in the Nunneſtry of *Pozières*. But the young Lady was averse, *Radegrund* the Abbeſs exceedingly concerning her ſelf, and affirming, that it was a thing al together improper, for a Maid that had dedicated her ſelf to Chriſt, again to return to thefe Earthly pleaſures.

60. But there wanted not ſome flatterers who made the Queen believe that her young Son was bewitched to Death, and that by the eſpecial procurement of *Mummolus* a great Officer, whom ſhe had of a long time mortally hated. Many of the Women of *Paris*, which either ſhe or her Attendant pretended reaſon to ſuſpect, the ſubjeeted to various Torments, burning ſome, and breaking others upon the Wheel; then wen the with the King to *Compendium*, where ſhe took her opportunity to lay the load upon *Mummolus*, who was iſtantly ſent for, loaded with Chains and grievouſly tortured. Yet did not he confeſs any thing which had relation to the Death of the Child, though he could not deny but that ſeveral Ointments and Potions he had received from thoſe Women, to procure favour and reſpect from the King and Queen. After an increafe of Torments, when the Hangmen themſelves were weary of their Office, and an end was to be put to their pains, and his ſufferings by the impending Sword, by the wonderfull bounty and kindneſs of the Queen he was reprieved, though carried in a Cart to *Bordeaux*, and utterly depoiled of his whole Estate, the loſs of which he not long ſurvived. *Fredegund* to put an end to her forrow by deſtroying what was an occaſion of it, burnt all the Clothes and Furniture that belonged to the Child, four Waggonſ full as was reported, neither would the ſpare ſuch Gold and Silver as had belonged to him, but made it paſs the fornoe to alter and deface its former fafhion.

61. As ſoon as grief would give him leave, *Chilperick* confidering that his Brother and Nephew were reconciled, and meaſuring the deſires of others by his own Inclinations, presumed that they would fall upon him to wreſt out of his hands thoſe Towns which upon their diſference he had invaded. He therefore ſent to the feveral Gouernours to bid them stand upon their Guard, he himſelf went to the City of *Cambray* where he refolved to ſecure both his Perfon and all his Treafure; while he here muſes up himſelf, he has another Son born to him, whom he commanded to be cloſe kept in the Town called *Vidoriacum*, left appearing abroad any miſchief ſhould befall him. *Childebert* at this time was in *Italy*, having been formerly hired by *Mauricius* the Emperour for fifty thouſand *Solidi*, to make War upon

*Mummolus* tor-  
tured through  
the malice of  
Queen *Fred-  
egund*.

**Sect. 3.** on the *Lombards* in that Country. - *Gregory* tells us that they being apprehensive of his great Power submitted themselves to his Commands, gave him great gifts and promised fidelity, which done, he returned home having thus deluded the Emperor, who demanding the money to be repayed, he confiding in his own strength, returned him no answer at all as to that matter. This Summer many Prodigies appeared, and all the Corn and Wine was destroyed by ill weather, a great Murrain also raging amongst Cattle. But the Eyes of the People were something diverted from these sad spectacles, by a splendid Embassy sent from the *Goths* to *Chilperick* about the Marriage of his Daughter. Nothing was wanting to set out the Bride in such an Equipage, as might demonstrate the Wealth and Magnificence of her Family. An incredible quantity of Gold and Silver he gave her, and her Mother out with such abundance that the her self had hoarded up, that the King himself imagined she had utterly exhausted his publick Treasure. But she went away with the curse of the people, of which some whole Families were thrust into Waggon and compelled to accompany her, and as she passed out of the Gate of *Paris*, the Axletree of her Chariot brake, which was interpreted as an ill Omen. Fifty Horesmen of her Train slipped away, and went to *Children* with their Golden Bridles and Chains, and every day almost some of her Company left her. The Army that attended her for fear of any attempt from the other two Kings, being about four thousand men, railed and pillaged the Country, and committed all sorts of Outrages in their passage.

62. While the Bride was thus on her way toward her Nuptial Enjoyments, *Fredegund* her Mother enjoyed her beloved *Lauderick* the *Major Domus* of the Palace, with whom she was ordinarily unclean, carrying it so cunningly, that nothing was less expected by her Husband, who still in an extravagant measure doted on her. But on a time when he was gone out to Hunt, the thinking he was sure, retired into the inner Room of her Apartment to wash her self, when the King, either changing his mind as to Hunting or upon some other account, speedily returned and followed her into her Chamber, where as she lay upon her face, he in jest gently struck her with his Rod. She imagining it had been *Lauderick* called him by that Name, and asked him why he did so, or used some more wanton kind of expreſſion, which *Chilperick* having heard, fell into a violent fit of Jealousy, and thence into a great Rage that the Houſe could not hold him, but out he would go into the Woods to cool himself and vent his paſſion. She understood very well by his words and gestures in what Eſtate ſhe was, and adding boldneſs to her Crime, *Du Mailan* daſſed called for *Lauderick*, told him her miſtake and bid him think of his Graue and not ſo ill Nero of old, fo he rejoiced in the burning and deviation of Cities and Provinces. He animadverſed upon perſons on purpoſe to conſecrate their Eſtates. He made his Belly his God, hated the Poor, defiſped and reviled the Clergy, upbraiding the Biſhops with their Riches \* and Honours, and affirming that all reſpect was from Kings transferred upon their perſons. Out of ſuch a kind of principle, he nulled ſuch + Teſtaments as were made in favour of the Church, as alſo many Orders made by his Father, believing that his own Rules would be infringed after his Death. As for Lust and Luxury, that in thought cannot be imagined which he indeed did not practice. Never was he wanting in deſiving new Arts and Myſteries to opprefſe the people, and if any were found blame-worthy, it was nothing with him to bid their Eyes to be pulled out of their Heads, this being one of his eſpecial directions given to his Judges againſt which as diſobeyed his Orders. In conclusion, he never cordially loved any man, nor ever did any love him. He died in the 23 year of his Reign, the fecond of the Emperor *Mauricius*, the tenth of *Pelagius* the fecond Biſhop of *Rome*, the year of our Lord 587, according to the common account, although if according to the computation of *Joseph Scaliger*, we fix his beginning at the 560 of our Lord, and he Reigned but twenty three years, his Death muſt have fallen at fartheſt but into the beginning of the year 584. But conſidering that *Gregory Turoensis* makes mention of the Emperor || *Mauricius*, before the Death of *Chilperick*, and that he had Reigned ſome time, (Iome years it's ſaid) (as is imposſible,) whereas the beginning of *Mauricius* is placed but at the 586 year of our Lord, had *Chilperick* Died in the 584, at that time there muſt have been no ſuch Emperor; and therefore this account cannot be true, or the ſeries of the years of the Emperors muſt be alſo unraavelled, as upon farther conſideration we shall find, they muſt; *Tiberius* the Emperor Dying, and *Mauricius* ſucceeding him, rather in the 582 year of our Lord.

*par deſire D'aures diſent qu' elle dit Laudry, pourquoy traſper vous par derrière, traſper par deuant, ſi vous en avez envie, car le Roi fait party. Quoy qu'il en faiſe, l'exce n'aurore rēſponce ne vaut queuer, & ne pourra grecer plaigne a un mary.*

63. These No-bodies were by ſome body purſued with as great ſucces as the Reader can imagine, *Lauderick* and *Fredegund* laughing in their Sleeves, and rejoicing that through the ſecret management of the affair, they had not onely escaped Death, but ſhould Reign together with her, (it's probable alio his) Son *Chlotharius*; for ſo was the young Child called. *Madalalpus* the Biſhop of *Sylvaneata*, who attended three days but could not be admitted to his preſence, (he carried himſelf ſo haughtily) hearing he was killed, came to the place and cauſing the body to be waſhed, and better Clothed, carried it by water from *Cala* where the Muſther was committed to *Paris*, and there Buried it in the Church of *St. Vincent*, now ſt. *Germain Desprez*, where as yet is to be ſeen his Tomb with his Image, cut upon an hollow ſtone, in the Walk that lies before the high Altar toward the North. His left hand is ſtretched out toward his Beard and Throat, as if, as ſome imagine, immixt eſc cleb he les pret. *Paris.*

*Locum iherm quem Gregorius appelles Villam Calenam. Du Mailan robit, immixt eſc cleb he les pret. Paris.*

he would ſignifie that in that part he had been Muſthered. But *Philip Lautery*, Master of the French King's Mint, had his very Seal wherein he was cut in this very poſture, which makes it more probable that it was familiar to him, it having been the ordinary course when long Beards were in fashion, for all sorts of men as they walked or muſed, to handle them and put them into ſhape. Round about his Sepulchral-ſtone are theſe words ingraved, *Rex Chilpericus hoc tegitur Lapide, or King Chilperick lies under this Stone.* In the Table of the French Kings to be ſeen ſtil in the Library at *Brussels*, he is pictr'd in an ordinary travelling Coat, ſuch as *Captoline* writes that the Emperor *Verus* uſed, or an Hunting Garment, ſuch as *Virgil* faſh *Dido* was wrapped in when he went out to that ſport, (by him called *Chlamys*, but by *Juvenal* *Cucullus*, and *Marital* *Bardocucullus*,) and that in ſuch an ordinary Habit he was slain appears by what is written concerning the Biſhop, that he cauſed his body after it was waſhed to be adorned with more Royal Veſtments. He was the firſt of thoſe French Kings that applied their minds to Poetry, and without the help of an Interpreter could diſcourse in ſeveral Languages, if *Venantius Fortunatus* doth not flatter him.

**His character.** 64. *Gregory*, the Biſhop, and from him *Aimoinus* writes, that he thought himſelf wifer than all men living, and in imitation of *Sedulus* composed two Books of Verſes, which were very lame in their feet, or *Scazonites*, as *Aimoinus* calls them, ſhort syllables being put for long, and long ones for ſhort, through his exceeding great Ignorance in things of this Nature. Yet from the Epitaph he made for St. *German*, ſome plead that he wanted not a Poetical genius, and they grieve that thefe two Books of Verſes are not extant to anſwer for themſelves. It's certain that the Orthography of the Franks lame before for want of certain Letters, he made up by addition of ſuch as anſwered to †, ω, χ, φ, or *Omega*, ch. tb. pb. in *Gregor. lib. 5. c. 44. apud quem error Librario in Edizione Parviana, 1610, falso fermeſtum, et apud Maffon.*

*Ita illa queſitum est, ut illa lib. lib. 5. apud quem error Librario in Edizione Parviana, 1610, falso fermeſtum, et apud Maffon.*

*Etiam Aimoinus ut hic lib. lib. 5. apud quem error Librario in Edizione Parviana, 1610, falso fermeſtum, et apud Maffon.*

*Hic illa queſitum est, ut illa lib. lib. 5. apud quem error Librario in Edizione Parviana, 1610, falso fermeſtum, et apud Maffon.*

*Nudi penitus nisi illi Epifcopi, qui ad Epifcopos, et ad Ecclesiasticos, et ad Reges, et ad Imperatores, et ad Patrias quasi centrum Studiorum, accedit.*

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*Obſcurus hic servit Gregorius, etiamque queſitum est, ut illa lib. lib. 5. apud quem error Librario in Edizione Parviana, 1610, falso fermeſtum, et apud Maffon.*

*Gregor. lib. 6. cult. obſcurus hic servit Gregorius, etiamque queſitum est, ut illa lib. lib. 5. apud quem error Librario in Edizione Parviana, 1610, falso fermeſtum, et apud Maffon.*

*Ab Imperatore Mauricio, et ab Imperatore Tiberio, et ab Imperatore Mauricio ante hos annos*

65. *Chilperick* being Dead, the Muſtherers notwithstanding their former hopes by ſome fresh accidents, found themſelves obliged to make their Addreſſes to *Guntram*

**Sect. 3.** *tram*, who they knew, upon the rumour of the Murther if once it should come out, would be speedily upon them. To colour therefore the matter, as well as to make *Fredegund* a virtue of Necessity, *Fredegund* having taken up her abode in the Church of *Paris*, tends him Letters most full of fawning and flattery, calling him her Lord, and desiring him to come and take Possession of the Kingdom of his Brother, whose Son an Infant he was ready to put into his Arms, and fully accommodate her self to his will and pleasure. *Guntram* it's said, as he ever shewed more good Nature than any of his Brothers, wept bitterly at the report of his Brother's Death, and as soon as grief would give him leave got together some Forces, and therewith marched to *Paris*. *Childebert* his Nephew having notice of what had passed, was perswaded also to go thither and see what Markers he could make out of the late Calamity, but the Citizens of *Paris* would not admit him into the Town, whereupon he was forced to send his Ambassadors on his Errand, which was to flatter *Guntram* with the Title of most pious Father, and to desire that the League made betwixt his Father and him might be now most strictly obserued. *Guntram* received them as they had deserved, charging them with perfidious Dealings, who had never suffered his Nephew to stand to any Agreement, but lately caused him to break all Leagues and Alliances by a late Compact made with *Chilperick*, for driving him out of his Kingdom, and sharing his Cities betwixt them, and therewith he shewed them the very Articles themselves signed with their own hands, and therefore demanded of them how they could be so impudent, as to desire that now he should friendly entertain his Nephew, whom they by their tricks and devies had rendred so much his Enemy. They intreated him then that if he would not be pleas'd to grant his Nephew what he had once promised him, yet he would let him enjoy the Towns that had fain to his share by the Death of *Charibert*. To this he replied and shewed them the Writings, whereby it was agreed that which severall of the Brothers without the consent of the rest should go to *Paris*, should looke his share, and that *Polidus* the Martyr, with *Hilary* and *Martin* the Confessours, should be Judge and Avenger betwixt them. Yet did *Sigebert* his Brother enter that place, and perishing by the Judgment of God, lost his share, and so also did *Chilperick*, so that both of them having forfeited their parts, the whole Kingdom of *Charibert* together with his Treasures was by Law devolved upon him, and that he was refolved to have it as his right, not having any one to enjoy any parcel of it, except by his own bounty and free gift. With this answer, he bade them begon, like dissembling and perfidious Persons as they were, and make a relation thereof to his Nephew their Master.

*Chlotharius* suc-ceeds *Chilperick*

as King.

66. These Ambassadors being returned, others were sent within a while to demand *Fredegund* the Queen might be given up into his Hands, which had procured the Death, as they said, of his Aunt, and had Murthered his Father, his Uncle, and his Cousin *Germans*; but *Guntram* thinking he might be serviceable for settling the Affairs of his Son gave answer only, that he would consider of it, and made much of her, promising he would protect her against all her Enemies. Now did the Nobility assemble themselves to their King of four months old, whom they called *Chlotharius*, and ordered that all the Towns which had been subject to *Chilperick*, should swear fealty to *Guntram* and *Chlotharius* his Nephew. *Guntram* as a means to keep all in quiet as well as to satisfy Justice, caused Restitution to be made of what had been unjustly taken away from any in his Brother's time, gave much to Churches, and confirmed such gifts as having been made to them by Testaments, had been affigned by *Chilperick* to other Ues; he carried himself to all with much affability, and was very bountifull to the Poor. Yet knowing sufficiently the humour of his Nation, would not he trust himself amongst them without a strong Guard where e'er he came. On a certain Lord's day when he was at Church, and the Deacon had injoined to the People silence that the Service might begin, he took the opportunity to speak to them, "aduring them to be true to him, and not to Murther him as they had lately done his Brothers; that he might live though it were but three years longer to foster his young Nephews, which were now become his Adoptive Sons, lest it should come to pass (which God forbid) that he and they being made away, all the People should also perish with them, there being none left of their lineage to protect them. This he having said, the whole multitude poured out their Prayers to Almighty God for his Preservation.

**Sect. 3.** 67. While matters thus went about *Paris*, the Daughter of *Chilperick*, *Riguntha* by Name, having proceeded in her Journey toward *Spain* as far as *Toulouse*, and being now upon the Borders of the Gothic Territories there made a stop to rest her self and followers, and put her Train into some better order and *Decorum*, being wearied and disordered by the Travel, and Accidents of so long a journey. Here while they made an hault, News comes of *Chilperick* his Death, which when *Desiderius* a great Officer of the Countrey understood, he got together a Company of stout Fellows, and entring *Toulouse* seized upon all the Treasure the Lady was carrying along with her, and committed her to close Custody till his return. He then goes and enters into Council with *Mummolus*, with whom he had entred into a strict League and Confederacy two years before, who then lay at *Avinion* with one *Gundebald*, who bore himself for one of the Blood Royal. And so it seems he was, being a Baftard Son of King *Clotarius*, who not owning him; his Mother having Educated him after the Royal Fathioin, with his Hair grown in length, presented him to *Childebert* as his Nephew, and his flesh and bloud. He having no Sons *Gregorius*, lib. 7. c. 24. of his own, receives him and keeps him with him, which being made known to *Clotarius*, he sent and demanded him of his Brother, and being brought to his Presence, caused his long Hair to be cut off; affirming, that he never begot him. After the Death of *Clotarius* King *Charibert* received him, afterward *Sigebert* got him into his hands, and sent him to *Cobine* to Prison, as *Aimoinus* and the French Chroniclers will have it. However, thence he made his Escape and went to *Narbo*, who then Commanded in *Italy*, for the Emperour; his Hair being grown again, like those of the Frank Blood Royal. In *Italy* he married, begot Children, and afterwards went to *Constantinople*, when long after he was invited by some (by *Guntram* Bofo his faid) to come back into *Gall*, and Landing at *Marseilles* was entertained by *Theodore* the Bishop, who furnished him with Horses to convey him to *Mummolus*, who then also lay in *Avinion*. Hereupon *Guntram* a Dux (as *Gregory* calls both him, *Desiderius*, and *Mummolus*) the fame with *Bofo*, as appears from *Aimoinus* a great Officer of those parts, to conceal it seems what he had done, apprehends the Bishop, and committs him for having admitted a stranger into the Countrey, and made way for betraying the Kingdom of the *Franks* into the Emperour's hands, and though he produced a Letter written by some Noblemen of the Subjects of *Childebert*, to testify he had done nothing but what he was Commanded to doe, yet came he to great trouble, as also did *Guntram* the Officer himself, whom King *Guntram* had suspeid to have sent for *Gundebald*.

68. For *Guntram* the Officer, sharing with another Officer of King *Guntram*, the Treasure of *Gundebald* (who had retired for his Security into a certain Island of the Sea adjoining) after he had carried much Gold and Silver to the *Metropolis* of the *Arverni*, where it seems his Command lay; went to speake with *Childebert*, and in his return was intercepted by King *Guntram*, who threatened him with Death, for inviting *Gundebald* into *Gall*. He laid the fault upon *Mummolus*, and as a Testimony of his Innocency, delivered his Son as an Hostage into the King's hand, till he took *Mummolus* and brought him before him. Hereupon he dismissed him, and he gathering a numerous Army went and besieged him in his City, but to no purpose, for after faire vain Attempts, *Childebert* sent *Gundulfus* one of his Captains, and raised the Siege; *Mummolus* he brought to *Arvernum*, whence after some time he returned to *Avinion*, and there joyned with *Desiderius*, as was faid, they conveyed *Gundebald* to a place called *Briwa Curretia*, and thereraccording to the Custome, lifting him aloft upon a Target proclaimed him King. But carrying him a third time about the Army, he and the Target fell together, so that he could scarcely be raised by the Standers-by. Now was it *October*, when Bunches of Grapes appeared upon Vines, and Flowers upon other Fruit-Trees. Several strange Lights also appeared in the Heavens, the Earth quaked, and several other strange things fell out, which in the opinion of Men, were forerunners and signs of the Ruine of *Gundebald*.

69. In the mean time, King *Guntram* sent his Captains to take in such Cities as having formerly belonged to *Charibert*, his Brother. *Sigebert* had reduced to his own obedience. Those of *Tours* and *Poitiers* were inclin'd toward *Childebert*, *Sigebert* his Son; but the *Biturici* fell into their Territories, and forced them to submit themselves, at least for a time, to the Government of *Guntram*. *Childebert* his Affairs thus going to wreck, he sent his Ambassadors once more to his Uncle to require, that his Towns might be restored, and *Fredegund* given up into his hands, to receive

Setup *Gundebald* for King.comes ses ho-  
bet Greg.

Sect. 3. ceive her Condign punishment. But he sent those that he had formerly employed, who being very unacceptable to *Guntram*; very sharp words passed betwixt them, and from Words it came to Deeds, the King causing Dung and other kinds of filth to be cast out upon their Heads at their departure. *Fredegund* perceiving how much she was favoured by the King, was more unbolded to follow on that Course of Cruelty and Bloud, to which her wicked Nature did incline her. Such as came from her Daughter now at *Toulouse*, though but to bring her the News of her misfortune, she handled with all Indignities imaginable. *Prætextatus*, the Bishop of *Rouen*, the still persecuted, who appealing to *Guntram*, it was found that he never had been by any Synod deposed, which he objected, and so he was remitted to his See. The King being now very sensible of her unquiet and turbulent Humour, caused her to retire to a Village called *Rothsiale* near to *Rouen*, whither she was conducted by her Husband's Nobility, who used her with all Respect, and promised her to use all diligence and fidelity in the Education of her Son. But this Confinement she took in great disdain, and perceiving her self out of request and Power, began to think of *Brunechild*, whom being in good Esteem in the Court of her Son *Childebert*, the much envied and hated, and to that degree her more than Womanly Emulation role, that she persuaded a certain Clerk to go to her House, and getting into her Family by degrees to infumate himself into her Presence, and when he had got a convenient opportunity, to kill her. He cunningly enough observed her rules, but by some means or other the Plot was discovered, and the fellow was sent back ignominiously to her, whom for his Labour was rewarded, by cutting off his Hands and his Feet. Whether the report of these Acts of Cruelty, made *Guntram* suspect she had an hand in her Husband's death or no, we know not, but presently after, he began to make Inquisition after it. But he so craftily ordered his Affairs, as to cast the whole load upon *Eberulfus* the Chamberlain, with whom she was fain out, because after the Death of *Chilperick* he refused to live with her. This *Eberulf* was a very bad Man indeed, as appears from the Character given him by *Gregory*, who had too much occasion to understand him, and whether Guilty or no, took Sanctuary in the Church of St. Martin, his Estate being disposed of by the King. Here he had not long continued, when *Guntram* sent one *Claudius* with great Promises to *Tours*, persuading him, either to take him alive or kill him; yet so as not to violate the Privileges of the place. This *Claudius* being covetous, goeth to *Fredegund* and gets Money of her for doing thefeat, then with many Oaths doth he promise Friendship to the man, and grows so familiar with him, that getting a convenient opportunity he kills him within the Sanctuary. A great tumult hereupon arising, the Servants of *Eberulf*, coming in to rescue their Master, seeing him already dispatched kill *Claudius*, who thus received the reward of his Perjury, and those that belonged to the Church and the Abby, mixing themselves with the multitude, much more blood was spilt in the place.

70. This Year being the tenth of King *Childebert*, those of *Poitiers* revolted again from *Guntram*, against whom he sent a strong Army, and constrained them after much hurt done to the Country, to return to obedience. This done, the Army had Orders to march against *Gundobald*, who improved his time in rifling several Cities; some whereof willingly received him, and others that their Gates upon him, as did *Toulouse*, though to no purpose, not able to withstand the Power he brought along with him. He perceiving he was like to have a great Task of it, a strong Army being already on its march against him, sent two Messengers, or Ambassadors as he would call them to *Guntram* with consecrated Rods in their hands, as was the Custom of the *Franks*, that none might touch them; but having done their Message, they might return in safety with the Answer. But they were so indiscreet as before they came to the King's Presence, to blab out the Errand on which they were sent, which coming to his Ears they were met in the way, and being bound with Chains, were then brought before him. They concealed nothing of their Message, but told him that *Gundobald* who lately arrived out of the East, and affirmed himself the Son of *Chlotharius*, had sent them to demand his share of his Father's Kingdom, which if by fair means it could not be granted; they were to let him know, that with a numerous Army he would speedily be with him, for all the Men of Courage which inhabited beyond the River *Doromonia*, had joyed themselves with him, and this he said, that when once they came into the Field, then God Almighty would determine the Controversie, whether indeed he was the Son of *Chlotharius*. *Guntram* fell into a great Rage, and Commanded them

The Inhabitants  
of *Poitiers* sub-  
dued.

them to be tortured. In their pains, they confessed that his Niece the Daughter of *Chilperick* had given up the Treasures, at *Toulouse*; that *Gundobald* was carenfly desired as King, by all the Nobility of King *Childebert*; for *Guntram Bofo*, who some years agoe had made a Journey to *Constantinople*, had invited him to come into *Gall*.

71. King *Guntram* was very much startled to hear what they said, concerning the Noblemen of *Childebert*, and thought fit to send for him, that he might hear the Confession of the Messengers. In his Presence they constantly affirmed the same thing, and some of those that were Guilty absented themselves, not daring to be present at the meeting. *Guntram* seeing how his Nephew was betray'd, in a great Passion of Pity and Commiseration, delivered a Spear into his hands, telling him thereby, he delivered over to him his whole Kingdom; and bidding him go, and what Cities soever belonged to him to use them, no otherwise than his own, for as much as he only remained of his Lineage, being his Brother's Son; and therefore designing him his Successour, utterly disclaiming all else whatsoever. Then taking the Youth apart, he discoursed with him in private, Conjuring him, that he should not reveal what he propounded to him. He told him, whom he should make of his Council, whom he should trust, of whom to beware, whom to employ, and whom to remove from places of trust and Employment. Especially, he gave warning to beware of *Egidius* the Bishop, who said, had ever been an Enemy to him, and had forsworn himself very often to his Father. Then Dining together, he turned to the followers of his Nephew, and bade them look upon him now no more as a Child, but Respect and Reverence him as their King. Having spent three days together, they parted with all Expressions and Tokens of love and kindness. *Guntram* gave Order, that whatever Towns had been ever his Father's should be given up into his hands, and bade him beware of *Brunechild* his Mother, whom he ought not to trust, though his nearest Relation, in matters which concerned *Gundobald*.

72. *Gundobald* hearing of the great Army that was coming against him, and being now forsaken by *Desiderius*, came with *Mummolus*, *Bladofes* and others to *Comene*, a City feated beyond the River *Garunna* upon a very high Rock; the Inhabitants whereof he informed, how great a force would presently be with them, and therefore as a Friend he advised them, that whatever Provisions, or other things they had in the Country, they shold not fail to fetch them in. This when the Inhabitants had done, after a little time he told them, the Enemy was come, and persuaded them to issue out against him, which they innocently did, and then shut the Gates upon them, and keeps them out. The Army which we had faid had encamped it self upon the River *Dordonia*, hearing that *Gundobald* lay on the farther Bank of the *Garonne*, were resolute to be at him, upon a Rumour, that there he lay with all the Treasure which had belonged to *Rigundis*, the Daughter of *Chilperick*. Leaving the more inconfiderate fort, with the Baggage behind them, the rest ventured to pass the River, and though many of them were drowned, yet a sufficient number had safe over to the other Bank, where they found a multitude of Camels and Mules loaden with Gold and Silver, which having shared and incamped themselves before *Comene*, and not satisfied with their former Booty, plundered and wasted all the Country adjoining. Then began they to jeer and revile *Gundobald*, calling him *Bellimeris*, for so King *Guntram* affirmed he was rightly called, and that his Father was a poor Articer, naming him both a Miller and a dresler of Wool. He from the Walls laboured to take them off from their violent Prosecution, telling them, he was the true Son of *Chlotharius*; and how by *Guntram Bofo* he had been invited from *Constantinople*, upon Pretence that the Royal Family was much diminished, *Guntram* his Brother (as he called him) onely surviving now of all his Father's Children; besides *Childebert* the Son of his Brother *Sigebert* was but young, and *Chilperick* his other Brother had lately left an Infant behind him. He insisted much upon the Hardness of his Case, and said he was willing to appear before his Brother *Guntram*, and stand to his Judgment and Award.

73. This nothing moved the Souldiers, who perceiving the Town was not to be stormed, thought best to send to *Mummolus*, and try whether they could work him off, and perfume him to oblige King *Guntram*, by deferring and delivering up into his hands this Counterfeit, as they termed him. *Lendegilius* then who Commanded the Army (being by Office the Over-seer of the King's Horses, whom they commonly call *Comestabilis* saith *Aimoinus*) procuring Speech with him up-

*Gundobald's Bag-*  
*gage taken.*

And he himself  
betrayed  
those of the  
Conspiracy is  
Murdered.

Mummolus and  
the rest faring  
little better.

An Army sent  
into Italy.

Spain also inva-  
ded by the  
Franks.

**Sect. 3.** braided him for quitting his Allegiance to his King, and serving an Usurper; asked him what it was he could expect, whether to perish miserably, the Town being once taken; and advised him by all means to return to his Master, who was very merciful, and whom he might oblige by removing these Difficulties and Intanglements, into which he had been the great means of bringing him. *Mummolus* promising he would consider of the matter, goes back into the City and resolves with *Sagittarius* a Bishop, and *Waddo* (for *Bladofes* fearing what might happen, had set Fire to a House belonging to the Church, and while they were busie in quenching it escaped) to yield both the Town and *Gundobald* into the King's hands. *Lendegiſlus* promising them Pardon and Indemnity. *Mummolus* then tells *Gundobald*, he had tried the minds of the Besiegers, and found them not at all averse to him; but they admired he would not have recourse to his Brother *Guntram*, whom he knew would be friendly to him, and he uses many Arguments to put himself into the King's hands. The poor Man saw well enough his drift, and fell into a Passion, upbraiding him and his Companions, for inviting him into Europe, taking his Treasures from him, when he arrived, and now betraying him into the hands of his Enemies. Perceiving it was no contending he went out with them, and being delivered up after a Prayer, wherein he desired Almighty God to be the Avenger of his Cause, he was by one *Bollo* Count of the *Bituriges*, tumbled down the Rock into the Valley, and by *Bofo* brained with a stone.

74. The Rabble infested over the dead Body, stabbing it with their Lances, which done, they tyed a Rope to the Feet, and dragged it throughout the Camp; after which having the Hair and Beard torn from the Head, it was cast out unburied in the same place, where he had been slain. The Town they plundered, put all to the Sword they found in it, and then burnt it, no kind of Persons, things or places being spared. *Lendegiſlus* returning to the Camp with his Prisoners, *Mummolus*, *Sagittarius*, *Cariulfus* and *Waddo*, sent privately to the King, to know what should be done with them. *Guntram* returned word they should be put to Death, for a Terror to others in time to come, which was executed speedily upon *Mummolus* and the Bishop; for *Waddo* and *Cariulfus* having left their Sons as Hostages were got away, *Waddo* who was the *Major Domus* or *Raganus*, afterward betook himself to *Brunicild*, and being kindly entertained was dismissed with great Gifts; *Cariulfus* took Sanctuary in the Church of *St. Martin*. Of all the Treasure which *Lendegiſlus* brought home, *Guntram* bestowed the greatest part upon Churches and the Poor, and of another vast sum (two hundred and fifty Talents of Silver, and above thirty of Gold, which being an old Treasure was found by *Mummolus* as it was thought, and was now by his Wife discovered) that part which fell to his share (for he divided it betwixt himself and his Nephew *Childebert*) he bestoweded (or the most of it) upon such like uses. Those that had been too low in the expedition against *Gundobald* were fixed, and amongst the rest, such as belonged to a Cell of *St. Martin*, which our Historian, the Successour of that Saint takes, very ill. This year was there great Famine throughout all *Gall*, many of the poorer sort perishing for want of Viands.

75. *Childebert* having received Money from the Emperour to fight against the *Lombards*, was so wearied with the Importunities of the Imperialists, or ashamed to have received the Money, and not performed this part of the Bargain, that he sent his Army into *Italy*; but his Captains it seems being too many, and equal in Power, quarrelled one with another, and returned without having any thing of moment performed. This year was notable for the great Rains, which seemed to turn Summer into Winter; but neither they, nor the Water of the Sea it self was sufficient to extinguish two Fires, which if we may Credit our Author, consumed two Islands, in the space of seven days, with the Inhabitants, and all other things upon them. In another Island near *Vienna* was there a Pool, which being full of Fish, the Water of it was for the depth of an Ell turned into Blood, so that for many days together multitudes of Dogs, Fowls, and such like Creatures came and fed upon it. The year after, *Guntram* sent his Armies to invade *Spain*, and revenge the Death of *Ingundus* his Niece, the Sister of *Childebert*; who having been married to *Hermicnild*, the Son of *Lenicnild*, the King, was grievously persecuted for her Orthodox Religion, and her Husband being put to Death, was before (or after) <sup>Gregorius has in  
re no fish con-  
stat-</sup> delivered into the hands of the Emperour's Officers, (he having an Army in those Quarters) and died in *Africk*, as she was going with her young Son to *Constantinople*, who, as others write, after his Mother was dead in *Italy*, was thither conveyed in

**Sect. 3.** in safety to the Emperour's Court. The Armies of *Guntram* and his Nephew *Childebert* made several Inroads and Attempts upon certain places, upon the Fronteys, but usually with bad Succes, and one time with very great los of Men. Of this defeat *Fredegund* was thought to be a principal Caufe, by the cloſe Intelligence she was presumed to have in *Spain*, though nothing could be proved against her. However, he attempted to Murther *Childebert* by her Emisaries, whom she furnished with poisoned Knives, and though this her design was discovered by the Men themselves, who confessed she had sent them to doe the Deed, under the disigne of Beggars; yet *Prætextatus* the Bishop of *Rouen*, against whom the had long time bore a great Grudge, the procured to be wounded to Death in his own Church, as he was celebrating Divine Service.

76. About this time, the whole City of *Parisi* in a manner was burnt, yet were the Churches and the Houſes of the Priests ſaved; a Report going, that the City was fo Confeſcated of old, that no Fire ſhould abſolutely prevail againſt it, neither any Moule nor Serpent be found in it; but in his time *Gregory* tells us, the River about the Bridge being cleaſed, a Serpent and a Moule of Brails were found in it, after which both Mice and Serpents appeared without number, and it was thenceforth ſubjeft unto Fire. This fame Year, which was the eleventh of *Childebert*, was a Son born unto him, and called *Theodobert*, at whose Birth King *Guntram* ſo very much rejoiced, that upon the News received, he speedily ſent away his Ambaſſadors with great Gifts to the Child: "Saying, that if it pleaſed God, that Faſher and Son ſhould live together, the Boy might prove a great Inſtrument for advancing the Honour and Reputation of the *Franks*. *Fredegund* was much out of Humour, to ſee the Family of her Rival thus proſper, and though of late ſhe had had but ill Succes, as to the Bloud Royal; yet he refolved to make another Tryal, and that now upon the Perfon of *Guntram*, thinking that if he were once out of the way, ſhe ſhould be better able to deal with young *Childebert* and his Relations; but neither would this Project take, for the Man was discovered in the Church e'er he could come at the King as he went to Prayers, and rewarded as he had deserved. The fame Year, which was the twelfth of *Childebert*, he had another Son born, who was named *Theodoric*, and a little after by the means of *Gregor. Turn.* his Uncle *Guntram*, he diſcovered a dangerous Conſpiracy for taking away his Life, entred into by one *Ranichus Urfo*, and *Berisbrefid*, Men of prime note and Employment in his Kingdom. Not long after, was *Guntram Boſo* by both Kings at a meeting judged to Death for Treafon; whole Death broke the Heart of *Agenius* Bishop of *Verdun*, that paffed his Word for him. About this time the *Britains* inhabiting *Aremoſica*, made great Devaſtations in the Countries about *Nantes* and *Renæ*, and though upon apprehenſion of an Invasion to be made into their own Territories, they humbled themſelves, and condefcended to terms, yet when the Danger was over, they again renewed their Hoſtilities. The *Lombards* now courted *Childebert*, and defred a Marriage betwixt their King and his Sifter *Clodoſuenda*, to which he at firſt was minded to condefcend; but *Leunieldius* the King of *Spain* being lately Dead, *Richardus* his Son and Successour, having abjur'd the *Arian* Heretic, purged himſelf of the other Sifters Death, who had been married to his Brother, and moſt earnefly defred his Alliance. This made him break his Promife made to the *Lombards*, and becaue he knew not well how to excute himſelf, and come off by fair means, he refolved to begin the Quarrel firſt, and in Compliance with the Emperour's pretensions, ſent an Army to invade *Italy*.

77. This Army had the ſame Succes, as others that had been bef ore, and was to be expeſted from the joyn and equal Command of ſeveral Officers. So great slaughter was made of them, as if we may Credit an Historian, and a Bishop, the like never had happened unto this Nation. *Childebert* upon the News of the defeat, was touched with ſo great a Senſe of the Diminution of his Honour, that he refolved to raiſe another Army, and lead it himſelf into *Italy*, of which deſign they having notice given them, ſent to him, gave him fair Words, and by a Promife of Tribuite defred him from his purpoſe; though when they ſaw the ſtorm was over, they never became fo good as their Word. *Guntram* his Uncle had aduice him to a Peace, as indeed being more favourable to the *Lombards* than the *Goths*, whom he diſtaſted for the Cruelty shewn to his Neice, the Wife of *Herminifredus*; and for that in the ſeveral Attempts he had made to revenge her miſfortune, and to gain upon the Territories of the *Goths*, he had moſt commonly come off with diſadvantage. Notwithſtanding what his Nephew *Childebert* had deſigned

The Britains  
make great De-  
vaſtations about  
*Nantes* and o-  
ther places.

Two expedi-  
tions in Italy, but  
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*Sect. 3.* designed about the Match, he sent another Army into *Septimanias*, where it was surprized, lying in great security, by the *Goths*, and utterly routed, above two thousand being taken Prisoners. This made *Guntram* suspect his Nephew of having held Intelligence with the Enemy, and, as it was usual with those Kings, upon any misunderstanding he shut up his frontier Towns, and denied all passage to his Subjects, and this increased his jealousy, that *Childebert* had lately thoughts of sending his eldest Son *Theodobert* to reside at *Soissons*, which he interpreted as done with design to make, as it were by stealth, a passage to *Paris*, by which means gaining the Hearts of the Citizens, he would pull them for the whole, and deprive him, if it might be, of his Kingdom. He spake now very harshly of *Brunichild*, as having laid the platform of this design, and affirmed she had sent for one of the Sons of *Gundobald* to marry him. He caused a Synod of Bishops to be summoned to meet on the first of *November*, and many were on their way from the utmost parts of *Gall*, when News was brought that *Brunichild* had purged her self by Oath of the things laid to her charge. Hereupon they returned, and the ways were again opened to any of *Childebert* his Subjects, that had occasion to pass into these Quarters.

78. *Childebert* now dared to send his Son to *Soissons*, without fear of giving Offence and matter of Jealousie to his Uncle. Keeping his own Court with his Wife and Mother near *Stratzburg*, he consented he should reside there, at the earnest desire of the principal Inhabitants, who received him with all demonstrations of Kindness and Affection, with his Train and Equipage, which was every way appointed as for the Son of so great a King. Presently after a discovery was made of a Conspiracy betwixt *Sugisflus*, his *Come Stabuli*, and others, who had made a compact with *Septimanias*, the Nurse of his Children, to poison or bewitch *Fallenba* his Queen, which being done, when he had married another Wife, they thought they should rule him as they pleased; if not, he was also to be sent out of the way, and then, as Guardians and Protectours of his Children, they were to share the Government. This Year, which was the fourteenth of *Childebert*, after *Easter*-Week, so great Rains fell, that in the space of three Hours great Rivers seemed to run through the Vallies. In Autumn the Trees blossomed, and Apples appeared as in the Spring. In *September* Roses were found to grow, and Rivers overflowed their Banks to such an height as never formerly had been known, to the great hindrance of sowing the Winter Corn. But these Overflows not only happened in *Gall*; for *Gregory* tells, that the year following his Deacon returning from *Rome* with certain Reliques, made relation, that the River *Tiber*, in the self same Month, had, by an unheard-of Inundation, drowned all that City, destroyed the ancient Buildings thereof, and overturned the Barns belonging to the Church, wherein some thousands of Measures of Wheat were laid up. A Multitude of Serpents, with an huge Dragon, as big as a Beam of Timber, swam down the River into the Sea, and being suffocated in the salt Water, were cast dead upon the shore, and then followed a dreadfull Plague (called *Lues Inquinaria*, from the *Bubo*'s that arose in the groin) which swept away a great number of People. This is the Plague wherein many being seized, fell into a fit of freezing, and suddenly died, whence some would derive the custome of praying for such as freeze, which Opinion we confute in another place. As for this Dragon which swam down the River, it could not be of that sort of Creatures which Naturalists properly call Dragons, but some other Serpent, monstrous for bigness, and therein exceeding all such creeping things, by *Pliny* called *Boe*, which he himself relates to have been sometimes seen in those parts of *Italy* which lie upon *Tiber*. From the noisome Vapours issuing out of their Carcasses, a Venome might be transmitted into the Air, already subject to putrefaction through excess and moisture.

79. About this time *Childebert* sent his Ambassadors to *Mauricius* the Emperor, who touching at *Cartagena* in their way, there happened a great Fray betwixt their Train and the Townsmen, a French Boy having taken somethng out of a Trade-man Shop, and refusing to restore it. The Magistrate of the Town, to revenge the injury, which was utterly unknown to the Ambassadors, fell upon them and their followers at their Lodgings, and though they promised to spare their Lives, if they would surrender their Persons, yet in the heat of their Fury two of them they killed, *Bodegislus* and *Euanthus* by Name, and *Grippo*, the third Man that bore this publick Character, hardly escaped their violence, standing upon his guard, and so gaining time to reaon the matter with them, and slay them the danger

Lib. 8. c. 14

*Sect. 3.* dangers they had incurred. Moved with his Arguments they pacified themselves, and at length withdrew to their Houses, and the Magistrate came to *Grippo*, and would have excused, or at least extenuated the Fact, offering him his utmost affiance for his safe travel to the Emperour's Court. Thither being come, after the signification of the banishe for which he was sent, he complained of the violence offered to the Law of Nations in the Murthe of his Fellow-Ambassadors, of which *Mauricius* shewed a great Resentment, promising to give all satisfaction that *Childebert* should require, who being satisfied with what *Grippo* reported at his return, by virtue of the League lately renewed, sent twenty Captains into *Italy*, to destroy the *Lombards*. Several of these Officers used in their passage their fellow-Subjects and Countrymen no otherwise than as *Lombards* indeed, acting all things Soldiers are wont to doe in an Enemies Country, and when they were come into *Italy*, through their variety of Opinions, and separating themselves, did little of moment, but being exposed to the Strategems and Arts of the *Lombards*, after a vain expectation of succours from the Emperour, which was promised would be with them after three days, having spent three Months in the Country, and most of them being consumed with Sickness and Famine, the rest returned home. And before they could reach the several places of their abode, they were forced to sell their Arms and their Clothes to buy them Victuals.

80. The Army of the *Franks* being thus retreated, *Apracharius*, the King of the *Lombards*, to prevent all farther Inconveniences of this nature, sent his Ambassadors to King *Guntram*, hoping by his Authority to prevail with and pacifie his Nephew *Childebert*. *Guntram* by his good words was moved to recommend Peace as a desirable thing to his Nephew, but while the Ambassadors expected their discharge in his Court, News came that the King their Master was dead, whereupon *Childebert* resolved to take farther time to deliberate, and telling them he would after mature consideration signifie his Mind to those concerned, therewith dismissed them. *Mauricius*, the Emperour, mindful of the Affront which had been offered *Childebert*, sent twelve Men, who were conceived the guiltiest in the violence made upon his Ambassadors in *Africa*; but he, whether to reserve an occasion to make use of against the Emperour, or for other reasons, sent the Men back unhurt, saying, he could not accuse them particularly as Authors of the Injury, and that he would send Messengers of his own to him about this Affair. While these Transactions were in hand, the *Britains* inhabiting *Armerica* renewed the usual Devastation into the parts about *Nantes* and *Romes*, where committing all sorts of Injuries, King *Guntram* sent an Army against them, under Command of two Captains *Boppolenus* and *Ebracharius*, who being equal in Authority, a pernicious course, which yet our *Franks* ordinarily practised, fell out by the way, and thereupon the expedition had a success suitable to those principles. In their march yet they agreed in this one thing, to commit all manner of Villanies upon the Country, and having passed the River *Vicinio*, came as far as the other called *Vida*. It happened *Fredegund*, that Fury of *France*, had a grudge to *Boppolenus*, and therefore hearing that he was employed against the *Britains*, sent to the aid of *Warcus*, their Prince, a Party of *Bav Cusne Saxons*, with their Hair cut, and appareled after the British Fashion. *Boppolenus* engaging with both Nations, though forsaken by *Ebracharius* his Colleague, who would not come near him out of design he should miscarry, for two days together had good success, and slew many of them, but the third day was overpowered and slain; which done, *Warcus* slattered *Ebracharius*, and sent him back with fair words, promising to submit himself in all things unto *Guntram*. Yet forgetting both his Oath and Hostages, he had delivered, he sent *Canaan*, his Son, to fall upon such of the Army as loitered, which he made Prisoners, killing those that resisted him. The *Franks* in their retreat fearing to come nigh the Countries they had to much injured, let them should be prepared for them, took other ways, and did as much mischief where they came unlooked for. Some accused *Ebracharius* the *Dux*, and *Wiliabaring* a *Come*, as having for money betrayed the Army, whereupon the former was sorely taken up by *Guntram*, and discharged the Court; the other withdrew, and concealed himself till the storm should be over.

81. The Year following being the fifteenth of *Childebert*, and the twenty ninth of *Guntram*, this King, who was eminent otherwise for his Mildness and Moderation, (considering the fierceness and precipitancy of his Nation and Ancestors,) committed a Fact, for which he was taxed even by himself, with great cruelty and

Sect. 3. and rashnes. Hunting in the Royal Wood or Forest, called *Wosac*, he perceived by some evident tokens, that a Deer had been killed, and examining the Keeper, he accused *Chundo*, the King's Chamberlain. *Chundo* being taken into custody, stiffly denied the Fact, and the other as earnestly maintaining that he did it; for deciding the Controversie, the Combaue was appointed to them. The Chamberlain had a Nephew which undertook it for him, who wounded the Keeper mortally, but falling upon him, the other received him upon the point of his Dagger, and so they perished together. *Chundo* seeing this, and that his Innocency was left as doubtful as before, made his escape towards the Church of St. *Marcellus*, at *Cabillo*. *Cabillo*, in *Orléans*, in *Châlons*, in *5+* *one* *opposite* *Châlons*, *Aliscius*, *Aras*, *Indre*. but the King being in a great Passion, commanded him to be purified and apprehended, e'er he could reach the Sanctuary, and then to be tied to a stake, and stoned to death, which he much afterward lamented, and blamed himself, that in so precipitous and violent an humour, for so small a fault, he had caused to be made away a very faithful and usefull Servant. In the mean time young *Chlotharius*, the Son of *Chilperic*, fell dangerously sick; and all hope of Recovery was over, which caused *Guntram* to take a Journey towards *Paris*, to settle matters, and prevent all disorders, in case he died, but e'er he reached his Journeys end, news was brought that he was on his Recovery, a great means whereof was a rich Present his Mother had made to the Church of St. *Martin*, in the Opinion of our *Gregory* his Successour, who farther tells us, that *Fredegund* her Devotion being now very warm, sent to *Warocu* into *Britain* to dismis those that had been taken Prisoners when the Forces of *Guntram* made the last Invasion, whereby he judges it was evident, that by her tricks and devices *Boppolenus* had been slain, and the Army defeated in that Ingagement. The temper of the Woman considered, a very slight occasion might justly minister matter of suspition, for about the same time when *Childebert* was come into his Chapel, a fellow was there taken upon suspition, and being tortured, confessed he was sent on purpose by her to kill him. He affirmed her Enviraries were twelve in all, whereof six were come thither, and the rest were ordered to *Soissons*, to infrap, if possible, his young Son, there as then residing. Such of those Men as could be found, were subjected to imputations of Members, and several sorts of Torments; and some, to prevent such Sufferings and Indignities, killed themselves. Above all, *Sunnigisilius* was most plid with tortures, his wounds being still again opened when they began to heal. In his pains he confessed not one wht related to the death of *Chilperic*, but several other Villanies, and discovered that *Egidius*, the Bishop of *Reims*, was a party with *Raninus* *Orfo*, and *Butherford*, for taking away *Childebert* his Life. The Bishop was summoned before a Synod of his Equals, who upon the King's Command, convened for this purpose, and being not only found guilty of this, but of other notorious Treasons, was deposed, and afterward banished his Countrey, another being put into his place.

82. *Fredegund* was become so obdurate in cruelty, at least had brought her self into that opinion with the People, that no Murther scarcely could be committed, no Bloud shed, but she must be thought to have an hand in it. The People of *Campania*, upon such an occasion, fell into a Mutiny; defiring *Childebert* that she might be apprehended, and put to death, and she was forced to make use of her Friends and D<sup>e</sup>p<sup>en</sup>dents for her removal to another place. To divert these storms, at least to procure her safe shelter against them, she brough her to her flatteries, and now wrote to *Guntram*, to whom giving the Title of her *Lord*, she befoight him to take the pains to come to *Paris*; and there cause her Son to be baptized, and be Godfath<sup>r</sup> to him, looking no otherwife upon him than as his other Child. The King she had often heretofore amused with this Complement, but had still put him off from time to time, he suffering her not only to enjoy her Life, and a Fortune becoming her condition, but also to order her young Son's matters, out of respect to the place she had born, and her present quality of a King's Mother. Now assoon as the Gout would give him leave to *Paris* he went, and commanding a Font to be prepared at the Village called *Nemptodore*, where attending the solemnity, Ambaffadours come to him from his Nephew *Childebert*, who no sooner had received the News of his Uncle's Progres, but was seized with a fit of Jealousie and Emulation. They exposituate with him for joyning himself in Friendship and Amity with his Enemies, contrary to their former Accords, and complain that he designed to inthrone the Child in the City of *Paris*, a thing which considering what regard was ever had to that place by all former Princes could not but tend to the disrepute and damage of *Childebert* and his Successours. *Guntram* gave

An Act of Cruelty in King Guntram.

The Villanies of Fredegund.

gave them good words, professeid he would make good to a tithe what he had ever promised their Master, who had no reason to be offended at so good a work, as being Godfath<sup>r</sup> to his own Brother's Son, an Act of that Piety, that no Christian ought to refuse. He called God to witnes, he did it not with any design, but in the simplicity of his heart, and out of fear of divine Vengeance. In summe, he bad them go and tell him, that he would keep the Agreement inviolable, and would never in the least infringe it, except he first gave some just occasion. Coming then to the Font, he gave the Child the Name of *Clotarius*, wifthing that he might grow to that Height, Eminency and Power, as he did formerly whose Name he bore. Then, after mutual Feasting and Preftens, he returned to *Chalon*, where, about two years after, he died in the three and thirtieth year of his Reign. In goodness he seems to have surpassed all his Predecessours, his bounty to the poor, his Piety toward the Church was remarkable. Leaving only one Daughter, *Chlothardus* by Name, *Childebert* his Nephew, the King of *Austrasia*, succeeded him in his Kingdoms of *Orléans* and *Burgundy*. He was buried in the Church of St. *Marcellus*, (which now they call a Priory,) at *Chalon*, of his own foundation, being so well accounted of by Posterity, as to have his Name put into their Martyrology, in which the eight and twentieth day of *March* is consecrated to his Memory. His Death fell in or about the thirteenth Year of *Mauricius*, the seventh of *Gregory* the Great Bishop of *Rome*. A.D. 596.

83. *Childebert* his Dominions being enlarged by the Accession of two rich and powerful Kingdoms, had the same Itch of Ambition and Covetousness in his blood as had been usually in his Ancestours. To cover yet this Passion of his Mind, he was not destitute of very specious pretences. *Fredegund* was yet alive, not only his Enemy in particular, but the Plague and Bane of his whole Family. To revenge the Death of his Father and Uncle he would take up Arms, both who had perished by her Villany, not to mention others of their blood, as the several Sons of her Husband, whom, as the most wicked of all Step-Mothers, she had caused most cruelly to be made away. He raises his Forces, and commits them to the Command of two Captains, *Gundobald* and *Wintrio*, whom he commands to invade the Enemies Territories, to plunder and burn all before them, and take as many Prisoners as they could lead away, and with these Instructions they march from *Campania*, lying about *Reims*, to *Soissons*, which they besiege. In the mean time *Fredegund* knowing how much she was concerned to befit her self, omitted nothing requisite for an effectual refiste. Having called together such of the *Franks* as had been subject to her Husband, she shewed them their young King hanging at her Breast, and by words and gestures fitted every way to the present occasion, moved their Pity toward the Infant, and their Indignation against those that had no regard to his Tendernes and Innocency. She promised large Rewards to such as should shew themselves zealous and courageous in his behalf, and desiring them to obey the Orders of *Lauderic*, (whom King *Guntram*, as *Aminius* writes, had left Guardian to her Son,) told them, her self would find out a Strategeme, whereby they shoulf easily overpower their Enemies. Having in the night season entred a Wood, *Lauderic* their Captain takes an Hatchet, and cuts down a boough of a Tree, which done, he hangs a little Bell at the neck of his Horfe, and commands all his Followers to doe the like. This they did, and marching all the Night, by break of day came up with the Enemy.

84. One of the Sentinels that belonged to *Childebert's* Army, when the day dawned, perceived something he had not seen before, and ignorant of what had really happened, demanded of his Companion what should be the matter, for here was a Wood all on a sudden grown up in that place, where the night before not so much as one stick appeared. His Companion told him he was drunk the day before, and having not yet digested the crudities of his Intemperance, had forgot what he had formerly seen; for he affirmed they were in a Forrest where he might hear the Bells that hung about the necks of the Cattel that were feeding, it being a custome amongst the *Franks*, especially those of *Austrasia*, to hang thole Bells at their Necks, that if they wandered far, or were got amongst Thickets, they might easily be discovered by the sound. But while the Centinels continued their discourse, down fell the Wood, and instead of green Trees Men appeared in bright Armour, who advancing, fell upon their Enemies unexpected, and taking them at this advantage, while some were asleep, and others lay upon their Pallets, but all were well wearied with their Travel the day before, killed very many, some say thirty thousand Men, and put the rest to flight, amongst which the Captains

Appendix ad Gre-  
gor. Turners.  
Hist. of Armis-  
tis lib. 3. c. 81.

He is over-  
thrown.

themselves



Sect. 3. inhabit, and thence was the name given to their City; but this opinion having none more ancient to patronize it, than *Iudorius Hispanensis*, and the current of all ancient Geography running against it, which after the time of *Pompey* finds the *Vascones in Iberia*, (or that part of *Spain* on this side *Iberus*.) and no such People in *Aquitain*, it is as obnoxious to exception as the other. As for that People of *Aquitain* called *Corvone*, they derived their Original from the *Vestones Arrebaci*, and the *Convene*.

*C. 2. Unde ex Convenarum na- men accipit. Hoc aquitanorum vestonum et Tarbellorum deo- Dei & de Vel- Cebiberique def endens incert Gallicum ecclae- stias. C. 3. Aduini Epiph. c. 25. & prima Pa- hini Camino de- fons responderunt.*

Original of the *Vascones* in *Aquitain* which after they possessed, was then held by the *Tarbelli* the ancient Inhabitants, for \* he in his Epistles to *Paulinus* both calls the Country *Arva nibus Arrebaci Tarbellica*, and placeth the *Vascones* in a Country far differing from that there, both in situation and Custom, even in *Iberia*, or the *Pyrenean Mountains*, which the answer of *Paulinus* to him doth sufficiently confirm.

89. But after the Death of *Gratian*, the *Roman Empire* mightily declining even to Ruine in *Gall* and *Spain*, and especially the Coasts about the *Pyreneans*, being wafted by the *Alans*, *Vandals*, *Suevi* and other barbarous Nations, then might our *Vascones* a Warlike People, and ambitious of enlarging their Bounds, seize on that Mountain *Giberriman vel Gibermann*. of *Gall*, which adjoins the *Pyreneans*. But by what degrees, and in what method and manner it's very difficult, if not impossible for any to assert, we may conjecture with others, that besides that Region which the *Basques* or *Biscayans* hold at this day, the Principality of *Bearne*, and the County of the *Bi-* *gerrians* were now taken and held by them, for this very reason, that at this day are to be seen the Ruines of old Towers, in those Mountainous tracts, disposed as our Beacons one against another, to receive and give warning by Fire upon any *Vide Notium strigatum Vasco- niae scriptam ab Arnaldo Othe- nario Mandibulari legi & Philippi- tum Martini Picturam in Ge- graph. Gallie Aquitania. Lib. 9. c. 7.*

Invasion. But the plain Grounds together with the fortified Towns, as *Lapardum* now *Baiom*, *Beneare* or *Orthes*, which gave name to the Principality; *Bigorra* of old the Metropolis of the Country, and now a Village, and *Convene* now *St. Bertrand* were yet under the Dominion of the Kings of the *Franks*, as may be under- stood from several places of *Gregory Turonensis*. Thence came it to pass, that to Mountainous and barren a place not being able to maintain so numerous a People, as they were constrained to make several Inroads into *Novempopulania*, which was then also subject to the Dominion of the *Franks*. Hereof *Gregory Turonensis* assures us, where he writes that the *Vascones* descending from the Mountains, depopulated the Fields and Vineyards, burnt the Houses, and led some Men and Cattel away with them, to encounter whom *Afronatus* the Duke was sent, but was able to do little against them. \* *Venatus Fortunatus* also after his manner hints to us the Incursions they were wont to make. But before this expedition of *Afronatus*, *timet, Vago vagus arms i- miteat.* we find in *Gregory* that *Blandafest* by Command of *Chilperick* the first, made War upon them, but with such success, that having done nothing of moment he lost his Life, together with the greatest part of the Army. Their Event shewed that this Strenuous and Magnanimous People was not to be overcome, but by the power of two Kings in conjunction together. *Theodorick* and *Theodobert* having overthrown *Clotaire*, and become Masters of the greatest part of *Gall*, especially of *Aquitain* they were unable to resist their Power and Majesty, and so were forced to submit and accept of a Duke called *Genialis*. How afterward they shook off the Yoke and invaded and made themselves Masters of *Novempopulania*, which from them received the name of *Gascogne*, as also concerning the places they left, we shall speak upon a fitter occasion.

The *Vascons* sub-  
duced.

*Brunehild's Vil- laines.*

90. The two Brothers having this success against the *Vascons*, farther strengthened their interest by a stricter League and Alliance with the *Lombards*, the Daughter of *Theodobert* being contracted to their King's Son, and so Peace and Prosperity now seemed to be returned to the *Franks*. But all things were again put out of order by the wicked practices of *Brunehild*, who being as we said expelled the Court of *Theodobert*, was kindly entertained by *Theodorick* her other Grandson, and now began to play her Pranks more dangerously and with greater success. Being virtuously inclined her self, she hated and oppposed all about him that were virtuously given, *Egila* a Patriarch, a man of great Integrity and excellent parts, for no other fault but because he was rich, she loaded with grievous Complaints, and caused to be put to Death, and his Estate confiscated. *Desiderius* Bishop of *Vienne*, a Prelate eminent for Holiness, she procured to be removed from his See, and one *Dominicus* being put into his place, to be recalled out of Exile and cruelly Murthred,

red. He that stood most in her way was *Bertoald* the Major of the Palace, a person of great Wifedom, Conduct, Fortitude and Fidelity, whom though she endeavoured to remove, yet armed by his Innocence and Prudence, for a time he withstood all her Assailes, till a furious lustfull passion seized on her, which rendered her so fierce and violent, that he must needs at length give way and perish. There was one *Protadius* a Roman by Birth, with whom as old as she was, she was wont to be too familiar, and out of her filthy love to him, had already advanced to the dignity of a *Dux* or Patriarch, in the parts that lay beyond the Mountain *Ustra jura*, *pro* *Ultra jura*, *pro* *Wandalmarum*, *ab ea* *Dux con-* *stitutus*, *lib. 1.* *c. 90. at vero* *Author Appendix* *ad Gregor. His-* *her modo: De-* *Vulgar could not discouer, or to divert her purpose, sent *Bertoald* away into *New-landis* *Wandal-* *maro duc in Pa-* *ges in Gallia. Finis* *rum Prosternit & Sanguis* *rum Prosternit* *partibus ordinata-* *infliguntur. Bruncihild. &* *Pagan loc in loco* *item si Dicatur.* *Pagan Co-**

*mitis si Comitatus Gallici Pago & Comte dividetur in Vicariat, Centena & Decanat, in quibus Judices erant Vicarii, Centenarii (Belgii Henderstman) & Decani. Sit de hi aliis.*

91. He dispatches against him his Son *Merowenus*, together with *Lauderick* his Mother's Minion, of whose Villany as to his reputed Father's Death, he seems all this while to have been Ignorant, or else must have spared him out of a more than ordinary, (if not filial) sympathy. *Bertoald* was so wise as upon notice of their approach, to leave off his Sport and seriously to betake himself to *Orleance*, where he was kindly received by *Austronus* the Bishop. *Lauderick* diligently pursues and brings his Army before the Gate, where he upbraids him with Cowardise for running away, and challenges him to come out and Fight. *Bertoald* lends him word, that he made an hypocritical shew of Valour, knowing how much he was superior in Numbers, but if he would demonstrate himself a true Cavalier, he should set his Army aside and fight with him single Combat, to which he sent him a formal Challenge. *Lauderick* refusing to accept it, he then gave him to understand, that for the affront and injury he had offered to *Theodorick* his Master, in invading his Dominions, he was very certain that satisfaction would be demanded in an high manner, and that a strong Army would shortly be in the Field, where when the Battel joynd he would meet him, desiring they might put on such Clothes, as might distinguish them, and make them known to each other, and then he shold find proofs of the Cowardise wherewith he charged him, and have opportunity to give a full evidence of his own supposed Valour. *Lauderick* would not reject this Proposal, and promising to meet him, both laid heavy curses on themselves if they failed of their word. This passed on the Feast of St. *Martin*, and *Theodorick* having notice of the Invasion, on *Christmas-day* following began his March, and coming to *Stampa*, a Town standing upon the River *Janna*, there expected his Cousin *Clotaire*, who was nothing slow in his preparations for the Encounter, but before *Theodorick* could pas all his men over the River, the fight began. Here was *Bertoald* mindfull of his promise, and amongst the Ranks of Armed men, fought for, and provoked his Adverary to make good his word, but he thought fit to have ne *Salicitan* for *Stampa* to *Clotaire* die *Eftamps* go- ppter interclusum ad *Metz* *ad meridiem* *Scindit (nunc Sime) infunditur.* *Clotaire* beaten again by *Theodo-* *rick*. *Clotaire* and *Lauderick* being put to flight, and *Merowenus* taken Prisoner, or as some say killed. He entred *Paris* in triumph, and had purfis his Victory, but that *Theodorick* being jealous of his Power, thought fit to balance him, and therefore joyning his Forces with the remainders of *Clotaire* his Army, came with him to *Compedium*, and obliged his Brother to return home, without having any thing farther attempted.

*Sect. 3.* 92. *Bruncchild* therefore in effect was the only Person, whose Designs succeeded by the Death of *Bertold*, into whose place of Master of the Palace, or *Major Domus*, *Protadius* her Gallant was speedily advanced, in the tenth year of *Theodoric* his Reign. This yet would not satisfy this wicked Woman, whose passions would not be terminated by the satisfaction given to Ambition and Lust, to these she must joyn Revenge, else all things seemed to be nothing to her. Her expulsion from the Court of *Theodobert* she still bore in an exasperated mind, and no Plaster was large enough for the Sore, but the utter Destruction of himself and Family. Calling in then to her assistance her Friend *Protadius*, (whom she had by her tricks brought into great grace and favour with her Nephew, though for his Pride and Covetousness, he was grievously hated by all the Nobility of *Burgundy*;) she instilled by degrees the venome of Jealousie and Malice into the mind of *Theodoric*: She tells him that *Theodobert* had got into his hands all their Father's Treasures, and that it was a dishonour for him to be so sheepish, as to let him run away with it all, without once demanding his share; the perfwades him he was altogether alienated from him in his affections, and (taking occasion of what had lately passed) makes him believe that all his inclinations are for their Cousin *Clotaire*, in sum, that he envied him for his parts, (confiscious to himself how meanly he was furnished,) and had resolved upon his Ruine, as soon as time and opportunity should serve, but it was no wonder for one of the bloud Royal to be hated by the Son of a rascally Gardner, who had not only robbed him of his Father's Treasures, but gaped also after his two Kingdoms. *Protadius* supplying this flame continually with Oil, *Theodoric* burns with that rage and malice against his Brother, that nothing but Fire and Sword in the Bowels of his Territories can allay his fury. An Army he raises and comes as far as *Cariacum*, where he incamps himself, prepared the next day to encounter *Theodobert*, who was not far off with a very strong force of his *Austrasian*. In the mean time, his *Lewis* or *Leudes* as our ancient Historians call them, meaning his Subjects or the Nobility of *Burgundy*, remonstrated to him how unnatural a quarrel he had undertaken, at the suggestion of some violent Spirits, and petitioned him, that in a friendly manner it might be composed. *Protadius* finding himself concerned took the wrong Course, and disswaded him from making a Peace, affirming the quarrel to be good, and a War the fittest means for restoring a perfect understanding betwixt the two Brothers.

*Theodoric* and  
*Theodobert* quar-  
rel.

which con-  
cludes in a Peace.

*Theodoric* Mar-  
ries.

93. The Nobility bearing him implacable malice before, was now out of all measure enraged, finding him to be the man, who upon all occasions thwarted what ever they propounded for the publick good, and they began to lay their Heads together, affirming it were better that one man perished, than that so many should lose their lives as must inevitably bekill'd the day following. The King understanding they held such consultations would himself in Person have gone to dissolve their meeting, but being hindred by those about him, for fear of danger he sent one *Ucelenus* to forbid them expely to attempt any thing against *Protadius*, but he found them already to have surrounded the King's Tent, where *Protadius* was playing at Tables with one *Peter*, a Physician. Coming to them he changed his tale, and said it was the Command of King *Theodoric* his Master, that *Protadius*, as an Enemy to Peace, should be put to death, which heard, they all unanimously rulled in with their Swords drawn, and there flew him. By this A& (though illegal, and of dangerous consequence) the impending mischief was diverted, and *Theodoric* was compelled instead of a War, to make a Peace, and to return home, as he came, without having any thing performed. But however he bore it out, *Bruncchild* neither could nor would digest the Injury. Beginning with *Ucelenus*, who had prevaricated away the Life of her Friend, she procured him to have one of his Feet chopped off, and to be reduced to the condition of a Beggar. *Wolfus*, a Patritian, who had been a principal Agent in the Murther, she also, by command of *Theodoric* caused to be killed, reverting *Theodobert* to a more convenient season. And the late defeat she had received in the death of her Minion, did but incite her to other A&s for the Establishment of her threatened and tottering Power. All this while *Theodoric* lived most unchristianly in Whoredom, having no lawfull Wife, but gratifying his Lust by such Imbracements as were most pleasing to him, and by such unlawfull Copulations had got four Sons. At length he bethought himself what infamy he incurred, and how uncertain the succession might be for want of Legitimate Issue, he cast his thoughts then on *Hermenberga*, the Daughter of *Bertrick* King of *Spain*, and sent his Ambassadors to desire her in Marriage, giving Oath that he would never deprive her of the Society of his Bed, nor of the Royal Dignity.

94. Upon

*Affirvis, iitum  
m. Childestri  
fed cijidam br-  
ridani filium fa-  
tis. Ammian.  
lib. 36. 91.*

94. Upon this Condition *Bertrick* sends her with a Portion suitable to her Quality, and *Theodoric* receives her with as much Love and Respect, as becomes a Royal Bridegroom. But his Grandmother was far from wishing them Joy, for though to bring her self into a better Opinion with the People, she might seem to have Conſented, nay propounded the Match, yet now she found her self in danger of a Rival, who by her Royal condition, the Beauty of her Person, and her conjugal Allurements might make her Husband totally her own, and exclude her from that Domination. Of which his Reverence to her Person, as a near (but neither so near, nor dear) Relation had posſefſed her. She goes to work, and by her Inchantments she effects that, how much ſoever he detred it, he could never enjoy his Bride; and this bringing him into ſome diſlike with her, the follows him cloſe, cauſes him to diſcard her, for I wot not what Womanish impotency, and to ſend her back to her Father without her Portion. *Bertrick* finding himſelf concerned no otherwife, than as Nature and Reaſon required; protested to the World his Reſentment of ſo foul an Injury, and ſent to *Clotaire* to complain of the affront, and invite him to joyn in a League with him for Chaffizing a Prince, who had no regard either to Conſcience, or Decorum, and doubtleſs, would as little ſcruple to commit any other piece of Injuſtice againſt the reſt of his Neighbours, when he ſhould be tempted to it, by any thing that gratified his Lust or Appete. *Clotaire* entered into the League, and promising him Afſilence, ſent forme of his own with his Ambaſſadour to the Court of *Theodobert*; who moved with the fame Arguments entred into League, as alſo did *Ago* King of the *Lombards*, who when he had given his Faith, that he would joyn his Forces for depriving *Theodoric* both of Life and Kingdom; the Ambaſſadour, having diſpatched as he thought all effectually, for which he was ſent, returned by Sea into *Spain*. But Aliances of thi Nature made for Punishment of a fault, which redounds to the Detriment but of one of the Parties, and elſe carries onely ill Example with it, ſeldom take Eſſect; and *Theodoric* accordingly flighted this, as a Scar-crow, the King of *Spain* dying not long after.

95. Yet had this League ſuch Eſſect upon *Theodobert*, as to incourage him to ripen forme Designs he had in his Head, though thereby he extremely ſerved his Grandmother in the Machinations, ſhe laid for his own Detruction. Thinking himſelf ſecure of thoſe that would back him, he complained of a moſt unequal Diſtribution of his Father's Dominions, and required that a New and more equal Partition might be made. The matter proceeded to that height, that had not ſome of the wifeſ on both ſides moſt diligently interpoſed, all had been ſuddenely in a Flame; but they procured both Kings to hold their hands, and agree to come to an Interview at a place appointed, for a fair and Friendly deciding of the Controverſie. *Theodoric* came with ten thouſand Men, with pure and ſimple Intentions, altogether free from Design and Treachery; but *Theodobert* brought with him a far greater number, wherewith having incompaſſed and caught his Brother as in a Net, he forced him to ſubmit to ſuch terms as he himſelf propounded: These were to quit feveral Provinces, as that of *Champagne*, *Tours*, *Artois*, and that which in the days of *Aimoinus* had the Name of *Sugienſis*, and ſo they parted with ſeeming Love and Friendſhip, though covered by deep flattery and Diſimulation. For *Theodoric* being go out of his Brother's hands, and coming ſeriouſly to ruminate upon what he had, was ſo inflamed with deſire of Revenge, that he renounced the Agreement as wretched from him by force and Terroure, and ſet himſelf ſeriouſly how to Revenge the affront; *Bruncchild* ever being at hand, and ſpurring him on to that, to which of his own Dispoſition he was ſufficiently inclined. In the mean time, *Theodobert* by an A& full of wickedneſs, provoked the hatred of God and Man againſt him, and made way for that Destiny, which was but ſutable to his Actions.

96. He had to Wife one *Bilechilde*, a Woman indeed muſh inferior to him in Birth and Quality, for his Grandmother, while he refiſed in his Court, bought her of certain Merchants, and for the rareneſs of her Beauty as the made him believe, but indeed that she might have none to controul her, thi Woman by reaſon of the Obligation being wholly at her Devotion, married her to him. By he had feveral Children, but falling in Love with another called *Theudechilde*, he Murthered her to be in a Capacity to marry his new Miftres. But long he had not reaped the Pleaſures of this new Conjunction, when he was diverted by the noife of his Brother's Arms, and forced to exchange the Combats of *Venus* for thoſe of *Mars*. Their Cousin *Clotaire* was ſo neare a Neighbour, and of ſuch Power, that to which fide

Another diſ-  
renee betwixt  
them.

Sect. 3.

side ever he would please to incline, in all Probability he should bring the Victory. *Theodoric* therefore, resolving not to mis the advantage thence offered, sent to him, and by a promise of restoring to him the Dukedom of *Deutelenus*, which as he said, *Theodobert* deserved unjustly from him; he persuaded him to stand Neuter. He mustred then all his Subjects that were very fit to bear Arms, in the month of *May*, and the seventeenth year of his Reign, and from the *Lingones* coming through *Vernona*, to a place called *Tallum*, in the County adjoininge he met with his Brother, and they joynd Battel. *Theodobert* was beaten, but escaping with his Life, fled to *Cologne* upon the *Rhine* with intention to renew the War, and hopes of better Succes in the next Ingagement, for which he provided himself of fresh supply of Saxon, and other Nations of the upper *Germany*. *Theodoric* aware hereof, made warre what he could after him, and dreading he shoud prevent him, from reaping the Fruits of his late Victory, fell upon him with all Fury imaginable. Yet he used such diligence, as that he was not ill provided to receive him; and another Battel was fought with equal Valour and Animosity. Our Authors report, that so great was the Crowd through the Pertinacious resolution of the Combatants, that such Troopers as were killed falle upon their Horfes, no otherwise than as Men alive, being kept up so as they could not fall. But *Theodobert* was so unfortunate as to loose this day also, and fled again to *Cologne*, his Brother pursuing him with resolution, that now he wold not be hindred from finishing the War. Entring the Territories of the *Ripuarie* that lay upon the *Rhine*, he destroyed all things in his way, and refused to give over till they shoud bring *Theodobert* to him, either alive or dead.

*Theodobert* kill'd.

97. This perfidious People, thinking the Price not too great wherewith to purcace their Security, send some to *Cologne* to *Theodobert*. The Messengers make great Complaints of the Miseries they had undergone by such Devastations, Rapines and Murthers, as never had formerly been committed. They tell him a formal story, that his Brother complained of the defrauding him of his share of his Father's Treasures, which if he might but receive, he wold be Friends with him, and remand his Forces. *Theodobert* considering his present Estate and Condition, was glad he could come off so well, and giving them Credit carried them into his Treasury, where he buried himself in searching and Collecting such things as he intended to Preseft the Conquerour, which as he was doing, and bowed down his Head, one of them drew his Sword and slew him. His Head was cut off, and shewed about upon the Walls, which done, *Theodoric* was received into the Town without any impediment, and in the Church of St. *Gerion* took the Oath of Allegiance of the Inhabitants. As he was doing this, he thought that some Body struck him on his side, and knowing the treacherous Humour of the *Ripuarie*, commanded the Doors to be shut, and a strict inquiry to be made after him that did it. But upon search no suspicioius Person could be found, and his Clothes being removed, no Wound was there to be seen, only a Purple spot appeared, as *Aimoinus* guesseth the sign of his Death, which speedily followed; with the Treasures, and Children of his Brother he returned to *Metz*, where his Grandmother *Brunechild* found him, and congratulated with him for his Victory. To make the Triumph complete, he wold have him put to Death his Prisoners. And he prevailed for the Sons of *Theodobert*, whereof the youngest *Meronius* by Name an Infant that fucked, her self took by the Heels, and dashed out his Brains against a stome; but his Daughter escaped, for which she was not to thank her Grandmother, but attribute her Life to the rare Beauty of her Person. And such was the end of *Theodobert* according to the general Opinion; though some wrote, that after his defeat he retired beyond the *Rhine*, where he was apprehended by *Bertarius* the Chamberlain of *Theodoric*, who had sent him to make the discovery, and confined to *Caillona*. Here some add, that *Brunechild* caused him to be made a Monk, and that he was afterward put to Death.

98. By Virtue of the late Agreement, *Clotarius* was now to stand possessed of the Dukedom of *Deutelenus*, and he accordingly got Possession of it. But *Theodoric* having as he thought done his busines, and elevated with his Succes, and the Acceſſion of his Kingdom of *Austrasia*, began to grudge not only that he enjoyed that Dukedom, but indeed any thing else in *Gall*; and resolving to pick a Quarrel with *Mennaces*, required him to quit what he had newly got into his hands. So great was his Ambition, that no moderate or ordinary Matter could divert him; but a certain Fire had of late begun to kindle in his Breast, which by indulging and continually Ventilating, within a little time grew to that strength, as to consume and obliterare

*Theodoric* feizes on his King.

*In Campania Tu-  
lensi aduersus  
fratrem congre-  
gatus etiam  
lib. 3. c. 37.  
Tullum hunc  
Tud spidum of  
Leucorum Me-  
tula appurant.  
*Lingones* sunt be-  
nevoli et amicoli  
qui ad Oras de-  
terminantes Ma-  
trona flexis ex  
affectionibus ipsi  
*Campani Beli-*  
*ca*, tenuisse ju-  
stitiam et iusti-  
tiam. *Amioinus* et  
*Meroneus*. *Sigebert*  
et *Chorbus* et *Childebert*  
et *Meroneus*. *Sigebert*  
et *Meroneus*.*

obliterate all other Passions. He fell grievously in Love with the beautifull Daughter of *Theodobert*, but was so honest withal, as to desighn the Satisfaction of his Desires, no other way than by that of Marriage. *Brunechild* was wonderfully concerned at it, and sensible in what danger her domineering Authority stood, if all the Arts and Devices she could to hinder it, and at last, as her utmost refuge declaimed against it, as a most wicked and Incestuous Copulation of an Uncle with his Brother's Daughter. He grew to such impatience upon hearing this, that calling her a Woman hatefull to God and all good Men, he demanded whether she had not told him that *Theodobert* was not his Brother, and why he had caused him to commit so great a Crime as that of Fratricide? And he was so far transported as to draw his Sword and make at her, but she was faved by those that stood by, and conveyed to some place out of the Houfe, where thinking it time to bestir her self, she resolved to kill rather than be killed. It's certain, that shortly after he died, being as was generally believed, taken with a Dysentery. It was said by some, *Zinas Abbas in vita Sandri Co-lumbani*, c. 28.

Theodoric dies.

*Sigebert* his Son dren. *Sigebert* the eldest he named King, but her Trade could not always hold, this was the third time she had Usurped the supreme Power. The Nobility could ill brook the Domination of thefe, whom all knew to be Bastards, and they were quite tired out with her Cruelties and Infolence. Two of the chieft of them, *Arnulph* and *Pipin*, began now to hold Intelligence with *Clotair*, and they prevailed with him, to come as far as to *Caponiacum*. *Brunechild* hearing the News was sufficiently alarmed, and lying then at *Wormes*, sent to him to expostulate his Invasion of the Dominions of King *Sigebert*. He answered, that he wold doe nothing, but what the Nobility of the *Franks* assembled together shoud approve, and promised to stand to their Determinations, for which purpose he willed her to call them together. She was too old and cunning to be lulled asleep by fair Words, and therefore to provide against the world, the sen *Sigebert* into *Thuringia*, attended by *Warnarius* the Major of the Palace, and *Alboinus* most eminent for Nobility of all the *Austrasians*, to hire Souldiers from amongst the Nations, inhabiting beyond the *Rhine*. But not long after their departure, the imagined he had reason to believe that *Warnarius* was secretly inclined toward *Clotair*, and out of Jealousie sent a Letter after them to *Alboinus*, wherein she defird him, to take some fitting opportunity to make him away. *Alboinus* having read the Letter, tore it in pieces, but did not so much deface it, but that one of his Servants out of Curiosity gathered the pieces together, and perceiving the Content, therewith acquainted him, who was most concerned. *Warnarius* perceiving the danger he was in, was very carefull to secure his Person in the first place. Then revolting to use his utmost endeavour for the Defruction of *Brunechild* and her Race; thole Nations he went to folicite about succours, he quite alienated from the Service. After this going with her and *Sigebert* into *Burgundy*, he held private Caballs with the Nobility and Prelates, into whom he sufficienly instilled the Doctrine of Revolt. Then sent he to *Clotair*, to come with an Army, promising on Condition to be maintained in his former Estate and Dignity, to deliver the two Kingdoms of the *Austrasians* and *Burgundians* into his hands.

100. *Clotair* was not slack in his endeavours, to become sole Lord and Master of *Gall*, and with his *Neustrians* as *Aimoinus* calls them, met *Sigebert* and offered him Battel, in *Champaigne* near the River *Axona*, or *Ajne*; where when the Armies faced each other, *Warnarius* according to former Agreement with the greatest part of the Army revolted to him. The rett ran away as far as the River *Araris*, *Clotair* being not eager after the perfitt of those he now looked on as his own Subjects, which putting a stop to their flight, three of *Theodoric*'s Sons were there taken, viz. *Sigebert*, *Chorbus* and *Meronius*, for the fourth *Childebert* by Name escaped, and was never after heard of: With them he returned to a Village called *Sion*, upon the River *Vincenna*, whither at the Inflance of *Warnarius* and the other Great ones,

*In Campania  
Catalanensis fu-  
er fluctum axa-  
nam.*

*Ad Aimoinus af-  
que scismum qui  
Regna di-  
cina ter.*

Sect. 3. ones, *Brunechild* and *Theudelina* the Sister of *Theodorick* were sent for. In her fight he commanded *Sigebert* and *Chobus* to be killed, sparing *Meroneus*, because he was his Godson; then *Brunechild* her self being condemned by Sentence of the whole Army, as well *Burgundians* and *Austrasians*, as those that came out of *Neustria*, was for three days together subjected to various Tortures, and then set upon a Camels back, and so carried in derision like a Witch up and down the Camp. At last, having rapped up her Life past, he laid to her Charge, that she had procured the Death of no less than ten Kings, reckoning up her own Husband *Sigebert*, *Meroneus* the Brother of *Clotair*, and Son of *Chilperick*, with *Chilperick* himself, whom misinformed it seems, to be the true state of his Family, or willing to conceal the Vianies of his own Mother, he affirmed to have periled by her Devices. Having summ'd up her Crimes, he demanded of the Soldiers, what Punishment was fit for her to undergoe. All cryed, that some one unheard-of was but suitable to her Deferts: Whereupon he commanded a wild Horse to be brought, to whose Tail the miserable Woman was made fast by her Hair and Armes, and then was the Horse let loose and provoked to take his Heels, wherewith having first dashed out her Brains, he drew her Carkafts over Thorns, Stones, Hills and Dales, till it was dashed and all torn in pieces. Such pieces yet as could be found were gathered together, and buried in a Church at *Auglofudonum*, or *Autun* of her own founding.

101. Such was the end of this wicked and miserable Woman, not too severe, if we fully consider the merits of her Life and Actions. Yet together with her prodigious Vices, were great Vertues joyned as some esteem them, and these were Magnificence and Devotion, which appeared in the Religious respect she gave to Saints, and the very many Churches she built, and dedicated to their Memory. *Aimoinus* tells us, that the Fabricks which she raised and remained till his time were so numerous, that it seemed incredible, that one Woman should build so many, not only in *Aufrasia* and *Burgundy* where she Reigned, but in so many several parts of *France* at great distances. In our days these possibly may be decayed, yet in the Low Countries there still remain some Monuments of her Manly Spirit. These were the Military High-ways of the *Romans*, which through *Gallia Belgica* and *Burgundy* she caused to be repaired, being by the *Gallo Belgæ* still after her called *Chausées de Brunehault*, by the *Flandro Belgæ*, *Groote Caffie* (in English Great Canseys) and by the Modern *Franks* *Chemins ferrez* in their several Dialects. Now the Reader may take notice, that these Roman Cawfies, or High-ways, were first in *Gall* begun, to be made by *Agrippa* the Son-in-Law of the Emperour *Augustus*, who caused four to be raised and paved, one from *Lugdunum Segunoforum* (*Lyon sur Saône*) leading toward *Spain*, through *Aquitain*; another toward the *Rhine*; a third through the Countries of the *Bellonaci*, and *Ambiani* to the Ocean, and a fourth through *Gallia Narbonensis*, extending it self towards *Italy*. Afterward other Emperours, and *Roman* Captains applied their minds, and the Hands of their idle Legions to this work, and through *Gallia Belgica*, caused other High-streets to be raised; being either paved with four-square Stones, or strewed with Gravel or small Flints. Of these ways, the remainders of several are to be seen in many places throughout *Hainault*, *Artois*, *Flanders*, *Brabant*, *Lorraine*, *Champagne*, *Picardy*, in the Countries belonging to *Luxembourg*, *Leige*, *Cleve*, *Juliers*, *Colone*, *Triers*, *Menz* and others, the stricture whereof strike all lookers on with Admiration. From *Banacum* (now *Mons ex Hainault*) the *Rome of Belgium*, where in the middle of the *Forum* was erected a Column, as anciently in that and other Cities, at the beginning or end of Miles, eight of these several Cawfeyks took their beginning or Centre. But these and the rest being by length of time decayed, and by the Irruption of Barbarians into *Gall* neglected, did *Brunechild* the Queen Regent of *Aufrasia* and *Burgundy*, repair as we said before, whereby her Memory, however her Body was used, remains whole and entire, they being by Learned men in the Latin Tongue still called *via Brunechilde*, and by the *Burgundians* and others, *Chausées de Brunehault*.

Australasia what.

102. But so fell the Family of *Sigebert* with *Brunechild* his Wife, and *Austrasia* with *Burgundy* were united to the Dominions of *Clotaire*. Here we find our selves obliged for the better understanding of the Reader, to tell him what we particularly mean by the so often repeated Word of *Austrasia*. He must know then, that the Victorious *Franks* having wrested a great part of *Gall* out of the hands of the *Romans*, divided it into *Austrasia* and *Neustria*. *Austrasia* (by *St. Remigius* in his Testament called *Austria*) reached from the Borders of *Burgundy*, as far as the *Frisian* Sea inclosed by the Rivers *Rhine*, *Meuse* and *Schelde*.  
Therefore

## CHAP. I. Contemporary with the Const. Roman Empire: Clotair.

Therefore it comprised the several Countries of the *Mediomatrices*, *Treviers* and *Ubi*, those about *Menz*, *Cleeve*, *Gelderland*, *Brabant*, *Hainault*, *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Hamburg*, the *Eburone*; and *Tungri*, the Dukehoods of *Lauenbourg* and *Luxembourg*, with *Alsatia*, *Loraine*, the *Palatinate* of the *Rhine*, *Burgundy* and *Ardenne*; the *Metropolis* being the City of the *Mediomatrices*, afterward called *Metz*. Now *Neustria*, or *Westerfalia* being the Western Kingdom of the *Franks* in *Gall*, as the other the Eastern, comprised *Flanders*, *Ariots*, *Picardy*, the County of *Boboigne*, *Normandy*, and all other Countries lying betwixt the *Schelde*, the *Seine*, and the *Loire*, the *Metropolis* being *Paris*; so that they mightily err, who would restrain this ample Kingdom within the narrow bounds of single *Normandy*. But of *Austrasia*, the first King as we have formerly seen was *Theodorick* the natural Son of *Clodoveus* the Great, to whom succeeded his Son *Theodoberit*, as to him *Theodebold* his Son. *Theodebold* dying without issue, *Clotaire*, the Legitimate Son of *Meroneus*, held *Austrasia* with his other Kingdoms. Afterwards a Partition of his Domains being made amongst *Clotaire* his Children, it fell to *Sigebert*, who by *Brunechild* had *Childebert*, and left him his Succellour. He left two Sons *Theodoberit* and *Theodorick*, whereof the later oued the former; but leaving no Legitimate issue, *Sigebert* his natural Son was, as we fee, deprived both of Life and Kingdom by *Clotaire* the second, the Son of *Chilperic*, who hereby obtained the Monarchy of the *Franks*. Afterward *Austrasia* had other Kings, as in due place may be discovered; and then as time altereth all things, this Kingdom exchanged the Name of *Austrasia*, for that of *Lotharingia* or *Loraine*, which it received from *Lotharius* the Son of the Emperor *Lotharius* the first, whom it had for King, as after him many others in Order, and at length exchanged Kings for Dukes, the Title of whom, though not the extent of the Dominion, at this day continueth.

104. Thus by the fidelity of his Wife, and his seasonable severity, he evaded the danger, and established his Power; but through the corruption of those about him, and his own remissness, shortly after committed an error, which tended to the diminution both of the greatness of his Name and Nation. The *Lombards* having formerly made Incursions into *Gall*, were so received by the Kings of the *Franks*, that they not only drove them back, but followed them into *Italy*, and constrained them to purchase Peace, by parting with several of their own Towns, and a yearly payment of twelve thousand *Solidi*. This Tribute had been duly paid in the Reigns of *Guntram*, and *Childebert*, and downward, till the time of *Agellulf*,  
D. d. 2.

Ddd

Sect. 3.  
Released the Tribute that was formerly paid by the Lombards.

*bulf*, the King of the *Lombards*, who feeling the burthen heavy, and not conceiving himself in a capacity to be eas'd by Steel, resolv'd to try what he could effect with Gold and good Language. Having picked out some fit Men for the Errand, he sent them to the Court of *Cloair*, where having stopped the Mouths of his principal Ministers, they had the better opportunity to open their own, and cunningly effected what they were sent for. They much insisted upon this plausible Argument, That the *Friendship of any People is better founded upon Love and Goodwill, than Force and Servitude*: That the *Lombards quit of this ingratefull duty, would exchange it for others more generous and sincere of Gratitude and Fidelity*. In conclusion, by their pleasing Language and Deportment, and paying down 3600 *Solidi*, (besides 3000 wherewith they had brib'd three of the principal Ministers,) they struck up the Bargain, and bought off the perpetual Tribute at three years purchase.

105. Herewith *Cloair* of what conquence soever it was, rest'd satisfied, but shortly after, in the six and thirtieth Year of his Reign, he was overwhelmed with grief at the death of his Queen, who for her excellent Vertues and Endowments, left a great misf of her amongst the People. To make up this losf, assoon as sorrow would give leave, he married another Wife called *Sichild*, by whom he had a Son called *Hairbert*; and considering what Jealousies and Ennemis are wont to arise in Families where Step-mothers have opportunity to shew their biased Inclinations, he thought fit to send away *Dagobert*, whom he had by his former Wife, and made him King of *Austrasia*, delivering all the Countries formerly subject to that Crown into his Hand, except *Ardenne* and *Vologes*, lying toward *Neustria* and *Burgundy*, which he thought fit to keep to himself. Having given him a Kingdom, in the next place he provided him a Wife, and such an one as by the Alliance was likely to prevere Unity, and a good Understanding in their Family. Sending for him to *Clippiacum*, a place near *Paris*, he married to him *Gomadinde*, the Sister of *Sichild* his Wife, and two days together they kept the Wedding with all Joy and Magnificence suitable to such an occasion. But the third day the Bridegroom fell into a difcontent, not that he was now tied and bound by the Bonds of Matrimony, but straitned and confined within the limits of too narrow a Kingdom. He complained that he was not rightly called King of *Austrasia*, whereof the best and principal Parts were withheld from him, though, if his Judgment did not flatter him, he was now of Age and Abilities sufficient to take the Government of the whole.

106. Such were the complaints of the Son, but the Father thought he had no reason to make them, who had no right to any thing, nor could claim one foot of ground as his due, but had received all from his mere bounty. The Content grew high, and the difference seem'd to threaten the *Franks* with mischief, of which being awar, they interposed, and the matter being committed to twelve of the Nobility, they perswade the Father for Peace and Quietnes sake, to yield to the youthfull heat and ambition of his own Son, (whoe all must be at laft,) and so they were throughly reconciled, the whole Kingdom being delivered into *Dagobert's* Hands, *Provincia Pro-*  
*confi. ut quidam*  
*interpretatur.* The following Year *Wararius* the Governor of *Burgundy* died, who was hardly cold in his Grave, when *Godinus* his Son married the Widow his Step-mother. This coming to the knowledge of *Cloair*, he commands him as an Incestuous Person to be put to deaft, but the noife of the Sentence anticipating much the Execution, he flies to *Dagobert*, and easily obtains of him to intercede for his Life, which at length was granted, in consideration of the great and eminent Services of his Father. His Life he was content to purchafe with a Divorce, but she was not therewith satisfi'd, but as if it more behoved him to gratifie her sensual Appetite, than to defire Life it self, fell into an implacable Passion and Hatred, which so far transported her, as to accuse him of deffins against the King's Life. The King being in this point credulous enough, commanded him to make Oath, he had no iuch intention, which, at the importunity of *Cranchib* and *Wandalbert*, he did, both in the Church of St. *Medard* at *Sedifons*, and St. *Vincent* at *Paris*; yet this would not satisfie, they would compell him to reiterate it at *Orleance*, in the Church of St. *Anian*, and at *Tours* in that of St. *Martin*, whither as he travelled to doe it, those fawning Courties, the King conniving at it, set upon him as he feate at Meat with several Friends, and notwithstanding their oppofition, cruelly murthered him.

107. *Cloair* being exasperated by this imaginary Conspiracy, or his hand being now in, refolv'd to be very severe. This same Year he banished one *Palladius*, with *Sedocus* his Son, the Bishop of *Toloue*, as being privy to the Rebellion of the *Viscous*, and having laid to the charge of one *Boso*, an Inhabitant of *Stampa*, that he

Makes *Dagobert*  
his Son King of  
*Austrasia*.

*Ardenne Syrie,  
Vologes Haute.*

And of all the  
rest, except  
*Provence*.

he had debauched *Sichild* his Queen, caufed him to be put to death. Assembling the Estates of *Burgundy* together, for the Election of a new *Major* of the Palace, into the place of *Wararius*, they declared, that they defire to be governed by none but God and himſelf, which he took kindly, and would not impole any new Governor upon them. In the mean time *Dagobert* highly concerned himself about the *Saxons*, who despifing his Youth, difdained to be ſubject to him. He diſclaimed as much to bear the affront, and getting an Army ready, paſſed the *Rhine*, and engaged in battel with *Bertoald* their Captain. Here he was fo hard put to it, that fighting manfully in his own Perion, he received a wound in his Head, from which a piece of his Helmet was cut, with part of the Skin, Hair and all, which, having retreated to his Camp, he fent with the Skin, bloody as it was, unto his Father, defiring him to make all the haſte he poſſibly could to his relief. *Cloair* then was making a more gentle fort of War with wild Beasts, but the fight of the Preſent ſent him by his Son quickly diverted him to a ſerious Hoſtility, and he rather flew than went to his laſſour, not giving himſelf reſt, day nor night, till he reached the place. His preſence filled the *Franks* with exceilive Joy, of which they were not wanting to give ample demonstrations, and the noife easily reached the Ears of the *Saxons*, the two Camps being but parted by the River *Vifcere*. *Bertoald* was unwilling to believe (at leaſt that his Souldiers ſhould) that *Cloair* was ſo near them, and gave out that the Enemy did but dream, foraſmuch as he had certain Intelligence, that the old King was dead. Hereupon he flew himſelf upon the Bank of the River, uncovering his Head, that his reverend grey Hairs, known to all, might convince them of his preſence, but kept silence, to ſtrike them with the greater apprehenſion of his Design.

108. *Bertoald*, to make amends for his miſtake or fraud, fell into opprobrious Language, uſing this Exprefſion, *Art thou there, dumb Beauf?* Wherewith *Cloair* inflamed, takes the water, and over he will paſs, to be revenged, which his Men ſeeing, ſwim after him, and to shore he gets ſafe and ſound, and ſets upon his Enemy. *Bertoald*, not able to ſustain the violence of their Fury, takes his heels, and *Cloair*, though burthened with his Armour, and with his Boots, which were full of water, follows after ſo fast as almoft to come up with him. *Bertoald* ſeeing the danger he is in, now expoftulates, then chides downright, and ſtill proffes himſelf his Slave and vafſal. But *Cloair* not giving heed to his hypocritical Exprefſions, which he knew a mere ſene of neceſſity wrēft from him, ſtill preſted forwards, and getting ground, at length came up with him, and ſlew him, being the ſecond *Frank*, if a modern Authour rightly obſerueth, who obtained the *opima Spolia*. Having cut off his Head, he returned back to his Son, and the reſt of the *Franks*, whom he found all in forrow and lamentation, because they could not keep pace with him, and had given him over for a loſt Man. The *Franks* at the fight of him reaſhuing their courage, and under his Conduct invaded the *Saxons*, where waſting the Country, all Males they put to death, which exceeded the length of *Clatarus* his Sword. This Exploit and his Retreat he not long ſurvived, dying A.D. 631. in the four and fortieth Year of his Reign, and the fifteenth of his Monarchy over the *Franks*, and was buried in the Suburbs of *Paris* in the Church of St. *Vincent*, now St. *Germans*, where as yet his Tomb (by whom, and at what time foreit builte) is yet to be ſeen on the South ſide, overragant that of his Father *Chiberick*, *Bertrude* his Wife being buried a little higher. He had two Wives, as we have ſaid, viz. this *Bertrude*, or *Berotride*, by *Fortunatus*, in his *Epithalamium*, called *Ricchilde*, a Saxon, and of the Family of *Athanachil*, King of the *Vifgots*, who makes mention alio of *Cloair*, her Husband; this diſterity of Names, as *Tilly* obſerves, flowing from diſterity of Speech, as he iuſtanceth in particulars of the *French*, and we might as eafily of our own Language. By this Lady he had his Son *Dagobert*, and a Daughter named *Biltilde*, married to *Aribert*, a Duke of *Austria*. His ſecond Wife was *Sichild*, and by her he had *Aribert*, *Haribert* or *Charibert*, another Son. As for *Meronius*, who was taken or killed at the Battel near *Stampa*, he ſeems to have been baſe born.

109. *Dagobert* having notice of his Father's death, ſent with all ſpeed certain ſelect Perfons to the Nobility of *Neuftria* and *Burgundy*, to ſecure his Interell. They without much hauſtency cloſed with him, as the rightfull Heir, and received him at *Reims* with great concouſe and solemnity, *Aribert*, his younger Brother, and for him *Bruulf*, his Uncle by the Mother's ſide, in vain contending for the Inheritance. The Elates thought *Aribert* far inferior to *Dagobert* in parts, and for that reaſon, as well as others, declined his Interell. *Dagobert* having ſettled his matters,

*Dagobert* ſuc-  
ceeds him.

*Tunc hic mo-  
deras Belis?  
Sic Almimus?  
lib. 4. c. 18.  
Alii hoc modo O-  
vetibus & Ca-  
num Jumentum  
adserunt? Lin-  
nae, in qua  
nacula, unde Bi-  
gore Francorum  
Ex Sexuum id-  
oma inter se effi-  
ne ſuſſe. Cœdi-  
tii formata? &  
rati apud Danu-  
m adiunguntur.  
mi uice ſuſt lin-  
ea, hominem ſu-  
lent probat vo-  
lenter excire,  
Tiber Gammel  
Oegb, id eft, be-  
verum. Jumen-  
tum ſunt dicer.*

Sect. 3. matters, took occasion to be revenged upon *Brunif*, but was so good natured, as by the Advice of the Nobility, to give his Brother a good share out of his Dominions, *viz.* all the Countries lying betwixt the River *Loire*, toward *Wasconia*, as far as the *Pyreneas* Mountains, covenanting with him by writing, that content with this Portion, neither he, nor any of his, shoud ever lay claim to any other Part of their Father's Kingdom. *Aribert* having taken Possession, chose *Tolouse* for his Seat, and buckling himself to his busines, shortly made it appear he was not the Man for which the Nobility had taken him. He proved exceedingly industrious, and sharp witted, and in the third Year of his Reign increased his Dominions, by the Conquest of all *Wasconia*. *Dagobert* reserving for himself the intire Kingdoms of *Austrasia*, *Burgundy* and *Nesfrisia*, and using the Counsel and Direction of his Tutor, *Arnulf* the Bishop of *Metz*, with other sober and judicious Persons, ordered his matters at first with great Prudence, Justice and Moderation. Into *Burgundy*, not long after his Father's death, he made a Progrefs, where he got great Fame by his impartial acting betwixt all Parties. But after his return to *Paris*, entertaining new Favourite, and giving ear to the Whispers and Insinuations of the Parafites about him, he began to enter into a contrary courfe, whereat the good Bishop discontented, and not able to obliterate the Imprerfions which, fuiting his Apperte, the Courtiers had made upon him, with grief departed home to his See. Pretending that *Gomatrude* his Wife was barren, he married another by their Advice, *Nantilde* by Name, whom he took by force out of a Monastery. But this being as barren, it feems, as the other, or her Fruit miscarrying, he married a third, called *Raguestrude*, by which he had a Son by the years end. The Child was offered to the Font by *Aribert*, the King of *Aquitain*, to was he styled, and being baptized at *Orleane*, by the Name of *Sigebert*, when none would lay *Amen* to the Prayers of the Bishop that officiated, he himself is said to have opened his Mouth and have done it, though he was not above thirty days old.

110. After this our Authours complain, that *Dagobert* forgetting all the good Lessons his Tuteur had taught him, turned an open Robber of Persons and Places, both sacred and civil. Under pretence of giving to that of St. *Denis*, which he founded, he took away from other Churches, and his Lust, by gratifying it, grew to extravagant; that besides his three Wives which he maintained, both in the Title and Port of Queens, he kept a great number of Concubines. These Vices of his were but rather strengthened and increased by Prosperity and good Fortune.

*Arbiter* and his Son dying, *Dagobert* adds his Dominions to his.

the ninth year of his Reign, his Brother *Arbiter*, the King of *Aquitain*, dies, who having a young Son, called *Chiberic*, he staid not long behind, but, in the Opinion of Men, was sooner fester after him by his Uncle's Procurement than Nature had intended, which done he dispatched an Officer to feize upon his Kingdom and Treasures. His Coffers being now full, what with the Rapines he had made, and what by the Death of his Nephew, he took an occasion soon after to empty them, and first by the War he made with the *Sclavos*. There were a People inhabiting Then war upon that Part of *Pannonia*, formerly called *Pannonia Valeria*, and *Interamnia*, now app-

Then he makes War upon the Slav. and fift by the War he made with the *Slavci*. These were a People inhabiting that Part of Pannonia, formerly called *Pannonia Valeria*, and *Interamnia*, now appertaining to Hungary, lying betwixt the two Rivers *Drauus* and *Savaus*. The Roman Empire going to decay, first the *Goths* pierced into this Country, and quitting it upon better hopes, these *Slavci*, a Hunnish Nation, barbarous and fierce, whose Dominions extended as far as *Odepa*, and were separated from the *Saxons* only by the River *Albu*, as wrote *Heliodorus*, though others say, formerly seated upon the Lake of *Maeotis*, invaded and made it their Habitation. *Slavce*, it's said, signifieth in their ancient Language *Glory*, or *Gloriouſ*; but afterward an accident happened, which might well cause it to be taken and used in a quite contrary fene, and to denote a Man ſubjeeted to the highest degree of Servitude. For these *Slavci*, or *Vindidi*, \* *Vinidi*, or *Vinduli*, (for ſo alſo they were called, and from them the place, as ſome think, which at this day retaineth the Name of *Vindobona*,) after their fixing in this Country, were conquered by the *Hunnes* properly to call'd, and often prefed in no small degree of misery, but with ſuch for of bondage as fully anfwere to the word of *Slavery*. First, they ſerved them as Auxiliaries, then as Tributaries and Stipendiaries, and at laſt as the vileſt Slaves indeed, or Bondmen; in Summer in the Field, in Winter in their own Houſes, where not onely they lived upon the ſpoil, and took what they had, but abuſed their Beds, lying with their Wives and Daughters their pleaſure.

111. An Offspring in this manner begotten of slavish Women, but by lording and domineering *Hunnes*, the bloud of their Fathers, it seems, being predominant and boiling in their Veins, scorned, if not the Name, yet the modern significacion

CHAP. I. *Contemporary with the Const. Roman Empire.* Dagobert. 391

112. *Samo*, with more temper, replied, that he was ready to comply with the King of the *Franks* in all things, not because the Nation was at all obnoxious to him, as Vassals, but by virtue of their ancient Friendship and Alliance. The Ambassador indifferently answered, there could be no Alliance nor Communion betwixt *Christians* and *Dogs*. Be it so, said the other, you are the Servants of Christ, and we are Dogs, but remember, that Dogs do often revenge upon Servants what they have faulcily and naughty committed against their Master; and therewith he commanded the Ambassador to be hurried from his presence, and out of his Dominions. *Dagobert* with the report hereof was so exasperated, that he resolved to raise a mighty Army, and subdue this malapert Nation. The *Lombards* and *Alemans* also under Conduct of *Rorbert*, he procured to join with him, who demeaned themselves with that courage, that they easily overthrew the *Slavii*, and returned home, enriched with booty, and many Captives. The *Austrasians* being now left to themselves, besieged a Fort, called *Vogelstrum*, to which many of the most valiant of the Enemy had fled for their security. But they managed the Siege with remissness, that those within acted by necessity, and desperation made so effectual a Sally, that having killed many of them, the rest most shamefully ran away, leaving their Camp, Baggage and Provisions, a feaferable Prey, to the almost starved Enemy. The *Slavii* encouraged by so unexpected good fortune, pursued their Victory, and invading *Thuringia*, and other Parts of *Germany*, subject to the *Franks* made such destruction of all places, and struck such terror into all round about, that *Dervanus*, who commanded certain Cities of the *Slavii*, that were in the Dominion of *Dagobert*, out of desperation, revolted to them; there being small hopes of any effectual succour to be had from the King, who was now altogether enervated by his Luxurious practices.

113. Luxury is accompanied often with Cruelty, though seldom with true and substantial Valour. At this time there happened a contention betwixt the *Bulgari* (a People which from the Banks of the River *Volga*, had passed into the interior *Mesia*, and there seated themselves) and their Neighbours the *Avares*, or *Hunnes*, with whom they had joined and embodied themselves, out of which Nation their King should be chosen. To blows it came, and the Victory remained with the *Hunnes*, who dealing now with the *Bulgari*, as with absolute Enemies, many of them fled their Country, and humbly besought *Dagobert* to bestow on them some place to inhabit. He ordered them into *Baaria* (or *Bavaria*) there to winter, till he might consult where to bestow them, and they were accordingly dispersed in the several Houses of the Inhabitants, whom at last, by advice of those about him, for fear, as was pretended, that they should attempt some dangerous matters, he commanded to kill them, every Houholder, his Guest, with his Wife and Children. This was done according to his command, all their Throats being cut in one and the same night, as they innocently slept, only some even hundred escaped, and by one *Alticeus* were brought unto the *Sclavi*. About this time *Sisebodus* the

Dagobert sends an Army into Spain.

**Sect. 3.** the King of *Spain* died, and was succeeded by *Sentila*, who by his cruelty and other vices, quickly alienated the minds of his Subjects from him. Amongst them *Sisenodus* a Nobleman, more unwilling to bear his Infidelity than the rest, came to *Dagobert*, and defred his Assistance for expelling *Sentila* out of *Spain*. He was willing enough to doe mischief to whomsoever, and appointed the whole Force of *Burgundy* to attend him, which being noised abroad in *Spain*, all forsook *Sentila*, being already offended at his Carriage, and as soon as *Sisenodus* arrived made choice of him for their King. *Abundantius* then and *Venerandus*, the Leaders of the *Franks*, having brought him as far as *Cesar-Augusta*, where he received the Homage of the Nobility, returned home with good rewards. But *Dagobert* was not therewith satisfied, for *Sisenodus* had promised, in case the Design took, to give him a great Vessel of Gold of five hundred pound weight, adorned with Gems and pretious Stones, which formerly had been presented to *Torismund*, King of the *Goths*, by *Aetius*, the Patritian of the *Romans*. *Dagobert* therefore sends back *Venerandus*, with *Amalarius*, to demand a performance of the condition. *Sisenodus* very willingly delivered the Vessel into their hands, but in the way, the *Goths* having had notice of it, took it from them by force, not enduring that their Nation should be deprived of such a Monument. Therefore did *Sisenodus*, in satisfaction of the losse, pay afterward to *Dagobert* two hundred thousand *Solidi* in Silver, which he bestowed in building and beautifying the Church of St. *Denis*, a work which put him to very great Expence.

**114.** Hitherto, with the Affront received from the *Slavi*, *Dagobert* slept supinely; but at length awaking, and coming to himself, it rose upon his Stomach, and he could not possibly digest the Injury. In the tenth Year of his Reign he raised a choice Army, and himself in Person, resolved to lead it. Having pacified the *Arduenna*, the Forest, as far as *Magania*, or *Menz*, and being now ready to pass the *Rhine*, the *Saxons*, though Tributaries, and in perfect Peace with him, yet fearing the Approach of so great a force, came and offered their service for the chastisement of the malapert *Slavi*, professing themselves ever to be at his Devotion, and without an expectation of Reward, only they desired that he would remit the yearly Tribute they paid, of five hundred Coves, called *Vaccæ Inferendales*, which Petition he granted, by advice of his Counsellours, on this condition, that they should, for the time to come, faithfully protect the Borders of his Dominions. Oath hereof was made (as they were wont to swear) upon their Arms, but was never confirmed by any Act, though they got free of the Tribute, and nothing came of this expedition. The *Slavi* therfore finding they had been more scared than hurt, the following year renewed their Incursions into *Thuringia*, which put *Dagobert* upon new Counsells, finding that those former, relating to the *Saxons*, had not succeeded. By the Advice of his Counsellours, he set over the *Austrasians* his Son *Sigebert*, in Name as King, but in Effect Goverour, by direction and management of his two Tutors, or Guardians, *Chimibert*, the Prelate of *Campania*, or *Rheims*, and *Adalgis*, the Major of the Palace. He affigned them a sufficient Revenue, and other things, all which he caused to be inscribed into his Taffet, and sealed. Thenceforth, so long as *Sigebert* lived, by the Prudence and Industry of the *Austrasians*, all Irruptions of the *Winidi* were restrained.

*Sigebert* his Son made Goverour of *Austrasia*, by which means the Incursions of the *Slavi* are restrained.

The *Vascons* forced to beg Peace.

**115.** In the twelfth Year of *Dagobert*'s Reign, he had another Son born by *Nauftilde*, his beloved Wife, called *Clodoneus*, or *Ludonius*, betwix whom and *Sigebert*, his elder Son, by advice of his Nobles, he designd an equal Division of his Dominions. *Sigebert* he left, as now he found him, King of *Austria*, and therefore to *Clodoneus* the younger, he affigned *Newfria* and *Burgundy*, together with the Dukedom of *Deutelensis*, which hitherto had been unjustly, as was accounted, possessed by the *Austrasians*, who, though sorely against their Wills, yet for fear of *Dagobert*, confirmed the perpetual annexion of it unto *Newfria*. In the Year that followed, News was brought that the *Vascons* rebelled, who having been found guilty of the same Crime by his Brother *Arribert*, and forced to submit to the yoke, had, after his death, despised *Dagobert's* Orders, and infested all the Countries adjoining, with Murthers and Rapine, till *Sadragis filius* being made Goverour of *Aquitain*, refrained their Incursions, and caused them to keep at home. But he (whether by the knowledge of *Dagobert*, we know not, who formerly bore him Malice) was privily murdered, and his Sons being idle, or worse, and not profiting with Arms those that were guilty, were in a publick Assembly of the *Franks*, as *Ammonius* tells us, according to the *Roman Laws*, deprived of all his Estate, which the King then conferred on the Church of St. *Denis*. His being made away,

*College iustum  
teribus Scaram,  
quam nocturnam  
vel Cenacum op-  
pedare sollemnis,  
lib. 4.  
c. 26.  
*Scara Teutonica  
vox, quamvis  
modestus Franci  
et strenuit  
Faustus in Ca-  
mpania mactans il-  
lum comitatu-  
tus habebat Sacra-  
plus habebat Sacra-  
Francos en-  
classe par deri-  
re let. Ratiens,  
etc.**

*Ibid.*

away, the *Vascons* thought they might renew their former Trade of Life, but *Dagobert*, as loofly as he had lately lived, would not suffer the Affront to pass uncontroll'd, but gathered a great Army out of *Burgundy*, which he commited to the conduct of no fewer than twelve several Captains. They ingage in Battell with the *Vascons*, put them to flight, which done, they wasted their Country, and having driven them up for shelter into the Mountainous places, returned with Honour untouched, but for one Accident. *Arembertius* one of the Captains as he *Robola Aimoins* ingaged indiscretly, or staid too long in the Valley called *Robola*, was cut off with *fed aliis Subla* the greatest part of the Nobility, and the old Soldiers that followed him: But *Audemus alius Audenuus* (or *Audonus*) the chief of the twelve who was eminent for many Battells, fought in the time of *Theodorick*, and was now held by all in chiefe Rank of *Vascons* Subjects, to demeaned himself, that the *Vascons* were forced to beg Peace, and *conf. lib. 3. c. 1.* Promis'd obedience for the time to come; whereupon he drew off his Army.

**116.** *Dagobert* a little elevated with his Succes against the bold *Vascons*, began to consider who there were, that by the like Fault committed, had merited a suitable Punishment, which he thought himself able now to inflict by means of his lately Victorious Army. The *Britains of Aremoria* or *Armorica*, had often made Incursions into his Dominions, and as well since his coming to the Government, as before, had contrary to several Leagues and Agreements, made great Waites and Depredations in the adjoyning Countries. *Dagobert* sends to *Judicabilis* his Prince (or King, as our Historian calls him) *Eligius* a Person of great Prudence and Integrity, by whom he demands Satisfaction might be made for former Injuries, or he must expect the whole force, which was coming from *Vasconia*, would be sent to fetch it. *Eligius* so wrought upon *Judicabilis*, that he not onely prevailed with him to conform himself to the Pleasure of the King of the *Franks*, but to come with him to the Court of *Dagobert*, who then lay at the Village *Clippiacum*, where he not onely Promis'd an Amendment of what was past, but subjected himself and his People, to the obedience of the King, and made a perpetual Peace with him. *Dagobert* being now at his ease, and having brought to his beck all the Nations round about him, was, as is reported, bettered by his Prosperity, and, contrary to the common Inclination of Mankind, his good fortune kindled in him a Zeal after Piety and true Religion. In a place called *Bigazgium*, on the one and twentieth of April he summoned a General meeting of all the Nobility and Prelates of *France*; to whom, and to his two Sons he signified his Intentions, to leave something to most of the Churches within his Dominions, for his Souls health, ordering that of his Testament, one Copy should be kept at *Paris*, a secon at *Lyons*, a third at *Metz*, and a fourth in his own Treasury; and charging his Sons to see his Will performed, as they should expect the same Office of Duty from their Poste. Whether he had a Prospect of death which put him into so good a Mood, or by a true Sense of things he was brought into a due estimate of earthly Enjoyments, he died the Year following, of a Flux in a Village called *Spirigillum* up *Tillis Spinorum*, on the River *Seine*, not far from *Paris* after he had Reigned fourteen Years. Perceiving his last hour to approach, he sent for *Ega* his Councillour, and the Major of the Palace, and to his Care and Government recommended his Son *Clodoneus* with *Nautidius* his Mother, desiring all the Nobility and Prelates also of *Newfria* and *Burgundy* to assisting to them. He died on the nineteenth of *January*, and was with much Solemnity buried in the Church of St. *Dionysius*, or *Denis* near *Paris*, which he himself with very much Charge had built and endowed, about the fifth Year of the Emperour *Confians*, the fifth also of *Theodorus* Bishop of *Rome*.

*A.D. 646.*

**117.** Hitherto the *Franks* had been Governed by their Kings, who though they had Ministers under them, by whom they acted; yet had the Administration still in their own hands. But from this time, the Majors of the Palace reigned in Effect, those Kings (of this Race) which followed, enjoying nothing but the Title, which may partly be attributed to this solemn Act of *Dagobert*, whereby as it were he instated *Ega* in the Government, and left a President to future times; but especially, it is to be ascribed to the Sloth, and voluptuous Life of some of the Princes themselves, who being on purpose by these their Governors, indulged in their sensual Course of Life had little Mind, and much les Ability for publick Employments. *Dagobert* being dead, *Sigebert* continued in the Possession of *Austrasia*, and *Clodoneus* succeeded to *Newfria* and *Burgundy*, being called *Ludovicus* the first, by *Sigebert* and through *Clodoneus* and *Ludovicus* be the same Name, and the first Christian King of this Nation, is consequently to be called the first; but to shun Confusion, we must

*He is succeeded by *Sigebert* and *Clodoneus* his Son.*

with

Sect. 3. with *Tily* submit to, and follow the vulgar Errour, though som Learned men do call him *Clodonus* the second. So were his Dominions parted, but his Treasure was all still in the hands of *Lodowic*, or his Governaours. By advice therefore of *Pipin*, who after his Father's death had betaken himself to him, and in Conjunction with *Chumber* the Bishop, Governed all about him; *Sigebert* sent and demanded an equal Partition to be made of it, which *Lodowic* and his followers not able to refuse, all the Wealth was brought forth, and by *Ega* at *Compendium* was weighed, and an equal division made betwixt the two Brothers, only a third part of what *Dagobert* had got since their Marriage, was conferred on *Nauild*. This is to be ascribed to the Justice, and Integrity of *Ega*, who indeed was a very worthy Person, and however he was accused of Covetousnes, by such as are never suffered with any in Authority, demeaned himself with all uprightness, and procured such things as had been by violence, and without any right taken away by *Dagobert*, to be restored to the right Owners.

118. But to the great los of the King, in the third Year of his Reign, *Ego* dies of a Fever, and *Erchinobaldus* the Kingman of *Dagobert*, by his Mother is advanced to his place of the Major of the Palace ; a Man given to Peace, of a modest Temper, and exceedingly beloved ; things under his Circumpect eye went very well, till by the means of *Nautilde*, who rightly thought it the Interest of her Son and the Nation, not to have too much Power invested in one Man, troubles began unfortunately to arise. Going with him to *Orleance* the *Metropolis* of *Burgundy*, where he received the Acknowledgments and Homage of the Nobility and Clergy, he procured one *Flancatus* a *Frank* by Birth, to be made Major of the Palace for that Kingdom, giving him in Marriage *Ragnoberta* her Niece. *Erchinobaldus* and he joyed together, and kept all *France* in very good Order, administering Justice with all Impartiality, till one *Willebold* a Patriarch of the parts beyond the Mountain *Jura*, a Man of great Nobility, and as great Wealth began to stomach, and take it in great scorn to be subject to him, and obey his Orders. He gave sufficient Demonstrations of his disdain, but *Flancatus* took no notice of it, and went with *Clodowenus* to the General meeting held at *Cabidolum*, whither *Willebold* followed with so great a Train as seemed to threaten a War, or some great design he had formed in his Head. Yet would not he enter the Palace, knowing what advantage his Enemy might there have against him, which *Flancatus* perceiving, went toward him with intention to kill him where he was, but he was diverted by the advice and Intracies of *Amalbert* his Brother, though only resolved to deter the Revenge, and wait some more convenient occasion. This was given him within a little time : *Nautilde* the Queen dying this Year, whom they buried in the Church of *St. Denis* by the King her Husband.

*Nanilde the Mother of Clodoveus dies.*

119. She being buried, he carries the King from *Paris* to *Autun*, accompanied with *Erbchinaldus* and several other Noblemen, where a Summons is sent for *Willebold* speedily to appear : He suspects the matter, and not daring to disobey the King's Commands puts himself upon the way, but with a strong band of Men, and a Messenger meets him, to persuade him to hasten to his Prince his Preference, and to Promise him all security, both in coming and returning. He holds then on his Course ; but to make all as secure as he could, he sends before one *Agilulfus* a Bishop, and *Wiffo* a Count, to discover how matters stood, and to give him speedy Intelligence. But *Flancatus* causes them to be secured as soon as they had entered the City, and then with a strong party hastens out against *Willebold*, who encounters him, and makes stout opposition, but is slain manfully fighting at the Head of his Troop, and his followers killed or put to flight. *Flancatus* having plundered the Camp, returned to the Court, but the next day left *Autun*, and went to *Cabillonum*, where he had not staid two days, but the Town hapned to be on Fire, which it seems kindled such a Fever in his Veins, that being carried by Boat down *Aratis* to *Dijon* there he died, and so had but small time as well as any real cause to rejoice in the Revenge he had taken upon his Adverary ; so went matters in *Nensfrisia* and *Burgandy*, through the Minority of the King, and the too great Power and Interest of a particular Subject. In *Austrasia* things were not in a much better posture, occasioned by the Death of *Pipin* the Major' of the Palace, who left a great mis of him to the People. He had a Son called *Grimaldus*, a Person of great Courage and very active, who for his Father's sake was in high Favour, both with Prince and Subjects, and he worthily seemed to appear as a Candidate for his place. But there was in the Court one *Otheo*, who by his Familiarity with *Sigebert* ( whose Attendant and Play-fellow he had been in his Infancy ) thought

## CHAP. I. Contemporary with the Conft. Roman Empire.

{ Clodonæus  
Sigebert  
Clotair.

to obtain the Office, and having ever before emulated and hated Grimaldus ; now he shewed it openly, and made all opposition he could against him. But the Fame and Reputation of old Pipi prevailed, and though he could not now expell him the Court, yet Grimaldus procured him afterward to be slain, and succeeded his dead Father in his Employment.

*The Thuringians  
rebel against  
Sigebert.*

120. *Grimoaldus* being fetid in his place, *Sigebert* the King ingaged himself in War upon this occasion. *Rodulphus* the Prince of *Thuringia*, having been formerly a Valet and Tributary to this Kingdom of *Austrasia*, now despised *Sigebert*, and contracting a strict League and Alliance with the *Saxons*, denied obedience. *Sigebert* taking this in great disdain, levied a strong and numerous Army, and therewith having passed the *Rhine* gave Battel to *Faro* the Captain of the *Thuringians* and quite defeated him. *Rodulphus* upon this retires to a strong Fort on the top of the Mountains, and *Sigebert* follows and closely besieges him, with intentions to take him; and put an end to the War. But a Council being called to deliberate what Course should be taken, some, and those the better fort were for storming the Castle; others, amongst whom were *Grimoaldus* and *Adelgislus*, were for delaying the thing, and drawing out the matter into a tedious Siege, and accordingly while the other party was ready to fet upon the Fort, they withdrew to their Camp, and there fortified themselves, having the King with them. *Rodulphus* all this while was not asleep, nor wanted Intelligence: By some Fugitives understanding what difference there was risen amongst the Besiegers, he took his best advantage, and fell upon them with such Execution and Succeſs, that he put them all to flight that survived the great slaughter which he made, and forced the *Austrasians* remaining with their King, to accept of his Service and Obedience as it had formerly stood, which indeed signified as good as nothing; he being in Name a Tributary, but in reality an absolute Lord and Independent of any other. After this, *Sigebert* spent the rest of his days in Peace, but wanting Children lay open to the Arts and Projects of his Major of the Palace, who perluaded him to adopt his Son *Idebert* by Name, to which he was drawn, partly by Inconfederates, and partly by that Reſpect, if not awe or fear which he bore to the Name of *Grimoaldus*. But after his Adoption was over, the King had a Son born, whom after his Grandfather he named *Dagobert*, and died not long after he had Reignen ten years. *Sigebert* being dead, *Grimoald* shaved the young Child for a Monk, and delivering him to *Dido*, the Bishop of *Poitiers*, who was travelling into *Scotland*, proclaiming and maintained his Son *Idebert* for King.

ed and maintained his Son *Idebert* for King.  
121. This was for a little time, but then the Nobility of the *Franks* taking it in high disdain to be subject to one of his Condition, rote up in Arms, and seizing on *Grimoaldus* brought him before *Clodonus* the King at *Paris*, by whom he was Sentenced to death as a Traitor, and Execution accordingly was done upon him in a severe manner. *Clodonus*, or *Ludricus*, from a Prince of good hopes fell into the great displeasure of the People, giving up himself to all Excels of Gluttony, Wine and Women, for which nothing can be pleaded in his excuse, but that toward his latter end he was crazed in his Brain, only our Authors were Church-men or Religious Persons, and upon that Account they bore him no Good Will for some Reasons, we shall discouer in their proper place. He Reigned sixteen Years, and by *Baltilde* his Wife a *Saxon* by Birth, both a beautifull and Virtuous Person; he had three Sons, *Clotaire*, *Childeric*, and *Theodeoric*, whereof the Estates proclaimed *Clotaire* the eldest King in his stead, and made his Mother Regent, or rather joynd her in the Administration with *Erckenwald* the Major of the Palace. Matters seemed now to be in a settled Condition, when to the mischief of *France*, *Erckenwald* dies, and after a great Contest, his place is conferred on one *Ebroin*, a Man of neither Conscience nor Honesty, who for a while covered his Inclinations and Designs by Disimulation, fearing the Queen, and not altogether secure of the young King's Favour. But the King dies, when he had scarcely Reigned four Years, and by his Death gave occasion to the Major of the Palace, to bring about what he had designed. The Nobility and People were for *Childeric*, the second Brother to succeed, but he found the youngest most fit for his purpose, and in despite of them preferred him to the Title: *Childeric* being sent as King into *Austrasia*, under the Tuition and Conduct of *Vulfoaldus* a Duke. But the Nobility could not swallow this Indignity. They rise in Arms, and laying hold on *Childeric*, being then in *Charen*, cut off his Hair, and depose him, and as for his Minister *Ebroin*, they rick cut off his Hair, and depose him, and as for his Minister *Ebroin*, they banish him too, and put him into a Monastery. Then send they for *Childeric* out of *Austrasia*, and with univerſal Applause they make him King. But they did not  
*Childeric* is made King.

Sect. 3. not their Work for all this: They had not made sure enough of *Ebroin*. And as for their new King, he fell into all sorts of Debauchery, and so Proudly and Tyrannically demeaned himself, as gave them cause rather to repent of what they had done, that they had made such a choice, as did not in the least answer their Expectations.

122. For some time yet things were kept from extremity by *Leodegarius* the Bishop of *Autun*, whose Wisdom and Sanctity struck some Reverence into the King, so as he ran not to such Excesses of Riot, as else he would have done; and gave such force to his Words, as made them prevalent to keep the Nobles in their Duty and Alliance. But he being quite tired out, withdrew from Court to his own See, and then, as if the Bank or Fence had been removed, a Deluge of mischiefs broke in, and bore down all before them. The Debauchery, Pride, and Tyranny of *Childeric* increased, and with them the disdain and Impatience of his Subjects. One of the Nobility *Bodilo* by Name, he caused to be tyed to a Stake, and beaten like a Slave for some frivilous matter, which put them into such a Rage that they confpired against him; but *Bodilo* prevented all other Designs, by meeting him in a Wood, as he was diverting himself with a very small Train, and there killing him; which done, he cruelly Murthered *Bilitilde* his Queen, though great with Child. *Childeric* being thus made away, they pull *Theodorick* out of his Cell, and restore him to his former Estate. *Leudefus* the Son of *Erbinoald* they make Master of the Palace, by the advice of *Leodegarius* the Bishop, and *Gerinus* his Brother, and this they doe in haste to prevent the recalling and Restitution of *Ebroin*, towards whom they had ground to believe that the King's favour still continued. But *Ebroin* resuled to render this Policy insuccesfull, and though there was not means left to out-wit them, yet to doe that by force, which Cunning and Art could not effect. He casts off his Cowl, abjures the Monastical Life, and gathering together a multitude of his Friends sets upon the Court, overtakes the flying King at *Carisacum*, after he feized his Treasures, and taking upon him his former Employment, kills *Leudefus*, tortures to death *Leodegarius* the Bishop, with *Gerinus* his Brother, and having put to Death many others, banishes the rest, and Confiscates their Estates. This done, he permits *Theodorick* to enjoy his Life with the Title, but usurps the whole Power and Authority over the Kingdom.

123. In the mean while *Austrasia* was governed by *Vulfoaldus*, who after the Death of *Childeric* had fled thither, and he dying soon after, by *Martin* and *Pipin* the Sons of *Ansgelius* a Noble man. They had not been long in Power, but they began to confider the Greatness, and demeanour of *Ebroin*, and as well for prevention of mischief intended toward themselves, as to yield to the Importunity of the *Franks*, who groaned under his Tyranny, levied an Army with resolution to bring him to Condign punishment. They marched toward him, and he being aware of their Design had made good provision for a Battel, wherein he defeated them after a great slaughter on both sides, and they fled for their Lives; *Pipin* into *Austrasia*, and *Martin* to *Laudanum*, where he fortified himself, which *Ebroin* hearing sent and invited him to Court, promising him not only his Life, but other matters of great Consequence, but could not overcome him without the Strategem, he was wont to use in all other Cases: He caused Oath to be made for his Security, upon the Relicks of some Saints, as was imagined, but there were in Truth no Relicks there, only empty Coffers; and therefore accounting this no Oath, he Circumvented *Martin*, and caused him to be Murthered with all his followers. Being now as he thought pretty secure, he had leisure to meditate what farther Course he shoud take, for gratifying his Ambition and his Cruelty. There was one *Ermenfrid* a *Frank*, who was a great Eye-fore to him, and he resolved to remove him out of the way, which being made known to him, *Ermenfrid* resuled to begin with him, and preferre his own Life by the Death of his Enemy; at the worst, he could but perish. He was so prosperous in his Enterprize, that rushing upon him when he least thought it, he easily killed him, and not well assured of impunity for the Fact, fled to *Pipin* into *Austrasia*.

124. He being Dead, the *Franks* with the King's Consent, made choice of one *Wario* to succeed him, who for securing his Employment made a strict Alliance with *Pipin*, from whom he received Hostages for his Faith and Sincerity. Thus was he secure as to matters abroad, but in his domestick Affairs was very unhappy. He had a Son called *Gislemar*, a young Man of a furious Spirit, impatent of quiet, and as undutfull as could be imagined. He takes the Reins out of his Father's hands, and will needs manage the Kingdom. He breaks the Alliance made with *Pipin*, makes

makes War upon him, brings the Kingdom into great troubles and inconveniences, Sect. 3. but for his undutfulness, and other Sins, as our Authors observe, was smitten by God Almighty, and called to give an account in another World. He being removed, his Father resumed the Government, and managing matters very calmly and prosperouly, died after some time, leaving behind him *Ausefildis* his Wife, a Woman very Nobly descended, and of very great Parts. She procures *Bertarius* her Son-in-Law to succeed him, one that was as mean in his Intellectuals as he was in his Person and Stature, to which, though the *Franks* at first contented being it seems surprised, yet afterwards considering how bad a choice they had made, they fell into Mutiny, of which *Pipin* takes advantage, and invades the Kingdom with a great Army and such success, that he defeated *Bertarius* in Battel, and forced both *Theodorick* the King and him to run for their Lives. Yet did he use this Victory moderately, for no harm do we hear that was done, but *Bertarius* not long after was slain by his greatest Flatterers, and that through the instigation of *Ausefildis*, who was ashamed he had preferred a man so despicable. He being gone, *Pipin* was sent for out of *Austrasia*, and made Major of the Palace, the whole Government of the *Franks* being now in his Hands. But he judged it most for his interest to reside in *Austrasia*, and therefore left one *Nordebert* as his Deputy with the King, and returning, of the two Sons he had by his Wife *Pletrudis*, viz. *Drogo* and *Grimaldus* he made the former being the Eldest, Duke of *Campania*.

*Childeric dies.* 125. *Theodorick* at length Dies, after he had Reigned some say nineteen years, some almost three and twenty, and others no fewer than twenty eight. He left *Autun* in *Austrasia* to his Son *Vulfoaldus*, who at first succeeded him, but died before his Father, and that through the instigation of *Ausefildis*, who was King in his stead, but died after four years, and *Childeric* his Brother succeeded in his Title being very hopefull. Shortly after *Nordebert* also leaves the World, and then *Grimaldus* the younger Son of *Pipin* is made Major of the Palace, having thus the whole power of the *Franks* in his hands, and secure at home, refolved by his Victorious Arms to make himself terrible to his Neighbours. He first set upon the *Frisii* an ancient people of *Germany*, situate upon the Ocean beyond the *Rhine*, the Prince of whom *Radbodus* a Pagan he overthrew in Battel, which done, he subdued the *Suevi* and other sorts of People, of which our Authors have not left us so much as the names, so negligent were they in Writing what their Ancestors were so industrious in performing. But the joy and triumph of *Pipin* for these publick felicities were within some time interrupted by Domestick sorrow. *Drogo* his Eldest Son departing this World without Issue, and he himself falling sick not long after, his other Son *Grimaldus* coming to visit him was Murthered by *Langarius* a Pagan and attendant on *Radbodus*. *Grimaldus* Married the Daughter of this *Radbodus* the Prince of the *Frisians*, but by her he had no Children, only one Son by a Concubine named *Theodoaldus*, whom his Grandfather procured to succeed in the Office of Major of the Palace. In the mean time *Childeric* dies, A. D. 718, after he had Reigned thirteen, some say seventeen, but others twenty years, a Prince both of good Morals and Intellectuals, however ruffed over by idlenes, and clouded by the extravagant Authority of the Majors of the Palace. He left a young Child called *Dagobert*, who succeeded to the naked and empty title of King.

*Childeric dies.* *Dagobert suc-*  
*cess.* *vit Margnarus Fridericus cum aliquo Amorum Accione. Auter virix Magnis. Lathario imperante Rahini Mauri eva-*

*126.* At length *Pipin* having been King in effect, or King of those Kings for the space of seven and twenty years and an half, as *Aimoinus* computeth, breathes out his Soul in the heats of a very acute and brisk Fever. He being dead, *Pletrude* his Wife had the courage to seize upon the Government, making use of the names of King *Dagobert* and *Theodoaldus* her Nephew the Major of the Palace. The *Franks* either surprized or to trie conclusions, for some time were silent, not disclaiming to be commanded by a Woman, and she so ordered her matters as by one means or other to keep them in obedience. Having as she imagined settled her self in the Government, she began (as well he might, being very old) to think of Death, and how to establish her power in the hands of her own Relations. Her Husband by another Wife, (rather by a Concubine,) had a Son called *Charles*, a Man excellently qualified for the greatest busines, the more therefore she had him suspected, and

*vit ex aliis nonne nomine Carolus. Virum elegantem, erigentem aqua nitens. Plurimi tamen cum spuma aperit dicunt et minus fons. Et post concepcionem que Pipini Hespolio exterrit etiam Childerandom patrem Nibelungum: qui Nibelungus frigidi chronicis nondum iussit Editum ut Operacionem in sua Hippo Bergaudie, l. 2. c. 1. tradit. Alpeis vero demum persistit, Opili in Gallie Nibelungorum Monasteriorum sicut etiam in Burgundie Canonicarum Collegium incrementum sicut etiam in Clerico Bolo, this*

Sect. 3. this jealousie added to the usual passions of a Stepmother, so far transported her as to lay hands on him, and commit him to close Custody. But thence rofe her Troubles, whence she promised herfelf the greatest security. As well as she thought the had ordered her matters with the people, and fecured their fidelity, ſuch as either had been diſobliged by her Husband, or were now tempted by their own ambition began to repine firſt, and afterward openly to declaim againſt the preſent poſture of Affairs, and in concluſion, raised ſuch tumults as pro cured a War wherein her party was born down, *Theodoald* hardly escaping with his Life from a Battel, fought in the Wood called *Cocia*. Hereupon the Victoires depriſing his Title, chufe for their Major of the Palace one *Reganfredus*, and entring into an offenſive and deſefutive League with *Ratbode the Frisian*, they invade *Auſtralia* with a great Army, wafing all things as far as the *Meufe*, while *Pleitride* keeps her ſelf cloſe in *Colone*.

127. Not long after dies *Dagobert*, after he had Reigned some five years, leaving A.D. 723.  
a Child behind him who was Nursed in a Monastery. The Franks waved him because of his Age, and gave the Title of King to one *Daniel*, a shaven Clerk, whose name for greater grace they changed into *Chilperic*. *Regansfredus* still thought it his interest to weaken, and if possible, to destroy the remainders of *Pipin*, his interest and power in *Austrasia*, and for that purpose levied another Army. But he presently found he had not to deal with a Woman only. There was a Youth sprung from the Loins of *Pipin*, who had so much courage as to bid him defiance and strenuously to maintain his Father's cause against all opposers, even *Charles* whom we lately mentioned, who proved the *Abilities* of the Franks, and the *Mars*, or rather if you will the Marteau or Hammer of all their Enemies. He had escaped out of Prison, and wound himself out of the hands and devices of *Plethrude* his Father's Wife, which having done, he could not be idle nor suffer the Enemies of his House to doe their pleasure without resistance. He raised an Army, and made Head against them, but it was his fortune to be bred a perfect Souldier, and therefore he must lay the Foundations of his Military excellencies in adversity, being in the first engagement defeated, and forced to run and shift for his Life. The Enemy incouraged by this success, and smiling at the attempts of this young Adventurer, renewed their Hostilities, and the second time carried their Victorious Ensigns as far as the *Rhine* and *Colone*, destroying all things in their passage, and forcing *Plethrude* to redeem the liberty of that City, and her own Life with a vast Sum of money. Yet did *Charles* lie in ambush, and setting upon them as they returned, looily and without all care of Order or apprehension of Danger, made great slaughter of them in their retreat, at a place called *Amblana*. This they looked upon only as a misfortune, altogether accidental, and far from the product either of Valour or good Conduct, and therefore to challice him who durst offer such an indignity to the King of the *Neustriaians*, they make new levies and oblige *Charles* to trie his fortune, and shew his proffers the second time. He offered them good terms, and defred to compose the difference betwixt the Kingdoms, but they were bent upon a Battel, as not doubting to put an end to his Life, his boldness and the War altogether. But in the Battel (which was fought at a place called *Vinciacum* the Lord's day before Easter,) they were defeated, and Victorious *Charles* after he had purfused the flying Enemy as far as *Paris*, remembering he had an Enemy at his Back, returned and besieged *Plethrude* his Stepmother, as some call her, in the City of *Colone*. Vinciacum  
Came  
back w  
Vincy, ad vi  
Sandi  
beri Camer

128. He had no passion in him, which tempted him to destroy or deface the Town, and therefore set upon it with arguments and good Language, whereby he so won upon the Inhabitants, that notwithstanding all the opposition he could make, he had it delivered up to him, and therewith his Father's Treasures which were great at his Death, but were now much increased by her perfumy and scrapping. Having dismissed her with expostulations only and rebukes, for the humour she bore of a true Stepmother, he began to consider how to establish himself, and finding his interest too weak, either to assure the Title and Government of a King both together, or the Power and Authority without such a Title in some Person, he complied with the humour of the times, and as in *Austrasia* they had such an Image they worshipped, so in *Austrasia* he set up the like Idol, giving the name of King to one *Cloatir* descended of the blond Royal, but how, and in what degree we find not expressed. The *Newstrians* now perceived they had no Fool to deal with, but so far from his Authority was but green and fresh, they concluded it was to be suppressed, before it should arise to maturity, and knowing he was not

CHAP. I. *Contemporary with the Conft. Roman Empire.* { Daniel or Chilperick,  
Theodoric Cala. 399

to be depized, they strengthned themselves with the accession of *Eudo* the Governor or Duke of *Aquitain*, who not only commanded the *Valscons* that had broke into this Countrey, but having governed the bordering Regions of the *Volca* both inferior and superiour, for the King of *Spain*, when the interest of that Crown went to wreck, had represt the infolence of the victorious *Saracens*, and now held them in his own Right. He was willing enough to engage in the Controversie, though it had been for no other reason to divert the *Franks* from the incroaching *Valscons*, and to cause them to spend their fury one upon another, joyning therefore with *Erganfredus* they began their march, *Charles* was aware of their coming, and would not so far gratifie either their Ambition, or discourage his own men, as to suffer them to pierce into the Bowels of *Austrafrica*, and make that the Seat of the deigned War, but met them and gave them Battel with such industry and Conduict, that he routed their Army, and forced them to flee to *Parvi*, whence *Eudo* carried the King *Chilperick* and his Treasures with him as far as *Orkance*, and thence by degrees returned into his own Countrey with great difficulty, *Charles* still prefiguring him at the very heels.

129. He being got safe home, *Charles* thought it not prudence by an Invasion, too much to provoke those Warlike Nations which he ruled, especially at this time, when he understood that *Cloat* whom he had advanced to the title of King was

*Claudius Aylmer* lately Deceased. That he might not want another mock King, to keep the People in good humour, (which could not be without the diversion of such a Pageant,) and to be a Rival to the like mock Prince, *Daniel or Chipperick*, he indeed thought it best to retreat, but yet in his passage thought fit to set upon *Audeganum*, whither *Erganfredus* had taken himself after the Battel. He took the City, and therein his Enemy, whom all men expected he would dispatch out of the way, not only out of desire of Glory as his *Æmulator*, but out of a principle of self preservation, and from the immediate Dictates of natural Policy. But his Heroical Disposition, and his innate Generosity and Courage, being inconsistent with all dark Clouds of jealousie and fear, he not only gave him his Life, but the Government of that

*Chilperick of  
Austria dies.*

Town wherein he took him. Shortly after this he made Peace with *Eudo*, receiving from him *Chilperick* the King, though not all his Treasures. *Chilperick* died not long after, in the sixth year of his Titular Royalty, which caused *Charles*, for that the temper of the times so required, to fetch the Son of *Dagobert* out of the Monastery of *Cala*, where we said he was bred, and to give him the Honour of King, which he bore by the name of *Theodoric Cala*, this addition for Definition <sup>age</sup> being given him from the place of his Education. He either through the arts of *Charles*, usual to all the Majors of the Palace, or his own dull and slow disposition, gave himself up to sloth and idleness, not regarding any thing tending to Government. Therefore *Charles* having now in his hands the whole power of the *Franks*, and being secure at home, cast in his mind how he might obtain glory and renown by foreign Conquests.

The *Saxons*, whom e'er they could perfect  
re-a designd Revolt, he surprized and forced to return to their former obedience. A  
duced to obedi-  
ence.  
year had scarcely pasted after this Victory when he was called into *Germany*, where  
work was made for him by *Pleitrude* his Stepmother, whom with *Sinichilde* her  
Niece, he had dismifted after the Siege of *Cologne*. Carrying with her her old no-  
vercal hatred, (which an act of so great generosity as he had fhewed toward her  
could not diminish,) into the inner parts of that Country; he stirred up the fe-  
veral Nations against him as a Balfard, who had banifhed his Father's true and legi-  
timate Wife in her old Age, to beg her Bread in a frange Land. She so moved the  
hearts of the unwarly Multitude, that *Charles* perceived there was a Storm impen-  
ding, and to drive it off from his own dore, refolved to pas the *Rhine*, and sup-  
pose, when other could ha'e no succor, himself.

The Country of *Alemans* and *Suevi*, and wafted by the *Franks*.  
prest them er they could be quite prepared. Without much labour he effected this upon the *Alemans* and *Suevi*, and passing as far as the *Danow* up the Country, wafted *Bavaria*, and besides many others, with rich spoil brought *Pletrude* and *Richisilde* away Prisoners. Such were the beginnings of *Charles*, which being Crowned with laurels, inabled and prompted him on to greater matters. *Eudo* repenting it seems of the League and Alliance he had made with him, out of confidence of his own strength, and the assistance he could procure out of *Spain*, utterly renounced it, which as soon as he perceived, judging expedition the greatest advantage in all performances, he thought it requisite to begin first, and passing the *Loire* speedily invaded *Aquitain*. *Eudo* either surprised, or to let the heat of his genius, magnificy abate, retired into the most fortified place he had, and suffered him to harafs qui ducet *Grif* the madman.

Sect. 3. the Countrey at his pleasure, which daving done, with much booty he returned home.

131. *Charles* thus trained up, and prepared for great Atchievements, a most considerable Subject shortly after presented it self, whereon he must make a trial of his Valour and Conduct; and this was a War he was forced to undertake with the victorious and terrible *Saracens*, who having subdued a vast part of *Afia* and all *Africk*, had transpornted their victorious Arms over into *Europe*, and made themselves Masters of the *Gothick Kingdom in Spain*. The Reader must know, that most Authours the ancient especially write, that *Eudo* to bervenged upon *Charles*, and to put a stop to the Carriere of his good Fortune, invited them first into *Gall*. Others affirm, that from *Spain* they invaded the *Vascons*, *Aquitain*, and the Province of *Narbon*, and having defeated *Eudo* himself, next invaded the Territories of the *Franks*, having passed *Garumna* or the *Garonne*. Considering the fiercenes of the *Franks*, having the prolixity of the *Frank* and the *Barbarian* Tongue, the Peoples, the succses they had had in *Spain*, the hopes which their good fortune, together with their numbers, (whereby they bore down all before them,) had raised in them, and the Rapacity of the Nation, we cannot but incline to their opinion, who think that they needed no invitation, but having overrun all as far as the *Garonne*, were by their own desires induced to make a trial upon the *Franks*, the rich Territories of whom they had some kind of reason to promise to themselves. However it was, that having once passed that River they took *Burdeaux*, and having burnt all Churches, as well as other things they could not carry with them, that thence they marched to *Poitiers* is agreed on all hands, where having dealt in the same fort with the Church of St. *Hilary*, they held on their course to handle in the same manner that of St. *Martin* at *Tours*. But here *Charles* put a stop to the progres of their Confidence, having raised as considerable an Army as all *Austrasia*, *Neustria*, *Burgundy*, and other parts could afford, the flour of the Nobility, as well as the strength of the Commons flocking to him; forasmuch as the Controversie now in hand, was not on their part for Glory or Dominion, but their very Lives and Fortunes, and what was dearer to them their Religion, for those Infidels having thus far proceeded, and destroyed Christian Worship, *France* is now the Wall and Rampart to stop their Current, else all Christendom must speedily be overwhelmed.

132. To what number of men his Levies amounted is utterly uncertain, those Writers who have taken upon them to be Publishers of his worth, having transmittet but a mere cantling of his Actions, and an unperfect account of his great performances to posterity. As for the *Saracens*, we are told they were no fewer fighting men than four hundred thousand, besides Women and Children, for in *France* they intended to plant themselves. Now some will have it that *Charles* and *Eudo*, by common danger were induced to an hearty accommodation of their Differences, and with joynit force to attaque this stupendous Multitude. Near to *Tours* they met them, where *Charles* so formed his Battalia, as to place his Horse, wherein his greatest hope remained, in two Wings to protect his Infantry, which else might soon have been overrun and troden down by the numbers of the Enemy. The method that was used in fighting, we cannot describe, neither the particular passages in the Battel, because we resolve not to write Romances, nor to imitate the Modern French writers, who devise Harangues of Generals to their Souldiers, and feign such stories as possibly might agree with the nature of the Enterprizes whereof they write, but have no Foundation in any Monuments of the Ancients. Tis certain *Charles* had the better which way ever. There are that tell us, that while he strugled with the confuted Multitude, *Eudo* set upon their Camp, and plundering the Baggage, and killing some of the weaker Sex and Age which there had left, the Women made such an hideous lamentation, that their Husbands hearing it, were put into such a disorder, as gave sufficient opportunity to *Charles* to doe effectual Execution upon them, and then *Eudo* coming in and falling upon the Rere, the Victory in prospet before was fully completed. *Abderaman* the King of the *Saracens* or *Moors*, (for so also the Reader must take notice they are called in Authours from *Mauritania* whence they came,) was slain and with him three hundred and seventy five thousand of his followers as some compute, who to take off from the wonder tell you, that the Battel was fought on both sides with that Animosity, that fifteen hundred *Franks* also perished, amongst whom many of the choicest of the Nobility. Time has been ingratfull in burying in Oblivion the gallant demeanour of particular Persons, but doubtless many deserved exceeding well, and *Charles* most certainly who obtained the Surname of *Martell* or *Hammer*, from this Victo-

Who are over,  
Charles the Ma-  
jor of the Pa-  
lice.

*Amminus Annal.  
Pith.*

*Pallus ex pratis  
trecentis  
& pugnatis  
et pugnatis  
auer illi credidit  
autem effidens  
literis ad Gregorium  
scandum  
Papam (Quem  
mentis fit in vita  
ejusdem regni)  
figunt  
milia  
Martianus Francis  
bodierum, an  
Hammer.*

### CHAP. I. Contemporary with the Conf. Rom. Empire. Theodorick Cala. 401

ry which indeed deserves to be eternized, (and he by it) as having prevented infinite misches wherewith the Christian World might else have been overwhelmed.

133. Yet though he had got such a Reputation by this and his other Victories, and had the whole management in his hands, did he not take the title of King, but left it to *Theodorick*, contentering himself with that of Prince, which our Authours give to him, as to his father *Pipin*. Having now secured *France* as to matters abroad, like a good Prince, he resolved to free it from all intestine Distempers, and for that purpose made a progres into *Burgundy* first, as having most need of his helping hand, where he delivered the Borders into the hands of *Lendes* or *Feudataries* for its better security, and made especial provision for the safe keeping of the City of *Lyons*, the Key of the Countrey. While he busied himself in those and the like mat-  
*Amminus lib. 4.  
53. Ec.*

*Agripin added  
to the dominions  
of the Franks.*

*The Franks  
corrected for  
Rebellion.*

*Amminus annal.  
Burdio nigratio  
et  
Radbode iste  
Frizonum fecit  
Res fuit Princ-  
cipaliter merita  
Radbode. Inde  
Belis Rabens  
idem est ac Be-  
lens bellarium  
dium nigrum  
diem nigrum.*

134. Others make this Invasion the product of the Revenge, and machinations of *Eudo*'s other two Sons *Hennold* and *Gaifer*, who while *Charles* was employed abroad, invited the *Moors* and *Spaniards*, especially those of the Province *Betica* to make an Inrode, propounding the Plunder of rich Provinces, as a reward of their Travel, and wilhed succes, not in the leafe to be doubted over a most contemptible People if compared with themselves. Whatever gave the occasion to the invasion, like a furious Tempest it bore all down before it, sparing as to Perfons neither Sex, Age, nor Condition, nor as to places, and things either Sacred or profane. They proceeded as far as *Lyons*, wasting all the Countrey far and wide, yet *Vienne* or *Vienne* by wonderfull providence escaped their fury, to which at length a stop was put by the *Senones*, the Bishop of whom *Ebb* by name fortifid himself in his City, and so cheareld up the hearts of his People, that in all Assaules they still had the better, and when the Befegers had lost many men, and were all quite tired with their frequent Attaccas, he caufed such a tally to be made, as after very great slaughter obliged them to quit their Potts, to raise their Siege, and to be gone. *Charles* had hereby the work half done to his hands, for setting upon them when they had lost many of their men, and even all their Courage, he easily expellid them out of all the Coasts of *Burgundy* and recovered *Lyons*, which done, and the Countrey settled, so as might best secure it against all future Inrodes, he returned into *France*, for so they call *Austrasia* and *Neustria*, as contradicte to the other Dominions of the *Franks*. Here he could not rest, but conceiving himself affronted by the Refractory *Saxons*, who refused to perform the accord formerly made with them, with great expedition he passed the *Rhine*, and speedily reduced them to obedience.

135. Thus prospered *Charles*, and flourished in Martial Glory, carrying Victo-  
ry along with him whithersoever he had occasion to move. But in the late action  
with the *Saracens*, his hands more than his Head (although they not very much  
neither) seem to have been employed. For the mischief arising from the Sons of  
*Eudo*, he was concerned in policy to have passed into *Septimania*, and to have cut  
off the source and Original of it by suppreffing them and their Interest, but either  
his great inclinations to the War with the *Saxons* carried him away, else some reason  
we  
F f

Sect. 3.

The Saracens again invade the Country of France.

But are beaten.

we are not able to discover, or he committed this Errour through Inadvertency, of which the wisest of Men are not always guiltless. Wherever the fault lay the Causes remaining the same, speedily produced the same effect, for Eudo's Sons, irritated with the late defeat, now drew into Confederacy *Mauricius* the Count of *Marseilles*, one who envied *Charles* his Glory and Authority, and all of them in conjunction together, invite *Ancusa* the new Moorish Governor of Spain, (who was as ambitious to propagate his Mahometan Superstition, as to enlarge the bounds of the Saracenian Power) to make a new Invasion, promising him great matters in case he were Master of the City of *Aquinon*, which they affirmed would secure the parts of *Septimania*, and the whole Province of *Narbon* unto himself. He being with them in a manner as soon as called, had by the means of *Mauricius Avinon* betrayed into his hands, and as the Rampart and Bulwark of these Countries used his utmost endeavour to fortify it. *Charles* having notice, hastened his Levies as much as he could, but resolving not to be too hasty, laid till he could form together a sufficient Army, and in the mean time to be doing and divert the Enemy, sent away *Childebrand* (his Brother or Kinsman) with considerable Forces.

136. He was not long behind them, but coming up with all speed fate down before the City. Here after some Consultation he resolved to try it by a way of Storm, as more convenient for his Designs, and suitable to his Disposition, than a tedious and lazy Siege. And his provisions of Ladders and Engins were so good, his Courage so great, and his Dexterity so successfull, that notwithstanding the Defendants made very stout opposition, yet he carried the place, having promised the Plunder of it to his Soulards, as a great means to animate them. Having here settled matters as he found convenient, he purged the flying *Saracens*, and pausing the *Rhone* invaded the late Territories of the *Goths*, wherein he besieged *Narbon* their Metropolis, and therein *Athima* the Moorish Captain, for all this tract or the *Inferior Occitania* the *Saracens* had lately subdued. Here he found he had not to do with *Aquinon*, a City situate in an Hilly Country, and very convenient to assault and batter. *Narbon* was seated in a moorish Ground encompassed when the Inhabitants pleaded with water, besides fortified with a very strong Wall, and by a most select Garrison of *Saracens*, who fought not as they had done at *Aquinon*, for Booty, Conquest and Reputation; but for their Lives and Liberties, for all that was nearest and dearest to them. *Charles* therefore perceiving he must starve them out, accommodated himself accordingly, drawing a Line round the Town, to stop up all the Avenues, and in the River placing Engins like Rams upon Stakes driven down into the bottom to hinder all passage of Vessels, and whatsoever might convey Relief to the besieged. The news of this League flew fast into *Spain*, where the *Saracens* were deeply concerned for their Friends and Relations in so great danger, and as much for the los that was threatened of so considerable a Province. They beset themselves and raise new Forces, which they commit to the Conduct of *Aminius* another Captain, who animated his men by words, presuming that the *Franks* were already tired out with the Siege, and would not abide the first onset.

137. But so far were the *Franks* from declining the Combat, and refusing to receive their first Onset, that they hastened to set on them, and were very greedy to give them Battel; For *Charles* hearing of their coming, thought it better to meet them, and by a sudden and unexpected Charge to try his Fortune, than suffer them to come up to the League, and while he strove to defend his Camp against them, to have the besieged lieve out upon his back. The main thing was secrecy, that those within the Town should not know of his Departure, and he must leave a sufficient number still to make a show of a Siege. In these points it seems he failed not, but imitating therein the glorious Adventure of the *Roman Nero*, (who besieging *Anibal*, went and defeated *Ashdrabul* his Brother, and that with such privacy and expedition, that *Anibal* knew nothing of the Adventure, till he perceived the succels by the Head of his slain Brother, cast over into his Trenches,) went as far as the River *Birfa*, and the Valley *Corbaria* to find them out. Here they joyed Barter, which was fought on both sides with Courage enough and Animosity, but *Charles* still in Fortune as well as Valour got the Day, the *Saracens* being utterly disengaged after the Death of *Anomus* their Captain. Many of them fell in the Fight, but many more in their Flight, for being to pass by Boat or swim over the River, they perished both ways, being swallowed up by the Waves, either through their unskilfulness, the violence of the Water, or the overcharging of the Vessels; the Enemy loosing no time all the while, but pressing still upon them, and

and conspiring for their destruction with that watry Element. *Charles* with great booty, and a multitude of Prisoners, triumphantly returned to the Siege of *Narbon*, which revenging on all measure imaginable, after *Athimus* had, upon report of the defeat of the succours, fled away by Sea, he easily took it with other eminent Cities of those Parts, as *Nemusam*, *Biterre* and *Agala*, as *Aminius* calls them. *Sunt oppida Velutum Nemusam, Biterre et Agala, as Aminius calls them.* *Nemusam* hadie *Nimes*, *Biterre* et *Blis*.

*terra. Befors ad Obrim fluvium & ad mare. Agatice Rhoe, bode Agi in ora & peninsula inter Araratum & Leden fluvios ijsfangs.*  
*terea. Befors ad Obrim fluvium & ad mare. Agatice Rhoe, bode Agi in ora & peninsula inter Araratum & Leden fluvios ijsfangs.*

138. It might have been imagined that this Nation of the *Saracens*, by so many Rebukes would have been deterred from any farther Attempts upon *France*, but having multitudes of People to spare, and allureed by the Riches and pleafantnes of the Country, they make another Inroad first into *Gallia Narbonensis*, their own late Possession, then take *Arles*, and in conjunction with *Mauricius*, the Count of *Marseilles*, invade *Provence*, and pierce as far as the River *Varus*. *Charles* finding himself perpetually intangled with this troublesome People, thought fit to call to his Aifliffence some foreign Prince, and having none at present more in his Eye than *Luitprand*, King of the *Lombards* in *Italy*, to him he sent an honourable Embasy with *Pipin* his Son, who was now grown up to years of Puberty, that according to the custome of Christians in those Ages, he might first cut his hair, and by such a Religious Ceremony, become his spiritual Father. *Luitprand* took this as a great honour, and sending the youth back with rich Presents, in return to the Embasy he undertook an Expedition into *Gall*. *Charles*, e'er his Arrival, had sent his Brother *Childebrand* before him to *Aquinon*, and afterward in Conjunction with the *Lombards*, marched himself; but his Fame and Reputation got thither first, and alone effected what was the designtion of so great preparations; For the *Saracens* hearing of his Approach forsook the Country and shifted away. *Mauricius* being left to himself, who, confiscent of so great Treachery as he was guilty of, both toward the *Franks*, and the Christian Religion, quitted *Marseilles*, and hid himself in the rocky and mountainous places, near the *Sea*. *Charles*, with easie enough cleared all the Country and forced the *Saracens* once more to contain themselves within the *Pyrenzeas*, which done, and all Christendom freed from the impending flattery, both temporal and spiritual, he once more returned home.

139. Shortly after this *Luitprand* being returned, took or found occasion to quarrel with *Gregory the third*, the *Roman* *Bishop*, for protecting *Traffund*, the Duke of *Splotenum*, who being his Tributary, renounced his Obedience, and fled to *Rome* for succour. Betwixt the King and the Prelate ensued an heavy War, and *Gregory* was so much put to it, that he implored the affilience of *Charles*, and conjured him by all things sacred, not to hold dearer the Friendship of the *Lombard*, than the Good of the Church, but hasten with all speed to its Relief. But whether that *Charles* distinguished betwixt the Cause of the Church, and the Mistakes and Passions of *Gregory*, or was so unmoveable in point of Honour and Generosity, as to be deaf to all incitements against his Friend and Ally, who had so well deserved of him, he was not at all moved by *Gregory* his Arguments to set one foot towards *Italy*, whatever he might doe by his Pen and Ambassadors, to recover a good Understanding betwixt the Parties. But neither had he much time to doe any thing this way; for shortly after his return from the Expedition against the *Saracens*, he fell sick of a Fever, at a place called *Verberia*, situate upon the River *Ijaca*, which cast him into a Consumption, whereof, after he had removed to *Carque d'Onne*, *Verberie* situate upon the River *Ijaca*, which cast him into a Consumption, whereof, after he had removed to *Carque d'Onne*, he died, at length he died, on the twentieth of *October*, in the fifty fifth Year of his Age, and the twenty fifth of his Rule or Domination, for his Reign we must not call it, though in effect, it was really such, yet doth not only *Aminius*, but our *Beda* also, give him the Title of *Rex*, or King, and in the Church of St. *Denis*, where he lies interred, his Tomb is to be seen thus inscribed, *Carolus Martellus Rex*, so that *Pope Gregory* may seem not to have been altogether well advised in his Letters of Addres, whereby he desired affilience against the *Lombard*, to give him the diminutive Title, and pitiful Complement of *Subregulus*. But elsewhere the same *Gregory*, with *Paul* the Deacon, and the Continuator of the History of *Gregory of Tours*, call him *Prince of the Franks*, as also *Ludovicus Pius*, the Emperor, his Great Grand-Son. Though his Title was but Prince, or Major of the *Litteris ad Hild. scriptis.*

And in their own Country receive a great overthrow.

F f f 2 the



Sect. 3. Majesty, as he himself pleased, without controll. The only thing that prolonged the continuance of this Mock Royalty, was the wonderfull Zeal and Devotion the Franks had to the Name and Lineage of *Clodowes*, accounting it the foulest Crime in Nature, to be guilty of the least Act of Disloyalty toward it. But the Name of *Clodowes* now began to decay with time, and that of *Martell* was so fresh and flourishing, as had drawn all Mens Eyes and Expectations upon it. *Pipin* his Son had the whole Power in his Hands, was in the flower of his Age, was blessed with an hopefull Issue, and by his own Archievements had got such Reputation, as this, added to his Father's Name, seemed sufficient to merit the Title of what in effect he was already possessed. Besides the whole Nobility, both Churchmen and others, were, by reason of their Preferments, obnoxious to his Family.

144. These Considerations joined with the Natural temper and Inclination of Mankind to Honour, put him upon the resolution of affirming the Title, and disposing some other way with him that at the present bore it, who, that he might be punished, must needs beforehand be made guilty. He inveighs against his sloth, and the meanness of his Capacity, insists upon the grand disproportion there was betwixt the great Name he bore, and the Abilities he had to discharge the Duty, and prescribes it as a thing which mightly reflected upon the Nation of the *Franks*, to be thought to have such a Ruler as was not in any tolerable capacity to govern himself. The truth is, these Kings did not govern, neither possiblly had abilities to doe it; but who was in the fault, whether themselves, or their Grand Ministers, the *Majors* of the Palace, (the Interest of whom it was to have them idle and enervated in their minds,) there needs not much scrutiny to determine. But it's easie to trample upon such as are already down. *Pipin* infinuates these things into those Noblemen, of whom he could be most confident, and they into the People, and at length it is generally affirmed, that it is most convenient for the safety and grandeur of the Nation, that his should be the Title to whom already belonged, by Custome and Usage, the whole Power and Jurisdiction. This something satisfied their Consciences, as to the Allegiance they ought to the Houle of *Meroneus*, that little more damage could hereby accrue to *Childeric*, who would be despoiled of nothing but a vain and empty Title; and it was beaten into their Ears, that *Pipin* himself was descended of the same Houfe, by *Biltilde*, the Daughter of *Clotarius* the Great, married to a certain Duke, *Aribert*, or *Arbert*. But to gain complete satisfaction and countenance to the thing, Ambassadors are sent to *Zachary* Bishop of *Rome*, to lay open these matters before him. He, without hearing the other Party, adjudgeth *Pipin*'s pretensions to be very good, and sends order to *Boniface*, the Bishop of *Mentz*, to anoint him King accordingly, which was done at *Soffons*, and he was carried out upon a shield, as the ancient custome was, unto his Throne; *Childeric* being shaven, and thrust into a Monastery. So here the Line of the *Meroningi*, or of those that descended from *Meroneus*, receiveth its period, in the tenth Year of *Constantinus Copronymus*, and the tenth of *Zachary* the Roman Bishop. A. D. 751.

But is soon after  
forsaken by *Pipin*,  
Major of the Pa-  
lace.

*Fuit autem Eli-  
dericus dux destrux-  
is in Mansfeldum  
Berlineum; si in  
Fontanellum; si in  
Marchiamen & Berrienensi Chronicis legitur.*

## S E C T. IV.

From the Ruine of the Royal Family of the Meroningi, and the Rise of that of the Carlovingi, to the supreme Height of its Grandeur.

From the Promotion of Pipin, the Son of Charles, to the Isle of King, to the Advancement of Charles, the Son of Pipin, to that of Emperour, by the same means.

The space of fifty Years.

1. *T* His second Family which from the famous Archievements of *Charles Martell* is known by the addition of his Name, was yet joined, as we said, in Affinity with that of *Meroneus*. For *Clotaire the Great*, the Father of *Dagobert the First*, married his Daughter *Biltilde*, or *Biltilde*, to Duke *Aribert*, to whom she bore a Son *Vide Joan. Til-  
lis in Comitatu-  
re Arbovallis  
lib. De Rege  
Pipino Et Maj-  
oribus ipsius. Vi-  
de etiam Remm  
Pipini Regis apud  
Auberon Mal-  
muni in Comitatu-  
re Bolo. In  
huius ex Gene-  
alogia Regum ac  
Principum, Ann  
1251 scripta,  
quoniam titulus Ge-  
nealogie est Ar-  
matus, & Pipinus  
primum editio.  
Vide et Notitiam  
Ecclesi. Bile.*

*Pipin Regis apud  
Auberon Mal-  
muni in Comitatu-  
re Bolo. In  
huius ex Gene-  
alogia Regum ac  
Principum, Ann  
1251 scripta,  
quoniam titulus Ge-  
nealogie est Ar-  
matus, & Pipinus  
primum editio.  
Vide et Notitiam  
Ecclesi. Bile.*

*Ansegisus*, or *Archibus*, *Arnold*, or *Clodulf*, Bishop of *Metz*, (who lies buried in *Lay*, a Village of *Lorrain*, but one mile distant from *Nancy*) and *Galitus* (or *Galchito*, or *Walchito*, or *Wandregisil*, or *Walgesil*, for all these names we meet with) the Father of *St. Vandril* (some call him *St. Wandregisil*) the Abbat. *Few-  
dulf* begot *Martin* Duke of *Austria*, who was killed by *Ebroinus*, the Major of the Palace of *Neufstra*, and *Pipin* surnamed *Craftus*, or the *Gras*, who by *Joane* his Wife had St. *Gertrude*, the Abbess of *Nivel*, founded by her Mother, besides seven Sons, and a Daughter, married to *Ansegisus*, by some called *Begga*, and by others *Begga*, with the addition of Saint, for this is the that founded the Order of the *Mo-  
nasteries* which the her self had built. *Grimaldus*, the Son of *Pipin the Gras*, cal-  
led also *Laudens*, being Major of the Palace of *Austria*, in the Reign of *Sigebert the Second*, endeavouring to dispossess *Dagobert* his Son of his Inheritance, that he might prefer his own Son *Idebert* to the Kingdom, was justly put to death, and *Idebert* was slain in the Reign of *Ludovicus*, or *Clodowes* the First. Therefore did *Ansegisus* succeed to *Pipin* his Father-in-law, after he was slain by *Godamus*, or his little Son, as they called him, to whom he was Godfather, and whom he had pre-  
ferred to the greatest Honours.

*Sed pro Godam erit legendum Golfin, fratre Godam, ita enim appellatur Testimoniis quibusdam ille qui obscurus est sacerdos baptizans.*

2. *Ansegisus* son *Begga* begot *Pipin* the Second, (from the place of his Birth it's probable, viz. *Harijall*, or *Herjall*, near *Leige*, where was a stately Palace in the time of *Charles the Great*) surnamed *Herjallensis*. This *Pipin*, by *Pletrude* had two Sons, *Drogo*, or *Druides*, who by *Asconde*, the Daughter of *Warento*, the Prefect of the Palace of *Neufstra*, had *Hugo*, who in his Father's Lifetime was Major of the Palace of *Neufstra*, and died in the Mock Reign of *Childebert the Third*, through his Wife's jealousy, and the carelessness of *Tierdalde* his Son, who succeeded his Grandfather *Pipin* in the Government, but was hindred by *Ermansredus*. *Pipin*'s second Son by *Pletrude* was *Grimoldus*, and by *Alpaida*, or *Elpida*, his Concubine, he had a Son called *Charles*, and surnamed *Martell*, besides another named *Childebrand*, begotten, as *Thy* thinketh, of another Concubine, though *Aimoinus* calls him *Germanus*, or full Brother. *Charles Martell* had four Sons and a Daughter by *Sigibert*, called *Lantadra*, and by *Aimoinus Hiltrade*, who being

*Quem Godamus  
ut vocant filios  
hoc est ab ipso ob-  
tulerat facio hys-  
torni, scilicet Till-  
ius.*

*Mo-*

## S E C T.

Sect. 4. stolen by *Odilo* or *Bacilo* bore him two Sons *Tassilo*, who succeed him in the Title and Office of Duke, by the favour of his Uncle *Pipin*, and afterward ingratefully rebelled against him, and his Son *Charles* the Great, and *Grodogand* Bishop of *Metz*, who founded the Abby of *Gorza* in *Lorraine*. The four Sons of *Charles* were *Carloman*, *Pipin* the little, and by some Surnamed *Pius*, *Aegidius* or *Remigius* the Arch-Bishop of *Rouen*, and *Grypho* begot on his Concubine *Nachilde* the Niece of *Odilo* Duke of *Bavaria*. *Tilly* thinks probable, that the Arch-Bishop and *Grypho* were Balfards, because in the Partition of *France*, they were left out by their Father, so great uncertainty is there both of Names and other Circumstances in these Genealogies. To be sure *Pipin* after the Recess of *Carloman* became Master of the Kingdom of the *Franks*, and at length dared to take the Title as well as the thing, being thereto encouraged by his good Friend the Bishop of *Rome*: And so much of the Pedegree of the Kings of that second Line, from *John Tilly*, which how far it agrees with the former History the Reader is to consider, though for the main he cannot but approve it.

He invades  
*Saxony*.

*Pipin* having thus assumed the Title of King, and rejected that of *Major* of the Palace, after he had held it about ten Years from the Death of his Father, with a great Army invaded *Saxony*, either to take Mens minds and Tongues off from the late Revolution, or to let them see that he very well deserved the Title; and the expedition succeeded according to his Wishes, the *Saxons* being beaten at the River *Vesera* notwithstanding they made stout opposition. By the late Encouragement and Affisance which Pope *Zachary* had afforded him, in obtaining the Crown he had contracted such a Debt to that See, as very difficultly could ever be discharged; for though *Zachary* died soon after, yet the Bishop of *Rome* being alive again under the Name of *Stephen*, exacted it as his proper Creditour. It happened that a Quarrel arose, betwixt *Aifulphus* the *Lombard* and him ( upon what account in the History of that Kingdom, we shall more nearly enquire ) which came to that height, that the King having taken *Ravenna*, and banished the Exarch out of *Italy*, feised on *Narnia*, and brought his Army before *Rome* it self. *Stephen* was at his Wits end, not knowing what Course to take, but remembering how his Predecessor had obliged *Pipin*, he sends to him, desiring he would, as the phrase was, *Undertake the Protection of the Prince of the Apostles*, and by some means or other make way for his speedy coming to his Presence. *Pipin* sends his Ambassadors and gets the Bishop out of *Rome*, *Aifulphus* being perfidiously for the present to forbear Hostility, and to *Pipin* he comes, who as he was obliged receives him with very great Reverence, intending to make farther use of him, for strengthening that lately received Title, which by the means of *Zachary* he had first procured.

*Pipin* having thus procured the greater Shew of Religion, he is lodged in the Monastery of *St. Denis* near to *Paris*, where he falls dangerously sick; but by the Procurement of *St. Peter*, *St. Paul*, and that Saint is restored again to Health, for some notable end, some great Work doubtless to be performed. He was so much in the favour of those Saints as to obtain his Life and Health, and in so much esteem farther with them, as by Revelation to understand that it was by their means, and special Procurement; what Credit therefore ought not to be given to such a Person, who in any thing of the greatest Consequence could not be supposed, but to be indued with an infallible Spirit. After his recovery, he sends for *Pipin*, his Wife, and two Sons, *Carloman* and *Charles* to be present at the Consecration of a new Altar, which he had erected as a Monument of his Gratitude to those Saints, and this must not be in private, but a great Concource of People must be admitted. There, and then takes he occasion solemnly to anoint and inaugurate afresh *Pipin* for King, together with his two Sons, and *Bertrude* his Wife for Queen; openly pronouncing him a true and Legitimate King, his Sons Heirs of his Kingdom, and that it was utterly unlawfull for the time to come for the *Franks* to chuse any but of his Lineage. *Pipin* we are told endured this, good Man, with Patience, having been formerly anointed by *Boniface*, and submitted to it out of Prudence, knowing that the Opinion of the great Sanctity of the Man, and the mighty Reverence that was born to his high place and Dignity, would be as a Religious Curb upon the People to restrain them from any Attempt, which might be Inconsistent with his Royal Interest.

Is anointed King  
by Pope *Steph.*

5. But being paid his Wages before-hand, he could not be so unjust as not to doe his Work, and therefore an Assembly of the *Franks* is held, to deliberate upon the War to be made against the *Lombards*. Here the matter found great opposition; for

A Confusion  
about the War  
with the *Lom-*  
*bards*.  
Sect. 4.  
*Eginhatius.*

for many of the Nobility considering what danger might arise from such a Quarrel, declared that *Charles Martell* his Father out of his great Wifedom, and forecast had refused to undertake the Expedition against *Luitprand*, and they plainly declared, that in *Cafe* he was refolved to make a War he should go alone for them, for they would instantly depart to their Housess. But there was a greater rub than this in the way, which had not been thought of, and with much greater difficulty could be removed. *Carloman* the Monk, and Brother of *Pipin* lived at this time in the Monastery of *Casnum* within the Dominions of *Aifulph* the *Lombard* King, who bethinking himself what Service he might do him in this *Cafe*, sent to the Abbat and Commanded him to send his Monk into *France* to his Brother, to dissuade him from assisting *Stephen*, vowing else to fire the Monastery over his Head, and utterly to destroy the Neft and Harbour of so many Traitors. *Carloman* by Virtue of his Holy obedience is bound to comply with the Abbat, and into *France* he comes, where he is no doubt lovingly received by his Brother. He lays the Law forely to him, and both to him and the Assembly affirms it, to be a point of the greatest Wickednes for the sake of *Stephen* to have War made upon so many Saints. And *Stephen* himself seemed to be wonderfully afflicted with the thought of War, like a pious Bishop, considering that he was the Father of all, as well the Prodigal as the obedient Children, and therefore with the greatest Reuentiment imaginable, the good Man abhorred the Effusion of Christian Bloud.

6. But *Pipin* having already tasted of Royalty, his Appetite was thereby inflamed with a greater desire of Honour and Dominion, and having had hitherto very good Succes in *France*, by dealing with the Bishop of *Rome*, should his Arms prove Succesfull against the *Lombards*, he knew not what great use he might make of his Friendship in *Italy*, for laying the Foundations at least of more Empire and Glory, to his Posterity in the time to come. He resolves to undertake the War at any Rate: The good old Man he persuades at length to admit of Consolation, fearing this Expedition would tend to the Etablissement of the Right of the *Prince of the Apostles*, and the Advancement of the Church. His Brother *Carloman* he permits not to return into *Italy*, but when he would needs retire from Court, persuades him to live in the Monastery at *Vienne*, where the Religious Prince died not long after, and so put an end to all difficulties, which had arisen on his part. There wanted nothing now, but to make the Nobility swallow the Pill, which at length was effected by the guild of Religion, an Holy and meritorious War, being of so great moment wit the King, that he vows he will go in Person, though it were with no more than one or two Attendants. He affirms, he was not biassed by private Refpects, but was ingaged for the good of the Church, to which he promised to deliver the Exarchate and *Pentapolis*, as soon as he had recovered them by Arms, which he confirmed by a publick Instrument, Signed and Sealed by him and his Sons, and solemnly sworn to. And to give clear and full Satisfaction, as well to the Bishop as others, he sent once or twice to *Aifulph*, offering him Peace upon such Terms as he might well assure himself he would not accept.

7. Now nothing but the sound of Trumpets, and the Neighting of Horses, and the rattling of Armour is to be heard: The Nobility are ashamed to desert so meritorious a Cause, and the Bishop is at last perfused to accept of *St. Peter's Patrimony*, though redeemed by the price of Christian Bloud. *Pipin* marches toward the *Alpes*, and *Aifulph* being deaf to such Propositions as come out of *France*, prepares as effectually as he can for Resilence. But *Anafatius* the Popes Library Keeper, here makes him a Fool as well as a Knave; to be guilty of so great an Overfright, as to leave open the passages of these Mountains, which he might easily have feized, and so barred to the *Franks* all Acces into the Country. He adds that perceiving too late his Errour, he sent multitudes of armed Men against them, but they easly mastered them, and broke into *Italy* with that violence, that *Aifulph* himself who beheld the fight, concluded they were not to be resifted, and putting Spurs to his Horse, never stopt till he came to *Pavia* the Metropolis of his Kingdom. But *Aimoinus* writes, that the Straits of the *Alpes* were before-hand feized, and guarded by the *Lombards*, and he ( or some other, for it's evident, that the Book that goes under his Name, was composed by several Authours ) is so faithfull to his Countreymen, as to give them the full Honour of the Enterprise, which the more difficult it was the greater must needs be the Conduct of the General, and the Courage of his Souldiers. He tells us, they were constraing to fight in a place most difficult of Acces to them, and most advantageous for their

Sect. 4. their Enemies, whom yet they beat off from their Posts, made them run away, and with great Glory, and some prey became Masters of their Camp. This Victory thus obtained, *Pipin* resolved to follow it on, and marching to *Pavia* there besieged *Aistulphus*, who bethinking himself what advantage the *Franks* had against him, the *Alpes* now lying open to all the Inroads they would please to make, resolved to grant such terms as they should be obliged to accept, and cut off all their Pretences. These were to do Justice to the See of *Rome*, in order to which he swore to give up the Exarchate and *Pentapolis* to *Stephen*, and in Confirmation of the Agreement, delivered up into the hands of *Pipin* forty Hostages.

8. *Pipin* hereupon returned home, after whose departure the Quarrel betwixt the King and the Bishop revived, and returned to that height, that *Aistulph* refused to give up the places formerly mentioned, and in Conciliation went and laid Siege to *Rome* itself, as unjustly also detained from him. *Stephen* closely besieged, and not knowing of any help nearer at hand, writes and sends once more into *France*, giving to the King thereof, his Sons and Nobility mighty good Words, and perforating St. Peter and the Blest Virgin with melting Arguments inviting them, to take upon them the defence of the Church, promising them in recompence not only Happiness here, but also in that World which is to come. *Pipin* was not deaf to this Charmer, but raising an Army with speed, returned into *Italy*, but in his way was encountered by an Ambassadour sent from *Constantinus Copronymus* the Emperour, who expostulated with him for endeavouring to deliver the Exarchate, and *Pentapolis* into the hands of the *Roman* Bishop, to whom they did not at all belong, but were the Inheritances of the Empire, and had been Governed by Deputies or Exarchs, for the space of no less than two hundred Years. He put off the Ambassadour with Words, professing a deep Sense of Religion, and a Zeal for the Church, and he followed on his Journey; which underfoot by *Aistulph* he broke up his Siege, and got him again to *Pavia*, where being besieged as formerly, he perceived there was no way to cut off the Pretence of the Invasion of *Italy*, and the Ruine of his Kingdom from the *Franks*, but by delivering up the places in Contention; which he really did, and so sufficient Order being taken therein, and *Pipin*'s work being done at present nothing farther remained, but to return home.

He makes another Journey with his Army, and sees it done.

He gives another defeat to the Saxons.

Stirs in Aquitain.

9. After his return, he held an Assembly of the Estates at *Compendum*, from which some idly Divine the Original of the *French* Parliaments. Thither came *Tassilo* his Nephew the Duke of *Bavaria*, with the chief of his Nobility, and did Homage to the King according to the *French* Custome, as *Aimoinus* Words it, which what it was, we shall Discourse in another place more proper to a Disquisition about the Nature of *Fœderataries* and *Vassals*. *Pipin* much satisfied with this Honour done him by his Nephew, marched against the *Saxons*, who being Idolaters, and bearing minds truly *German*, or impatient of the Yoke, continually rebelled. He pierced far into their Country, and though they oppofed him to the utmost, constrained them once more to beg Peace, which they were to purchase by a yearly Tribute of three hundred Horfes to be sent to the Annual Assembly of the Estates, a means both to furnish the *Franks* with War, and to weaken them by a constant Diminution of the numbers of so fit a Creature for that Service. Thus succeeded his Projects which way soever he turned him, when new Work was made for him in *Aquitain* through the differences that were risen betwixt *Gaiffar* his Vaffal the Duke of that Country, and the Church-men, who complained that he dealt violently and injuriously with them, not suffering them to enjoy those Possessions, which the Bountiful and Piety of good Christians had conferred on their Predeceſſors. He anſwered to theſe Criminations, that *Aquitain* having been lately held by the *Saracens*, and before that by the *Vifigots*, that were *Arians*, the bounds of the Inheritances and Possessions, as well of the Eccleſiaſticks as private Persons, were confuted and uncertain, that it was a difficult matter to diſpoſeſſ those who had long been ſeized of Contentious Titles, which they affirmed to be very good, and that it was better to let things refit as they were, than out of Countenance to ſome extreme Pretensions to imbrail the State with ſuch a multitude of Suit as muſt needs follow, if a Door ſhould ever be opened to this violent and conceited ſort of People.

10. *Pipin* not ſatisfied with this Anſwer, thought that a Convenient opportunity was offered, for abating the height of *Gaiffar* and his Adherents, and raiſing a very conſiderable Army invaded *Aquitain*, *Gaiffar* was ſurprized, as not having imagined the King would either have brought ſuch a Force, or uſed ſuch Expedition, and found himſelf obliged to try all means poſſible to fend him back; therefore he promised

*Mare Francia  
in manus Regis  
Vassallorum man-  
nibus suis feme-  
nitum commen-  
derunt: fiducia tamq[ue]  
Regis Pipini  
quam filii eius  
Carols & Carlo-  
manno jure uran-  
do supra Corpus  
fædi Dimplo  
promissi, &c.  
*Liber. 4. c. 6. 4.**

promised to restore the Church-Lands to thoſe, to whom of Right they belonged, and for that purpoſe gave up into the hands of *Pipin*, two Hostages of the prime Nobility of the Country. The Satisfaction being adequate to the complaint, *Pipin* could not but ſeem ſatisfied, and receiving the Hostages returned back to *Carifcam*, where he wintered and kept his *Christmafs* and the *Easter* following. In Summer, he held the Assembly of the Estates in a Village called *Duria*, whither News was brought him, that *Gaiffar* notwithstanding his Oath, and the delivery of the Hostages, to be revenged for the former Invasion of his Territories, had made an Excursion into *Burgundy* as far as *Chalon*, which troubled him the leſs, becauſe the Estates being now met together, he could have the better, and more ſpeedy Afſtence for another Expedition.

*Pipin* makes  
three expedi-  
tions into *Aqui-  
tain*.

*Burbon farnon-  
me le Noble*  
*Chantecler, Cler-  
mont d'An-  
vergne Limous-*  
*Bourges le le-  
clas teau de  
Tauris.*

And another expedition he made, wherein ſome pla-  
ces he took by Force, as *Borbon*, *Cantilla* and *Clarus Mons*, and others yielded  
themselves, especially ſuch as belonged to the *Arverni*. All that he found uitori-  
tized he burnt in his paſſage as far as *Lemonices*, and then returning home kept his  
*Christmafs* and *Easter* in the ſame place, where he had celebrated theſe Felivals  
the Year preceding. But all the while his mind ran upon the Infolence of *Gaiffar*,  
which he thought he had not yet ſufficiently chaffiſhed, and therefore the Summer  
following he made a third Voyage into *Aquitain*, where he took the City *Bururi-*  
cum with the Cattle *Toarcum*.

11. *Gaiffar* perceiving he was not able to keep ſo many places, either for that they wanted due Fortifications, or he Men to Garrison them, or because he durſt not truſt the Inhabitants, diſmantled several of them, thinking to render them uileſs to the Enemy, not perceiving that hereby he gave him a notable Advantage. For thoſe that were moſt tenable, *Pipin* cauſed to be repaired and Garrifoned by his own Men, and chafing all that belonged to the Duke out of the Country, lying betwixt the *Loire* as far as *Limoges*, he returned to *Crey*, where having paſſed *Christmafs* and *Easter*, in the Spring following he was fit for another Voyage. He appointed the Rendezvous to be at *Niverne*, and by that way entered *Aquitain de Nevers*, ſtroking all with Fire and Sword he met with as far as *Cadurcia*; which done, he *Cabot*, returned to *Limoges*, where he gave ſeveral Lands to the Churches, and to that of St. *Martial* the *Bannum Aureum*, he had taken from *Gaiffar*. In this laſt Expedition *je croi la han-*  
*Tassilo*, who as his Vaſſal had all this while ſerved under his Uncle, pretended In-  
diſposition of Body, and getting him home afterward, denied to pay that Service,  
which was due to him. That put *Pipin* to a ſtand, not knowing what Refolution  
to take, for ſhould he go about to chaſte the Temerity of his Nephew. *Gaiffar*  
might recover all again in *Aquitain*, and render uileſs the Travel of ſo many  
Years; and ſhould he march to perfect his Work in this Country, he feared an In-  
vasion from the *Bavarian* Duke, who had newly married the Daughter of *Desfe-*  
*ons* King of the *Lombards*, and he knew not what farther Alliance with the *Sax-*  
*ons*, and others of his Neighbours he had contracted.

12. He was so diſtracted in his thoughts, that after an Assembly of the Estates held at *Worms*, he refolved neither to march one way nor other, but keep himſelf at home, as appears from *Aimoinus* he did the Year alſo following, wherein he held the uſual Assembly at the Village *Attinacum*, and wintered at *Aquigranum*. But *Sigebert* writes that this Year he made another Expedition into *Aquitain*, and Con-  
*querens Agennum, Petrogorica et Engolisma* with almost all the Country; and *Fau-*  
*cher* the Prefident it ſeems had a Copy which hinted farther, that he made one *Apto* his Arch-Chaplain Bishop of *Engolisma*, which promotion of his, he thinks might poſſibly give occation to the Privilegi, challenged ſtill by the Bishops of that place, that as ſoon as the Kings ſet Foot in *Aquitain* they are chief Chaplains, which yet *Lewa* the younger would not grant to *Lambert*, the Bishop of the fame See, who when the King was in *Germany* laid claim to it. To be ſure the Year following, *Pipin* being inflamed with a deſire of ending this War, commanded his Forces to meet at *Orleance* whence he marched again into his Enemies Country, and in his way cauſed the Caſtle of \* *Argentomagna*, which *Gaiffar* had demolifhed, to be built up again, and having both therein, and in the City of *Bourges* procured Garrifons of his *Franks* to be placed to hold theſe parts of *Aquitain* in Subjection, he returned and celebrated the Nativity of our Lord at *Salmoniacum*, and at *Gen-*  
*tiliacum* kept his *Easter*, where he cauſed a Synod to meet, to debate ſome Qua-  
ſtions riſen about the Bleſted Trinity, and the Worshipping of Images.

\* *Argenton*,  
*Salmoniacum*,  
*Genitiliacum*,  
*offre Mont-Saint-  
geron chez leau  
prochain & ar-  
pertenant à l'Eve-  
que de Langres.*  
*Gentiliacum l'on  
peſeſſe le valle-  
ge vois de Pa-  
ris portant ce.*

13. *Sigebert* tells us, that in this late Expedition *Remitanianus* the Brother of *Eudo*, and Uncle of *Gaiffar* was taken Prisoner, and for his often turning, ſometimes to his Nephew and ſometimes to the King, was hanged by his Command upon a Gibbet.

**Sect. 4.** Gibbet. Now also the report of his Success was so strong amongst the *Saracens*, that *Amynmon* their King in *Spain* sent an Honourable Embassy with great Presents, desiring a Peace and Alliance with him. Winter being over, he once again renewed the War, and resolved to make one Expedition more into *Aquitain* by the way of *Narbon*, which he took with *Toulouse* and *Arles* and many other places, and then returned to *Vienne* to refresh his Army; which having done for sometime, not willing to loose the latter end of the Summer, he again marched to *Bourges*, and there held an Assembly of the Estates, as some Authors say, in the Field according to the ancient Custom of the *Franks*. Thence marched he as far as the River *Garonne*, and having taken many Forts and Retirements, where the Enemy had fortified himself, he returned back to *Bourges*, and there wintered. As soon as the Season of the Year would permit, he hastened to perfect his Conquest and came to the City \* *Santionica*, where the Mother and Sister with a Niece of *Gaiffar* were presented to him, whom Commanding to be Civilly treated, he returned to the *Garonne*, and coming to a place called *Montes*, there *Eronicus* came in to him with another Sister of *Gaiffar* supposed to be his Wife. Having done some few more Exploits he returned, and in a place called *Fels* kept his *Esfer*, which Fesfival being finished he marched back to *Santionica*, and there leaving his Wife and Family, resolved before his return to find out *Gaiffar*, who had put him to so much trouble which he did in the Territories of *Petragoricum*, and having slain him in Battel, or otherwise it's not very certain how, his Work being done, he returned thither from whence he had set forth.

14. Such is the general Account of this War, which is given us by very good Historians. But as to the particular Nations or People, that were engaged, *Fredegarius* by Name mentions the *Vascons* or *Wascans*, who, when *Pipin* marched the *Lus* <sup>Ad Ann. 605.</sup> *Gardem* <sup>Prædictis res.</sup> *Pipini* <sup>ultra ad</sup> *Garamentum ac-* <sup>teffit, ibi Water-</sup> *de Provence, ror* <sup>erat ne Scagulae</sup> *rufin aperte le* <sup>blana per nos</sup> *ancientis* <sup>Francis.</sup>

Having slain  
Gaiffar Duke of  
*Aquitain* in  
miles the War.

The *Vascons* sub-  
mit to him.

*Vascons* <sup>qui ultra Garonne Com-</sup> *morantur*, *The Vascons who dwell beyond the Garonne*, is hinted, that this sort of People had at this time Conquered and seized on that part of *Aquitain* called *Novempopulania*, which is bounded by the River of *Garonne*. This is confirmed by Testimony of an ancient Author, of the Life of *Ludovicus Pius*, who reckoning up the memorable things performed by *Charles the Great*; and making mention occasionally of the *Garonne* lets fall this Expression, that, *It bounded those of Aquitain and the Vascons*. That they now inhabited that Country, we do little doubt, but at what time they should make this Invasion and Conquest is the great Question. An ancient Parchment of the great Church of *Auver*, written by a Priest thereof, near six hundred Years since, relates that the *Vascons* in the days of *Clodonus* the First, left the Mountains, and invading *Aquitain*, having slain those Counts and Vilcouns which that King there had placed, put others in their Room. *Elias Vinetus* would have this to have happened about the Year 590; but his, and the Conjecture of the Priest are both built upon weak Foundations, for in the Reign of *Dagobert* that they inhabited yet about the *Pyreneans*, and were not descended into the Plain, is evident from several ancient Authors, particularly from the *Chronicon of Fredegarius*, the Life of St. *Amidius* written about the same c. 78. time, and *Iudorius Hispanensis* who lived in the days of that said King. Some there are who Fancy that they were invited by *Eudo* the Duke of *Aquitain*, and placed by him in that Region now called *Gascogne*, but without any Ground at all, upon frivolous Suggestions. The Author of the Life of St. *Julian* the Bishop of *Bearne*, refers this bold Attempt of the *Vascons* to the time of *Ebroinus* the Major of the Palace, when, as he faith, they and other Neighbouring Nations made choice of one *Lupus* for their Prince, who did much mischief to the Kingdom of the *Franks*. This probably is that *Lupus* who about the Year 670, afflited *Paul* against *Wamba* the King of the *Goths*, as St. *Julian* the Archbishop of *Toulouse*, hath left recorded in the History which he writ concerning the said *Wamba*.

15. Some there are, who will have this *Lupus* Father to *Eudo* the Duke: Others will have him not the Son of this, or any other *Lupus*, but of *Bertrand* the Duke of *Aquitain*. All these are mere Conjectures founded upon no material Arguments, and therefore no otherwise than as such are to be regarded. We may conclude safely yet, that in the latter time of the first Race of the Kings, when the

Valour

## CHAP. I. Contemporary with the Conf. Roman Empire. Pipin.

413

The time of  
their coming  
thither.

Valour of *Clodonus* his Posterity was degenerated, when the Majors of the Places contended amongst themselves, and seeking to establish their Power at home, little regarded what was done upon the Borders, that then the numerous and Courageous *Vascons* took the Advantage, and pouring in themselves into *Novempopulania*, there fixed; the Officers of these parts being not able to resist them, or content to let them alone, on Condition, that in these Turbulent times they might have their Governments secured to them. This we are apt to believe from the *Cafe de Eudo* \* *Petrus Chilensis* and his Successours, *Hunald*, and *Waifar* or *Gaiffar*, who in these great Wars they <sup>versus Novempulana, que vulgo</sup> managed against *Charles Martell*, *Pipin*, and *Charles the Great*, seldom made use of any other Soulards than the *Vascons*, to the chief of which Nation they committed their principal Towns and Castles, as appears sufficiently from the Appendix of *Fredegarius*, the ancient Annals published by *Pithanus*, *Marquardus*, *Fredegar*, <sup>† In Adua ep. Lib. 3. c. 45.</sup> *Andrew du Chevre*, and others. Now that from these *Vascons* the Country was called \* *Gascogne* or *Gascony*, & being changed into *G* (as is ordinary in other Words) is confessed by † *Elias Vinetus* *Santo* lately mentioned, as also by the Natives of that Country, as *Belleforet*, \* *Scipio*, *Dupleix*, and † *Joseph Scaliger* himself, although he seems to have erred in this point, that he thought them placed in this Country partly by *Pipin* after his Conquest of them, and afterward by *Ludovicus Pius*.

16. But these People seated themselves in *Novempopulania*, a part of *Aquitain*; we are therefore obliged to tell the Reader first, what is meant by *Aquitain*, and then by *Novempopulania*. The Name of *Aquitain* Originally, and properly was given to that Tract of Ground lying about that City, which the French at this day call *Acs*, the *Gascone Dacs*, by *Ptolemy* named *Aque Augstæ*, by *Vibius Sequentia Tarbelia*, in *Bentingers Itinerary Table*, *Aquis*, and *Agnis* in the *Basque* language. It took this Name from the hot Waters issuing out of the Earth, which were famous in the times of the *Romans*, as appears from those stately Marble Seats, yet to be seen on the Brink of the Fountain, as *Vinetus* relateth. The frequent Concource out of *Italy* to these Waters, after the *Romans* had subdued the Country, in probability gave occasion to the building of it, for that it was the Work of the *Romans*, we are persuaded not only from the Larine Name, but the Aqueduct and several others of such like Monuments yet remaining. That this Country was in the Possession, and Power of that People long before the coming <sup>\* De bello Galli. 1. 1. c. 20.</sup> of *Casar* into *Gall*, is both evident from \* himself, and from another † *Testimony*: I. <sup>† Livii epitom. 1.</sup> mean that which is terminated by the River *Garonne*, the Ocean and the *Pyrenæan* <sup>93.</sup> Mountains, that part especially lying upon the Sea and the Hills, and probable it <sup>¶ Vide Plin. I. 4.</sup> is, that then this received the Name of *Aquitain*, which by degrees was c. 17. & 19. Communicated to all those Parts that lie beyond the *Garonne*, as appears from <sup>¶ Lib. 1. de bello</sup> *Pliny*; who farther informs us, that before this Region had this Name of *Aquitain*, *Gallico* I. 14. & 18. c. 5. it was called *Arecomica*, or *Armerica* rather, as others read it with better Reason, because from *Casar* it appears, that all the Cities of *Gall* which lay upon the Sea, were of Custome, called *Armerica* the Word it self † expressing their situation.

*Potiorum avii Idiomatis memoria Lemnorum quod est Aquitanie prima oppidum, est in interiori eis parte, in Americana Regione sicut dixerunt. Ut bene inuita Alterea Rer. Aquitanic. lib. 1. c. 1.*

17. To Water therefore it had been still holding for its Name. As from the Sea it was first in the *Gallic* Language called *Armor* or *Armoria*, so afterwards *Aquitania* from the Medicinal Waters found therein, which flowed out of the Earth in several other places besides *Acs*, for we reade of *Aque Bigertorum*, *Thermæ Onefæ*, *Aqua Corveranæ*, *Aqua Calidae in Armoriorum finibus*, besides others of which it is not here proper for us to insit. And if the Conjectures of some be true, the last name of *Gauitane* given to that part of it which remains in the jurisdiction of the Senate of *Bordeaux*, at such time as a Contest arose about the Country, betwixt the *English* and the *French* Nations, owneth not other Original; some affirming it corrupted from the word *Aquitain*, and others deriving it from *Aigne*, which in the Language of the very place signifieth Water. They tell you the first syllable is cut off according to the Custome of *Vowels* when they are to meet with *Le* and *La*. To be sure others more improbably derive it from the *Guiliemi* or *Williams*, the Dukes thereof, as if it were *Guilmia*, (this being the ordinary Name of those Princes, as those of *Pharaob* and *Ptolemy* for the Kings of *Egypt*.) For in their days there was no such Name as *Guinne*, nor to be sure till that of the *Williams* was quite forgotten. We shall dismiss *Aquitain* with this farther hint

*Hi (Vascones qui ultra Garonne Com-*  
*morantur) etiam *Agriponi* et *Burgundiani* uti-  
*bilissimas Aquitanias arbor per-*  
*tuberas, unde aqua et magis* <sup>c. 1. 4.</sup> *naturam paten-*  
*tes in Aquitanias fauuntur.*  
*Vide Notitiam Vasconis, p. 393.**

Sect. 4. hint to the Reader, that till *Augustus* his time, it was terminated with the *Garonne* and the *Pyreneans*; But he enlarged it as far as the *Loire*, and then was it divided, and afterwards otherwise altered, that which retains the Name at this day, containing not above a third part of what was so called by the Emperor.

*fundam & tertiam que Novempopulania dicitur, tandemque Vaconia, terita Aquitanus seu Vaconia terminus fuit Garonna: unde in via Ludovici filii, Garonna fluvius Vaconum & Aquitanorum terminus dicitur. A Garonna fluens Cesar Garonne dicit populi hunc se fluens Accida, vulgo le pays de Rivière. Alte terra Rerum Aquitan. lib. 1. c. 21.*

*Novempopulania*  
what.

18. But that part of *Aquitain* (or *Apoutain* more properly so called) lying betwixt the *Garonne*, the *Pyreneans* and the Ocean, which our *Vascons* seized, was also called *Novempopulania*, sometimes reckoned a Province of it self, and *Aquitain* taken as contradistinct to it, being divided only into two, the first and second, and otherwise called *Aquitania Tertia*, or reckoned as the third part of this Division. Whence it should be called *Novempopulania*, from what Nine several People is not agreed; for in the Notice of the Provinces, twelve several People are attributed to it; some therefore think the true Name of the Province to be *Dodecimpopulania*. Others would have it's name *Undecimpopulania*, from the eleven Dioceses of *Ases* the Seat of the Metropolitan, as if the Limits of Provinces and Nations which were set long before there were any such things as Dioceses should be regulated and bounded by them, than the Rules and bounds of which nothing can be more uncertain. For Dioceses by no certain Law are measured, but sometimes like Wedges, otherwhiles obliquely are inserted into Neighbouring Provinces, nay sometimes run far into foreign Nations, as it's certain some *Gallick* Dioceses bordering upon *Spain*, *Italy* and *Germany*, penetrate into those very Countries, as theirs again do into *Gall* it self. Now it would be excellent Logick, thence to infer that *France* is in *Germany*, *Spain* or *Italy*, or part of them are in *France*, so silly is the course of determining of Provinces and People by the limits of Dioceses, which yet is practised by most of the French Writers. The way to assign the Names of People is not to express the several Towns of the Dioceses, as the Authour of the Book of the Roman Provinces practised, but the Names of the Nations themselves which in *Novempopulania* (so called after that *Adrian* the Emperor had reduced them into the form of a Province) were these: the *Meduli*, the *Vibisci*, *Boii*, *Tarbelli*, *Vasali*, *Bigerri*, *Pabli*, *Aufci*, *Corvene*, and *Dati*.

*Qua in re vision  
Cesar errauit  
Bell Gallici li-  
teris tertio illi ex-  
tenuit genitrix ter-  
ritorium depa-  
nitas recens pro-  
genitibus armis  
oppidans & pagans novem hoc proba Monitus Ista in Geographia Aquitanica. p. 1022*

19. Since we have brought the *Vascons* into *Novempopulania*, and have discovered the Names, Situation, and nature of this their new Seat; we must not be forgetfull of those they left behind them, for that the Elder sort of People staid behind, and that those are their Posterity which still live about the *Pyrenean Mountains*, and are called *Vasci* or *Basques*, cannot be doubted by any that have been the least conversant amongst ancient Historians. Betwixt the Names of *Vascons* and *Vasci* there is no difference, but that of Declension, as might be made evident by several particulars, but this may suffice, that those People that live at the bottom of the *Pyreneans*, and at this day are both by *French* and *Spaniards* called *Vasci*, were known in old time by that of *Vascons*. Both the *Gafcons* and *Bafques* or *Biscainos* ad Am. 809 & also in some Authours past under the Name of *Vaceci*, corruptly framed from *Vasceci* 816. or *Vasci*, although in later times it be appropriated unto the *Vasci*, who are also diminutively called *Vasculi*, and by way of Contraction *Vascli* and *Bascili*. Their Country by some called *Vascitania*, although lately annexed to *Gascogne*, and now reckoned to be in *Aquitain*, yet anciently was a Territory distinct, and now the Inhabitants differ both in manners, Customs and Language from the *Gascogns* and their Neighbours. It's Situate in the utmost part, and as it were an Angle or Corner of *Gall*, where it borders upon *Spain* to the North-west; On the West it is bounded by the Ocean, on the South by the River *Bidafus*, and the *Pyrenean* Hills, on the East by the Principality of *Beame*, and on the North partly by the said Principality the River *Aturis* and otherwise. In length it contains about fifty Miles, in breadth four and twenty. It's divided into three parts, whereof the first is that of *Lapurdon* or *Baison*, the other that of the lower *Navarre*, and the third that of *Sola*. *Baison* and *Sola* are governed by the King's Governor of all *Aquitain*, and the lower *Navarre* by his Lieutenant of *Beame*. *Baison* and *Navarre*, for Justice have recourse to the Parliament of *Bordeaux*, and *Sola* to the Parliament of *Pale*.

20. The

## CHAP. I. Contemporary with the Conf. Roman Empire.

Charles  
Carloman.

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The Language of the *Vascons*.

20. The Language of these People by the *French* called *Basque* and *Biscaine*, Sect. 4. and by the *Spaniards* *Vasquenze*, *Joseph Scaliger* in Latine calls *Cantabrimus*, and reckons it among the Mother Tongues of the *Europeans*. He adds that the speech *In tractu de eis* begins not far from *Baion*, and reaches six or seven days Journey within the *guts & diariis* Mountainous parts of *Spain*, that the *French* call those that use it *Basci* and *Basf*. *de Francarum linguis* *Bascuentia*, that it hath nothing of Barbarism whirling or puffing in it, but is most mild and sweet, and without doubt the most ancient; and in those parts in use before the times of the *Romans*. In short, those that speak it are, on the *Spanish* side of the *Pyrenean Hills*, the Inhabitants of the greatest part of *Navarre*, all *Spufena*, *Alavas* and *Biscay*, and on the *French* side those three Divisions of *Baison*, the lower *Navarre* and *Sola* lately mentioned. Some give this General account of *Marin. Sicul lib. 4. c. ult. Rerum Hispanic. ex eo* it, that most of its words in the singular Number end in *A*, and in the Plural in *Ac*, *Hispianic. ex eo* but others tell them they are mistaken, for when they fo end, *A*. and *Ac*. added to *air*, then, supply the places of syllables only, as in the word *Guigon a Man*, *Guigona Arribal Oibe* significeth *the Man*, and *Guicnomac the Men*. Their Posterity that feasted themselves in *Nau-* *in Novempopulania*, or *Gascogne* by degrees forgot this Language, and learnt the *contra* Romance or corrupt *Latine*, though much differing now from that of the *French*. But enough of the *Vascons*, the Motions and Conquests of whom we could not omit, without a great gap and oversight committed in History.

21. To our busines. *Pipin* having subdued the *Vascons*, with the other People adjoyning to the *Garonne*, and killed *Gaffiar* his Enemy, returned home; From *Sanctone* he came sick to *Tours*, where having done his Devotions he removed to *Paris*, and having in the Church of *St. Denis* fitted himself for another World, on King *Pipin* dies. the twenty fourth of *September* he died of a Dropie, in the fifty fourth year of his Age, and in the eighteenth of his Reign. A great Man, though but four Foot and an half in length; for he laid the Foundations of great Power and Sovereignty, and like another *Philip*, made way and gathered materials for that Grandeur, at which his Son afterwards arrived. He was Buried in the Church of *St. Denis*, and had this Inscription made upon his Tomb, *Pipinus Rex Pater Caroli Magni*, but this was sometime after, for that his Son had the Surname of the *Great*, prettily after his Death cannot be imagined. By *Birtha* his Wife, (called *Birtha with the great Foot*, because one of her Feet was bigger than the other;) he had three Sons, *Charles*, *Carloman* and *Pipin*, who died before his Father, being scarcely three years old, besides *Egidia* a Nun, to which some add *Rosende* and *Attende*, Buried in the Church of *St. Arnald* at *Metz*; as for the second Wife which *Laxius* mentions, and the several Children he had by her, we think them not of that Credit as to relate their Names. Of his two Sons, *Carloman* had those Provinces which had formerly belonged to *Carlonius* his Uncle, and *Charles* succeeded to the remainder of the Dominions of the *Franks*.

22. They were both Crowned on the same day, *Carloman* at *Soiffons*, and *Charles* at *Noviodunum*, or as some say at *Wormes*, the one over *Austrasia*, and the other over *Neustria* and the Territories thereto belonging. *Charles* whose *Tyrcinum*, or first Foundation of matters of Arms had been laid in the War of *Aquitain*, or that against *Gaffiar*, was immediately upon his Promotion presented with a new Subject, whereon to employ his skill and valour from that very Country. For the Sons of *Eudo* being all Extinct, one *Hunoldus* as he called himself, its uncertain what he was, or of what Family, but the Name he thought would be a great means to bear him out, affected the Sovereignty of that Province, and easily perwaded the People to accept of him for their Duke. *Charles* to whom *Aquitain* fell at the Division of the Provinces, thought himself concerned as well in Honour as in Interest, to follow the Example of his Predecessours, in not suffering any such Usurpers and unruly Neighbours there to rest, and revolting to march, and endeavour to reduce him, sent to his Brother to joyn with him in the Attempt wherein though not so much, and so nearly, yet by way of Consequence, he must also be concerned. But *Carloman* made no haste to joyn with him, his Courtiers having done ill Offices betwixt them, and raising still jealousies in his Head, of his Brother's restles and ambitious Spirit. *Charles* was no whit pleased to find him of such an humour, and to remove all misunderstandings, defred an Interview and a Conference which was granted, and given at a place called *Duasines*, but without any good Effect, for *Carloman* returned back, but *Charles* purfis his Voyage and came to *Angouleme*, where he drew up his Forces and then went in quest of *Hunoldus*.

*De iis less sic  
Fauconis ex A-  
maiso : les frères  
se virent en Pa-  
ton, enfin leur mère Duasines, que il n'ay pas remarqué.  
23. Hunold*

Charles and  
Carloman suc-  
ceeded.

*Obit Ann. 783  
juxta Mt. Chro-  
niaca Ultrachil-  
num.*

*Alli dicunt filium  
Pipini fulge At-  
gildum. Attagil-  
dus filius Gaf-  
fieri in Italia  
et aliam filiam  
nomine Gilfan  
qua fuit Abba-  
tiss.*

*Noviodunum badii  
Regum.*

Sect. 4.

23. *Hunold* was not so wise, as to be ready and well prepared before he broke out into Rebellion, and therefore durst not stand his ground, but fled from place to place; *Charles* still dogging him at the Heels, till he forsook the Countrey, and fled to *Lupus* the Duke of the *Vascons*, those which at this day are called *Bascli*. *Charles* thither also pursued him by a Message, Commanding *Lupus* to deliver him up, or to expect him speedily to fetch him with a great Army. He was so sensible of his disability to grapple with the King, that he not only delivered him up with his Wife and Children, but promised all farther obedience to his Commands; *Charles* in the mean time, while this busines was agitating, laying the Foundations of a Castle upon the River *Domonnia*, called as *Amoinus* tells us *Froniacum*, or as *ramus* *vix* *Eginhart* will have it *Franciacum* from \* the *Franks* that Built it, which Original is more probable than that of *Gilius*, who would have it so named, because it was formerly known by that of *Fons Saracenorum*. Having received *Hunold*, he returned with him into *France*, where he kept him in free Custody, that he might doe no farther mischief, without any other Punishment inflicted. This year he kept his *Christmass* at *Dury*, and his *Easter* at *St. Lambert* near *Liege*, pagages which we should not relate, but that from thence we may hint these two things to the Reader. The first is, that about these times when Authors take such notice of the places where *Pipin* and his Son *Charles* celebrated their Festivals; Kings began in an extraordinary manner, with great Pomp, Magnificence and Bounty to perform this Duty, this *Charles* afterward known by the addition of the *Great*, being wont to sit in his Robes with his Crown on his Head, upon these occasions. The other is, that from his keeping his *Easter* at this place of *St. Lambert*, it appears as *Fauchet* observes, that the two Brothers had not yet made any certain and determinate Division of the Provinces. For *Liege* and consequently that Village or Palace lies beyond the River of *Meuse*, and so belonged to the Kingdom of *Austrasia*, this River being ever accounted the limit and Border betwixt *Neustria* and *Italia*.

*si Martinii Villa, Lucani villa, Frenni Villa. Ubi invenitur Aca prior pars nominis denota nomen proprium hominis ut in lingua Teutonica Martinis dorp, Hanstop, &c in lingua Anglo-saxonica Normanton, Normandy, Ketelthorpe, & centum alia.*

A marriage proposed to the Kings, with the Daughters of *Defidarius* King of the Lombards.

The Pope's Letter upon that account.

24. The Brothers were divided in their affection, so still continued, however the limits of their Jurisdic<sup>t</sup>ions were Indistinct. This grieved their Mother *Bertha* not little, who to bring them to a good understanding, omitted nothing becoming a Parent's care, travelling from the Court of one to that of the other for this very purpose. They both were Batchellours, and none but the Daughters of Kings seemed fit for their Royal Beds. No King was there in view, who was in a Capacity to suit them, but *Defidarius* King of the *Lombards* in *Italy*; his Daughters would fit them as to their Dignity, and having one for each, their Mother thought this double Marriage would be the greatest means imaginable to restore them to a good and perfect understanding betwixt themselves. To the Court therefore of *Defidarius* the hastes, and easily obtains what she came for. But there happened to be a Rub in the way, which might easily have been foreseen by any one that understood the Affairs of *Italy*. The Bishop of *Rome* was wonderfully concerned at this new Alliance, dreading nothing more than that the House of *Pippin* which had done such Services for his See against the *Lombards*, should be drawn off to their Party, it being his only Refuge, and danger now threatening him from the same hand every moment. He takes his Pen and writes a most passionate Letter, which cannot but affect him that reads it, though perhaps in a very far different manner. From top to bottom it's full fraught with Religious pretences and Expressions. "He begins with a serious admonition, that they were of the inares and deceits of the Devil, who enticed first, and deceived Man by the means and Insinuations of a Woman; then after this Preface coming nearer to the Matter, affirms, that if what he heard were true, viz. That one of them was perswaded by *Defidarius*, to take his Daughter to Wife, it was properly a Diabolical Immission or Insinuation, and seemed no Matrimonial Conjunction, but a Fellowship of a most wicked Invention.

*Exstat apud Barri-  
num ad Ann. D.  
770 non. IX.*  
*Quod certi si ita  
est has proprie-  
tates de im-  
missione & con-  
sensu & con-  
fusione sed con-  
fusione sed con-  
fusione sed con-*  
*tium mequissime adiuvantem esse videtur.*

25. His Arguments to prove it are these. From Scripture it appears, that such grievously sinned as mixed in Wedlock with strange Nations, and with a Nation strange indeed should they mix, the most generous and Noble blood of the *Franks*, the glory of whom excelled the Beauty and Lustre of all other Peoples, must be polluted, which God forbid, by the perfidious and most stinking Nation

Sect. 4.

\* *perfidia quod natione lombardorum, a natione non recompensata in numero nationum, et ab aliis est scire certum, quod a fortis leprosum personam diffusum;*  
\*\* *etiamne Langobardorum gente pol-  
lauerat, &c.*  
" Nation of the *Lombards*, a Nation not reckoned in the number of Nations, and from which Nation it's certain, faith he, that a fort of Leprous Persons do issue; he adds, that none in his right Wits can imagine, that Kings of so great a Name, should be involved in so detestable and abominable a Contagion; for what felowship is there betwixt Light and Darkness, and what Communion betwixt a faithful Person and an Infidel? The next Argument he uses is of more weight, though it make less Noise, (and little Noise indeed it may well make, for not the least whisper of the thing is to be perceived in any other good Author,) and that is, that they were already joynd in Marriage by their Father's procurement, with two beautifull Ladies of their own Nation. Having been formerly anointed with Holy Oil, by the hands of the *Vicar of St. Peter*, and being sanctified with Heavenly Benediction, he bids them beware how they involved themselves in so great guilt. Then comes the Argument indeed, to which the other Realons are but subuentur. They must remember they had ingaged themselves to *St. Peter*, and *Pope Stephen his Vicar* and his Successeurs, that they would be Friends to their Friends, and Enemies to their Enemies; he demands then how they can now act against their Souls, and make such a Conjunction as they were about to do, with the pernicious Nation of the *Lombards*, who were manifestly their Enemies, in that they had set upon the Church, and had invaded their *Roman Province*. This he infornes with instances of their Father, who when *Constantine* the Emperour would have had their Sister *Glyfia* for his Son, answere, that it was not lawfull for you to be joynd with a strange Nation, neither durst act any thing against the Will and Pleasure of the Bishops of the Apoftolick See. He asks them then how it comes to pafs, that they should indeavour to act contrary to the Will of the Vicar of the Prince of the Apostles, which thing their Father never attempted, and whether they were not sensible that it was not him, unhappy man, but blessed *St. Peter*, whose Vicegerent he was, though unworthy whom they despised, forasmuch as it is written: *He that receiveth you receiveth me, and he that despiseth you despiseth me.*

26. After this as the whole Letter abounds with Tautologies, he again inculcates their promises of Obedience made to *St. Peter* and his Predecessors, and himself both by Letters and Messengers. He puts them in mind how *Stephen* had written to them a little before his death, and by terrible adjurations, had admonished them firmly to abide in their love towards God's Holy Church, and the Apoftolick See, and that they performed to a Tittle what they had ingaged to God's Apofotle. And is this now your promise, faith he? O what Labour did that most blessed and best *Stephen* undergo! what a dangerous Journey did he undertake when he was in so weak a Condition! and except the Lord be ready at Hand, his pains shall be now frustratred, and that Journey which that our Predeccour took into *France* will prove mischievous to us, our Enemies being now more Elevated than formerly they were, in the height of their Pride and Arrogance. Behold, that which we feared is come to pafs, our Joy is turned into Lamentation, the last mischief is greater than the former, and whence we expected Light to arise, thence Darknes hath broke out upon us. Now comes he to the busines. Wherefore, he adds, blessed *Peter* the Prince of the Apostles, to whom the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven are delivered by the Lord God, as also Power is given to bind and loose in Heaven and in Earth, by our Infelicity earnestly admithould your Excellency, and we also together with all Bishops, Prelates and other Priests, and all the Nobility and Clergy of our Holy Church, as also the Abbats and all Religious Persons, those of chiefeft Rank or Judges, and our whole People of this Province of the *Romans*, by denouncing of Divine Judgment, conjure you through the living and true God, who is the Judge of Quick and Dead, and by the ineffable Power of his Divine Majesty, and by the tremendous day of the Judgment to come, when we shall have all Princes and Powers, and all Mankind to stand by trembling, as also by all Divine Mysteries, and by the most Sacred Body of blessed *Peter*, that neither of you in any-wise presume to take in Marriage the Daughter of the said *Defidarius* King of the *Lombards*, nor give your Sister *Glyfia* to his Son, nor dare to put away your own Wives. Then follows, that, remembiring what they had promised to *St. Peter*, they should resift the *Lombards* their Enemies, and force them to restore what belonged to the Holy Church, to the Commonwealth of *Rome*. For all their promises they have broken, faith he, and they incessantly afflict and oppresse us, are nothing inclined to restore any thing to us, and now as is notoriously known H h invade

Sect. 4. "invade our Borders, in presence of your Ambassadors, making a shew of Justice, "but nothing is brought to Effect, neither can we receive any thing of our Right.  
"Having admonished them to give ear to his Messengers, at length he concludes  
"with an Anathema, to any that should act contrary to this his Admonition, who is  
"hereby cut off from the Kingdom of God, and appointed with the Devil and his  
"most detestable Pomps, and all other wicked Perfons to everlasting Burnings. On  
"the contrary, who observes and keeps to his Exhortation, shall by our Lord God  
"be made remarkable with Heavenly Blessings, and be found worthy to be parta-  
"ker of the reward of Eternal Love, with all the Saints and Elect of God.

27. Thus far the Zeal of *Pope Stephen*, as to the Reaon of which its source and Original we shall say nothing, but leave the Reader to his Meditations on the Affairs of *Italy*, how they stood at this Conjunctione. For his Arguments; the Examples he produces out of Scripture, where Marriage with Foreigners was always forbidden and cursed, how they are pleadable in this point is above my Capacity, and perhaps even the Reach of some who are moderately versed in Theological Speculations. The opprobrious Language he gives to the *Lombards*, not to those only that had offended him, but the Nation it self, and so to many Innocents, as to the matter in hand, how Civil or Christian it is. I had rather his Friends should Judge than I; but one thing we may hence learn by the way, that the *Jews* are not the only People that have stunk, but the *Lombards* were involved in the same Punishment, because guilty of the same Crime, for as they were, and are Rebellious against Christ, to these *Lombards* were against his Vicar. Our late Author of the Heroick Poem called *Gondibert*, had certainly little Judgment, to leap over the most Noble Nation of the *Franks*, and omit so many other fit Subjects of wit, and pitch upon such a vile and stinking Nation as this, whereon to Paint out and Imbellish those rare and excellent Qualities, which make Princes Glorious both for Peace and War; we shall hear by the next *Ragguagli*, that he hath smartly founded for it in *Parma*. But the greatest wonder is, the News he tells us of *Charles* and *Carloman*, being e'er this Married to two beautifull Virgins of their own Countrey, a thing which no Historian, or other Author doth in the least hint at, though the Life of *Charles* hath been written by some that lived in his own time, and some later Writers have used all diligence imaginable, to give us an account of his Wives and Issue. Indeed there are that tell, that while he was Prefect of the Palace, he had several Concubines, whose Names are unknown, by some of which he had a Daughter called *Bodea*, and *Pipin* the Bastard, who Conspired against his Father's Life. If the good old Man took these for Wives, (it being possible that true Stories might tire through the length and tediousnes of the way, e'er they could get over the *Alpes*, and Lies lie to *Rome* before them,) to put them away, he certainly neither stood in need of his Convivence or Dispensation.

### The Marriage consummated.

28. Notwithstanding such an Impediment, and what was more this thundering Letter, the two Brothers not dreading that which hath caused Nations, if not Devils to tremble, Married their Wives; yet we are told by the Importance of their Mother, more than out of their own Inclinations, for this Reason, that they were already Married to others. That this may appear, they instance in the matter of *Charles*, (for as for *Carloman* his Marriage as to the Person is very obscure,) that his Wife *Birtha* by name he put away not long after, as they would make us believe out of remorse of Conscience, forasmuch as they say, no cause at all is alleged of their parting. But the thing that was alledged was Womanish Impotence, as at last it appeared, (though something else might be in the Bottom,) and now *Charles* was to take his lawfull Wife again, and had so done doubtless, if he had not been Satisfied in the lawfulness of this last Conjunction, except perhaps the poor Woman in the mean time died Heartbroken with sorrow. Had he had a Wife before, so great offence would not have been taken at the leaving of this, which was indeed never his Wife, and St. *Adelradus* his Kinfman would never have left the Court for being scandalized with so great a Crime, as we are told he did by those that have written his Life. Neither can it be said that *Hildegarda* whom he afterward Married could be his true Wife, which he reaffirme, for all Writers with one consent affirm, he Married her after the putting away of *Birtha*, and her Epitaph produced by \* *Baronius*, if it was hers indeed, shews that she was his Wife but twelve years, and therefore the dying in the year of our Lord 786; she could not be Married to him till he had Conquered Italy, and had both that Country and the City of *Rome* in his Power, as is by the Cardinal confessed. The *Roman* Bishop therefore seems to have wanted good Intelligence, and at this time not to have been infallible

*Johan. Tillius in  
Disquisit. de Re-  
bus Gallicis in  
Carolo Magn.*

Beronius Toni  
9. Editione prima  
qui demuntur  
venient autem Edi-  
tionem alteram  
in dubio libris  
Carolus Gehrman  
Cardini Magistri  
Monacis Sanguis  
finiti Confessori  
causam diuini  
fausti, sicut operis  
Clinica, &  
programma  
polonica  
Inhabitab.  
Vide Barat.  
Ann. 771. n. 3.  
qui eam Barat  
autem  
liberibus usaret  
Carolmanni segn.  
Barat monachus  
et favorem Coriolis  
Coriolis Contra  
nominali dicunt  
fulli Hermann  
garden.  
Aber ad vnde  
cimo rursum est  
sofusit annas,  
ex etat ad  
Beronium ad  
Ann. 786. n. 3.

**CHAP. I.** *Contemporary with the Const. Roman Empire.*

{ Charles  
Carloman

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fallible in matters of Fact, which one sort of People now begin to ascribe to him. He was not only mislaken in this particular, but in that also of the number of *Defiduris* his Daughters, for he heard but of one, that was to be Married to one of the Brothers, whereas the ancient Annals make it manifest that the two Brothers Married two Sisters. How would he have stromed at this double Alliance! But as much as he stromed at the Conjunction, he was calm enough at the separation, and what Noile foever other Godly men made, the intereest of God's Church (which he forelaw now might be advanced, goodman,) stopt his mouth and perfwaded him to Patience.

29. The true reason of his Divorce we may guess at hereafter, noting this at present, that what Reputation with good men he lost thereby, was scarcely repaired in the opinion of Loyal and sober Persons, by another Revolution which shortly after happened. *Carloman* his Brother not long after died, and left at least one Son behind him. *Aimoinus* writes he had Children, one he might have by his late Marriage, and his Wife might by this time be great with another. But *Charles* alpires after the Inheritance, and either finds or makes such a Party in his Brother's Court, as clothe it with him out of pretence that the dangers are great, which threaten a Nation in the Infancy of its King, and that it was better for the *Franks* universally to be Governed by a Monarch. He being advanced, the Widow of *Carloman* flies with her rejected Children, and such of the Nobility as detested the Treason into *Italy* to her Father, who by these Forerunners might easily guess what in a short time would follow after. The thoughts of *Charles* were not bounded by the limits of *France*, these were too strait and narrow for his ambitious Soul, yet had his Brother lived, little out of fear of him, could he abroad have attempted, and to what purpose should he seek out Foreign Countries to Conquer, where he was but Joynt Tenant at home, and in his own? This therefore was especial Service the Nobility of *Austrasia* did him, and now that Fortune had so luckily put him in a way, he was resolved not to disoblige her by neglect, but to pursue his opportunities to the utmost. The first was presented by the *Saxons*, whom the Neighbourhood of their Country made obnoxious rather than any fault, that at this time they had committed. Having called an Assembly at *Wormes*, he invaded their Country, and destroying all things in his way with Fire and Sword, took the Castle *Eresburg*, and defroyed a famous Idol named *Irminful*. Here as it's said was his Army miraculously delivered from Imminent Ruine. The seafon and the place wherein they incamped, both Conspired to kill them with Thirst, when in the heat of the Day, as according to the Custome they took their rest, a great Torrent of Water pouert it self down from the Mountain whereon the Idol stood, into the Valley where they lay, which abundantly satisfied their parched Bodies. Then the Idol being destroyed, he marched to the River *Wisara*, where he received twelve Hollages from the *Saxons*, and so returned into *France*.

The *Lombards* and the Pope  
quarrel.

30. By this time, the Quarrels betwixt the *Lombards* and the Bishop of *Rome* were come to an height, and the two Daughters of *Defiderius* being returned home, the one as a forlorn and rejected Creature, the other like a poor Widow with her Children at her back spoiled of their Patrimony, and turned out of House and Harbour, had raised, as well they might, storms of Anger and Revenge in their Father's Breast. Yet having digested his Anger, he resolv'd to go Calmly to work, and try if by fair means he could compas what elle Nature obliged him by force to attempt, and that was the Restitution of his Nephews. He applies himself to *Adrian* the Successour of *Stephen*, who he hoped might entertain more milder Councils, and prove more Neighbourly than the former Pope, and knowing in what Repute his See was abroad, especially in *France* with the Kings and Princes, of which his Predecessours had done wonders, he desir'd him to acknowledge their Title, and doe his indeavour for their Restitution, as a means whereunto he desir'd they might be anointed by his Hands. *Adrian* was not so ill instructed, nor unacquainted with what was past, as to be ignorant in how fair a way he was for gaining a farther interest in *Italy*, and by what means his Predecessours had got what he now enjoyed. He refus'd to disfobligue *Charles*, and by his answ're *Defiderius* perceived that he had rouned a sleeping Lion, who in expectation of assistance from *France*, would not flick at doing him all mischief imaginable. He thought it his interest to begin first, knowing in case he could bring the Bishop and his Adherents to a compliance, his work with *France* would be the easier. He therefore attaccques and takes several places belonging to the Exarchate, making as if he would besiege. *Ravenna*, and upon some farther disgift *Rome* it self. Hereupon to procure delay,

Sect.

4. Adrian sent him some frivilous Message; but an effectual one into France to Charles, to hasten away relief with all speed imaginable.

31. Peter his Messenger or Legate a Latere, if you please, found the King at Thionville, where he exposed to him the danger wherein the Holy Church at present stood, and the Example of his Predecessours upon such occasions, backed with this strong Motive, that this present Attempt was made upon him for his sake, for refusing to anoint his Nephews. *Desiderius* fearing what might come of *Peter's* Negotiation, thought fit to send Ambassadors of his own to reprimand the Bishop and excuse the late Hostility. *Charles* gave Audience to the one Party, as well as the other, but knowing how nearly he was concerned to abate the Power and Interest of the *Lombard*, and that if his Neighbours house was burnt, his own might speedily be on fire, resolved to prevent it with a speedy Invasion. Yet to use the same Arts *Desiderius* had done, he sent Message to him, requiring such things as the King thought himself obliged not to grant, and vailing his own Designs and Interest, with the great Zeal he had for the Church. *Desiderius* receives the Ambassadors kindly, professes his Actions warrantable before all equal Judges, both in reference to the Recovery of his Rights in Italy, and the Restitution of his Grandchildren; and he desires his Brother *Charles* would not give heed to the Bishops of Rome interested Persons, and his professed Enemies, but seriously weigh what Justice he had on his side, and that he would be Chancellour betwix himself and his two young Nephews (for Uncle he was unto them both) whether their Fathers Inheritance could justly be detained from them. This said, he sent his Ambassadors to Rome, to try if he could bring the Bishop off to his Party. But this not succeeding, he himself resolved to go thither in Person, as to perform his Devotions with his Wife and Children, and an ordinary Train; which *Adrian* understanding, commanded the Gates and Walls to be manned against him, and because the Churches of St. Peter and St. Paul stood without the Walls, he ordered they should be fast locked up. And to stop his proceeding he sent certain Churchmen to meet him on the way, and denounce the Ecclesiastical censures against him, in Case he would not desist. He obeyed, and after the Ambassadors had gone betwix them several times to no purpose, they returned into France to him that sent them.

32. *Charles* to make the World believe how unconcern'd he was to any Interest of his own, and that the Protection of the Church was the only thing he studied, sent once more to him, offering him such a sum of Money in exchange for the Towns he had taken, as would have been much to his loss to have received. Upon his refusal, he thought he had made Provision enough for his Reputation, and resolving upon an expedition before-hand, assembled his Estates together to Consult. The Franks were not all of the same mind; for many declared against the War, and some perhaps addicted to the party of the Sons of *Carloman*, flatly refused thereunto to serve him. This notwithstanding, he was so bent upon his Journey, as he resolved by no advice or other rubs to be hindered, and for this purpose made such Levies, and got together such a Company of Men as evidently shewed (which *Sigonius* observes) that the desire he had to Conquer *Lombardy* rather was the Motive that spurred him on to this Enterprise, than any Zeal he had for the defence and security of the Church. The Rendezvous was at *Geneva*, and there he also held the Assembly of the Estates, though in *Aimoines*, as now we read it, it be said that he held a Consultation at *Germania*, a City of *Burgundy* upon the *Rhône*, and that there also he divided his Forces. But this City has had the misfortune to lie under mistakes, as to its Name, as well as of late Years, in reference to its Government and Laws in force, before the last Revolution. It's most probable, that as well the little Province, as Territories about it were in succeeding Ages sometimes under the same Lord; yet it is clear from History, that six hundred Years agoe or more, they were under several Princes or Potentates, yet neither in this space of time, nor that which went before, nor that which followed (to use the words of a learned Jesuite) was the Town of *Geneva* ever under \* *Nepos* tamen aut illo, aut priore aut posteriori tempore Genevam oppidum in ullius suorum Episcoporum scilicet potestate. *Mommsen* in *Geograph. Gallie Celsice*, p. 312.

The situation of *Geneva*.

33. This Cty is seated at the Western Head of the Lake *Lemanus*, where the River *Rhône* issueth out of it, at the Confines of five several People (as they were reckoned of old) there meeting with the Angles of their Territories, viz. the *An-*

*tuates*, *Focunates*, *Genevenses* on the left side of *Rhône*, and the *Brenovii* and *Latobrigi* on the right. Its Name hath been variously changed and corrupted by unskilful Historians and Geographers. As besides this of *Aimoines*, in Authors of a thousand Years standing or thereabout, for *Geneva* you shall ordinarily find, *Genava* and *Genoba*; but those that have scribbled within these three hundred Years, as unskilfully, as commonly call it in Latin *Gebenna*, and its Citizens with the Inhabitants of the places adjoining *Gebennenses*, most corrupt Words forged in the ignorant Heads of some Pedants, who had read a most gross and filly Interpretation of that passage in *Lucan*: *Qua Montibus ardua summis, Gens habitat cava pendentes rupe Gebennas*: This taught them that *Gebenna* was a Mountain, which separated the *Arverni* from the *Helveti*, and had a City upon it called by the same Name. By this fond Comment the Youth was generally cheated throughout Europe, which drunk in the Notion as proceeding from an Oracle, and in ordinary writing used the word *Gebenna*, rejecting the old and true one of *Geneva*. This filthy Error was especially propagated amongst the Ecclesiasticks, such as commonly wrote, their Books lying open to the Cheat above all Men. But to undeceive the Reader; these Mountains \* *Gebenna* or *Cebenna* (in French *Cenives*) in no respect appertained to the City of *Geneva*, nor yet to the *Helveti*, from which they are distant above Leagues; but ly amongst the *Helveti* (not *Helvetii*) the *Arvernii*, *Volci*, *Ruteni* and *Cadurci*, of which people † *Lucan* speaks, and not of *Geneva*, dit, at definite the inhabitants whereof with others adjoining he had mentioned before.

*Arvensis ab Helvici distilitur ut scilicet Cefar. Cebennum pro Lefera sive Leger. Mons alpinus in finibus Gabalorum, Cefar. Et hoc est Cefar Gallicus non Cebone. Ex quo etiam Roman peti undique signat. Defensare cano tenetra fixa Lemanu. Caltrique, que Vogeli cursum super ardua rupem. Pugnare plitis cibibant Linguis Armis. *Lucan. lib. i.**

34. *Charles* at *Geneva* divided his powerful Army into two Parties, whereof one he committed to the Conduit of his Uncle *Bernard*, to march before by the way of *Mons Jovis*, or *Jupiter* his Mount (by *Fauquet* called *Mont jou*, by others, said to be that which now is known by the Name of *Genebra*, the Top of the *Alpes Cottiae*) to seize upon the Straits. The other he purposed to lead himself by the Road which lay toward the Hill *Canisius*. *Desiderius* upon Notice of their Intentions, had sent some Companies to secure the narrow Passages, he himself with his Army marching after and expecting what should be the event: The Franks coming to make their passage, found such opposition as discouraged them; and here, if you please to believe those that favoured one of the Parties, a great Miracle was wrought; and doubtless it was in his behalf. For the Franks not knowing what Course to take, as utterly unable to break through, stood gazing with their Fingers in their Mouths, whenall on a sudden to their no little wonder, they saw their Enemies run away in a Panick fear without any at their Heels, without as much as one Man got through the passage to look at them, or any Accident at all arrived to affright them. Seeing so great a Miracle was wrought, they must not be wanting to it, and themselves, but through they pas, and Manfully hew down all before them. Possibly some might discover a new Path, and climbing over the Mountains come upon the Backs of those that possessed the Straits, a thing as the Reader may remember practised in other places of this Nation, and they being either killed or running away the Army might take a false Alarm, and run for Company, as hath been usual. *Desiderius* was now in an ill Case, as *Aisulph* his Predecessor had often been upon the like occasion, and no wonder he and his Countrymen might smell unfavourably, being put into such and so many flights by Procurement of those, who first cryed for and flog their Noses.

35. *Desiderius* with *Adalgisus* his Son, and the Captains of his Army ran towards *Pavia* as fast as their Horses could carry them, whom when the fit of Wonder was over, the Franks followed, and there closely besieged him. The King thinking it not prudence to venture all in one bottom, sent his Son, a young Man of singular hopes, together with the Widow and Children of *Carloman* to *Verona*, he himself staid in *Pavia* which was very well fortified, and to enable it the better to endure a Siege he had sent out into the Countrey all the Weak, and unprofitable multitude. *Charles* perceived the Town would endure a shock, and thinking it no good Husbandry to have all his Men idle here, when fewer would serve the turn, and there was Work elsewhere, left his Uncle before *Pavia*, and led part of the Army against *Verona*. *Adalgisus*, the Son of *Desiderius*, finding this City in no Case to hold out, made his Escape, and got him to *Constantinople*, hoping to reserve himself

Sect. 4.

himself to better times, which the Inhabitants perceiving, thought it not amiss to provide for themselves also in the contrary way, and upon good Terms yielded to him, who they had good reason to believe would prove the Conqueror. The Wife and Children of *Carolanus* became his prey, whom having got into his hands he sent away speedily into *France*, and as the *French* Annals will make you believe there they were entertained very Honourably, though how, and in what manner, they either cannot or will not, or rather dare not tell you; to be sure they paid well for their Entertainment be it as good as could be, for we do not hear that they were ever restored to their Inheritance. *Verona* being thus delivered up, all the rest of the Cities of *Lombardy* followed their Example, only *Pavia* still held out, being every way furnished for a Siege of long Continuance. *Charles* perceiving this, and resolved to tire them out, having now spent six Months in the Siege, and *Easter* drawing nigh, resolved to satisfy his Curiosity in seeing *Rome*, as well as pay his Devotions at the Sepulchres of the Apostles.

36. How he was there entertained, and what farther passed betwixt him and the Pope, will be more proper for us to enquire in the History of that Country; here we shall only say, that eight days after his coming to *Rome*, he returned to the Siege of *Pavia*. Here within a while his Work was done to his hands; those whom his Arms could not Conquer, were constrained to yield to Death, that Conquers all Men, many of the stout Defendants perishing by a Plague, and as it were attending the Expiration of the Kingdom of the *Lombards*. *Desiderius* seeing it was to no purpose to stand out, and that the longer he did it, his Terms might be worse, yielded himself with his Wife and Children unto *Charles*, who sent them to *Liege in Gallia Belgica*, where they wore out their days in Honourable restraint, and then as some say, in order to the Settlement of this his new Kingdom, made another Journey to *Rome* to consult with the Pope, which done, and all things ordered as seemed most convenient, he returned back into *France*. Here more work was cut out for his itching hands, for the *Saxons* irritated with what he had done to them, and presuming upon his absence had invaded their Neighbours, and made great waste and slaughter where e'er they came. To restrain them he sent three Parties to many several ways into their Country, which did them very much mischief by burning and plundering their Housues, and killing and taking Prisoners as many as they could meet with. But this did not satisfy the King, he resolves either wholly to Conquer them, and bring them to Christianity, or to root out and quite destroy the Nation. As a means to accomplish this, he Summons the Estates to meet and lay their Heads together at *Duren*, or *Duria*.

37. The meeting dissolv'd, and an Army prepar'd, he passes the *Rhine*, and presently takes a Fort called *Sigeburg* by storm, wherein was a Garrison of the *Saxons*. *Eresburg* another Castle which they had demolished, he caused to be rebuilt and Garrison'd with a Party of his own Men. Then passed he on to the River *Wifara*, where he found a great Company met together at a place called *Brunesberg*, with intention to put a stop to his March; but in vain, for at the first encounter they were worsted, put to flight, and many slain. The place where *Charles* encamped, *Kranzius* tells us, in his time was still to be seen distinguished into the Quarters or Divisions. Passing then the River after this Obstacle was removed, he came to another called *Onacer* or *Onatra*, where he was met by *Hess* one of the Princes of the Country, who together with the *Offali*, or those that lived toward the East surrendered themselves into his hands, and gave such Hostages as he demanded. Hereupon he retreated, and coming to a place called *Buki*, the *Angarii* presented themselves, and followed the Example of the *Offali*, in swearing Obedience, and delivering Hostages. But part of his Army he had sent to the River *Wifara*, and that met not with so good Fortune, by reason of their Carelessness and Negligence. For at a place they called *Hadbeki* incamping themselves, and fending out their Foragers the *Saxons*, who spake the same Teutonick Language with them, and it seems had clothed themselves on purpose after their fashion, joyned themselves and mix'd with them, which done, without any discovery they returned with them into their Camp, and expecting an opportunity when the *Franks* were asleep, fell upon them and killed a great number, yet by the Valour of such as escaped the danger, were beaten again out of the Camp. *Charles* having notice of the Strategeme marched with all speed toward the Camp, and cut off a great multitude of those that fled, which having done, and wasted to the Country, that he forced also the *Welfali* to beg Peace, and give up their Hostages, he thought it convenient to return and take up his Winter Quarters in *France*.

38. He

And subdues all  
*Lombardy*, ex-  
cept *Pavia*.Which is fur-  
rendred to him,  
with their King  
*Desiderius*.The *Saxons* in-  
vade *France*.But are forced  
to beg Peace.Charles chal-lies  
the Rebels in  
*Lombardy*.Another Invad-  
on of the *Sax-*  
*ons*.Who are forced  
to beg Peace,  
and give up Ho-  
stages.Charles makes  
an Expedition  
into Spain.

38. He was scarcely arrived at his Palace, when News was brought him out of *Italy*, that *Rogand*, a Duke of the *Lombards*, whom after the defeat of *Desiderius*, he had preferred to the Government of *Forumjuli*, had rebell'd and drawn back many of the Cities of *Lombardy*, under pretence of returning to the government of their own Kings; for *Adalgis* at *Constantinople* had watched all opportunities, and ho'vered over *Italy* for a convenient season to re-enter. After little consideration he caused his most active and resolute men to make ready, and with little noise, but great expedition, hastened into *Italy*, where he presented himself, and gave Battle to *Rogand*, when they thought he had been ingaged in the same manner in *Saxony*. He easily overpowered him, and receiving the Towns which had revolted, upon their submission, re-settled all things, and returned as speedily and unexpectedly into *France*, as he had thence departed. He knew he had good reason so to doe, for he expedit'd fully to hear that the *Saxons* had once more rebel'd, and so he did, as soon as he had pass'd the *Alpes*; for they had taken the Castle of *Eresbourg*, and had laid Siege to the other of *Sigeburg* where they found greater opposition. The Garrison made very gallant Sallies, and did great Execution upon their Enemies, who were more affrighted by a Vision, two fiery Helmets appearing, it's said, on the Top of the Church: which struck them with such amazement, and so powerfully convinced them that God Almighty fought against them, that in a Panick fear they quitted the Siege, and fled as for their Lives, which yet many of them lost; for the *Franks* issuing out of the Fort, pursued them as far as the River *Lippia*.

39. *Charles* summoned the Estates to meet at *Wormes*, where it was resolved a sudden Invasion should be made into *Saxony*. And so sudden it was, that he surprised them, and prevented all their preparations for resistance, so as they were forced to use the Skin of the Fox, not being now able to compare that of the Lion, and meeting him at the Head or Spring of *Lippia*, in a most suppliant posture begged pardon for what was past, and many of them hypocritically offered themselves to be baptized. Upon this submission he readily forgave them, and causing such to be baptized as presented themselves, received their Hostages. Their command'd he the Castle of *Eresbourg* to be repaired, and another Fort to be erected upon the River *Lippia*, wherein he placed a strong Garrison, as a Curb upon the Country, which done, he march'd back into *France*. But this was with a purpose of returning the Year following. For as *Easter* was over, he again invaded *Saxony* with a great Army, and to settle the People in his Obedience, which he still very much disturbed, appointed a general Assembly of them to be held at *Passendorf*, a City of *Westphalia*. Here all the Nobility, as well as the People, met, except one *Widichind*, who conscious to himself how much he had disobliged and incensed the King, durst not adventure to be present, but fled to *Sigifrid*, the King of the *Danes*. All the rest that were present submitted themselves fully to his Commands, and desired Pardon on this condition, that if ever after they rebel'd, they should forfeit both their Lands and Liberty. Many of them now again, but only upon design to please him, renounced Paganism, and were baptized. He caused to be seized *Angrye*, the principal Town belonging to *Widichind*, and for Instruction of such as had been baptized in the Christian Faith, founded an Episcopal See at *Osnaburg*.

Le Latin des  
Années de St.  
Marial des In-  
génieurs &  
Adalberto gen-  
tium, d' un vén-  
erable écrivain  
qui signifie  
asibit : En celles de langage rustiq : Ingenuitatem & Adadem manibus dulorem fecerunt, qui signifie le Moine. Caris nay nuzis est mai-  
que pour marge de l' antiquité, & represente nostre langue. Fauchet, en Chartre maizie.

40. But while he was making an end with the *Saxons*, an Addres was made to him by one *Ibnorabi*, a Petty Saracen Prince in *Spain*, who, with severall others of his Countrymen, was come to complain of his Neighbour, to desire his aid, and give up himself and his Dependents wholly to his Power, on condition he would go and make War against the Aggreffour. He consider'd seriously of the matter. The *Saxons* now seem'd to be quieted, *Italy* was also in repose, and in as good a condition as he could wish, and in *France* it self was no appearance of any trouble, he could not be idle, his military Men would rust and grow unfeareable, if they had nothing to doe, and above all things Dominion was agreeable *Tunc ex perfusi-  
one predicti Sa-  
xoni, et ad alios  
procurari in His-  
pania, et ad aliis  
hanc fructu con-  
cipere. Et*. *Charles* in  
aschis, et  
dum in 1.4. c.72.  
Easter

Sect. 4. Easter was over, but resolved to celebrate that Festival in *Aquitain*. This done he passed on to the *Pyreneans*, through the Territories of the *Basques*, or *Biscayens*, and in his way took in the Cities, and subdued the Country, as far as the River *Iberus*, which arising in *Navarre*, pours it self by the City *Dertosa* into the Mediterranean Sea. Then passing the River, he took *Cesar Augusta*, the principal City of these parts, over which he made *Ibnalabi* King, and so having settled matters as to him seemed convenient, and received Hostages, he returned to *Pampel*, the Walls of which he demolished, to hinder a Revolt, and then put himself on the way toward the *Pyreneans* in order to his return home. Coming to the straits and precipitous places, the Army was constrained to march, not in the order it was wont, but drawn out in length as the nature of the ways required. In these difficult places, which were also full of Wood, did the *Vafcons* (those of *Iberia*, or *Navarre*) lie in wait, and falling on a sudden on the Rere, made great slaughter of the Waggons-drivers, and such as followed the Camp, and plundered the Baggage. Then did they advance farther, and in a Valley called *Roncavallis*, set upon the Party it self, and notwithstanding all the Officers could doe, put it all to the Sword. Though in Numbers they were inferior to the *Franks*, and very slightly armed, yet had they the Advantage by their knowledge of the place, their being accustomed to climbing, and the lightness of their Weapons. In the fight fell most of the great men the King had about him, of whom the most remarkable were *Egbart*, the Overseer of his Table, *Asphelme*, a Count of the Palace, and *Rorland*, or \* *Roland*, Gouvernor of the Borders of *Britain*, of whom many Romantick Stories have been † written. But the worst was these *Vafcons* could not be punished, nor Vengeance taken on them for so foul an Affront, for having done thefeat they secured themselves in the Woods and Mountains, and not a Man of them was to be seen. This much troubled *Charles*, and gave a notable check to his triumphant fortune. But seeing here he could not make up the busines, nor obliterate the disgrace, he returned home, expecting some good opportunity to doe it elsewhere.

French *Roland*, in the Netherlands *Roeland*, and *Orlando* for *Orlando* in Italian. \* *Rowland*, or *Rorland*. The rest of the Land or Country, in *Italia*.

Che Comincia :

*Le donne i Cavallari, l'arme i vanto  
Le Corseste, l'audaci impresa i canto  
Che juro attempo, che palpar i morti  
Di Africca, male in Francia nocere tanto  
Signora l'el glauent jauri  
D Agramonte in Re; la si glauento vanto*

*Di vendicar la morte di Trifano  
Sopra Re Carlo Imperator Romano.  
Diro d'Orlando in un medesimo tratto  
Cosa non ditta trypa mai ne in rima  
Che per amar venne in forze e matto  
D'hanno, la si faggo craftmato prima, &c.*

But in his return his Army is overthrown by the *Vafcons*.

Another Invasion of the Saxons.

But with the loss of the whole Army.

*Eginbarus in  
via Caroli.*

The West and Eastfaliens with the Angarii published by Charles.

yielded themselves to him. Thence he moved toward the River *Wifera*, and in camping in a place called *Nudafulli*, there rested himself and his Army for some days, and thither the *Angarii* and *Eastfaliens* thought it best to come to give up their Hostages, and swear Obedience, which being past, the King returned over the Rhine to Wormes, and there he wintered.

42. But he thought not his work to be yet completed, and inwardly fretting that this stubborn Nation should perpetually create him trouble, he was reflets in his Mind, till he could bring them once into a settled course of Fidelity and Allegiance, and therefore assoon as the season of the Year would permit, once again he led a strong Army into *Saxony*. The Eastern *Saxons* he commanded to give him a meeting at the River *Onacer*, which Summons they obeyed, and a great multitude counterfeiting Christian Religion, were here baptized in a place called *Orebim*. Thence he marched to the confluence of the two Rivers, *Ora* and *Albia*, where he settled matters, as well amongst the *Slavi*, who inhabited beyond, as the *Saxons*, that lived on this side the Water, which having done, he returned home. But at home in Idlenels he could not rest; having no matter now left in *Saxony*, to work upon, nor at home to disturb his foreign Expeditions, his mind was wholly bent upon *Italy*, having had better fortune, and therefore more encouragement in passing the *Alpes*, than he had had in retreating over the *Pyreneans*. Here our Authors that were Churchmen, would fain make themselves and us believe, that his Design was purely religious, that he went to *Rome* to pray, and pay some Vows. But not to question his Religious Inclinations, he might well be induced to undertake this Journey, for other very grave and political Reasons. He had planted a new French Kingdom, as it were, in an Italian and foreign foil, and for it to thrive and prosper, there was requisite a little looking after. The *Lombards* he had no reason to believe so much in love with him, as that their affection would not faint and cool by discontinuance of fight and commerce. *Adelgizius*, the Son of the late *Desiderius*, hovered over *Italy*, and expected when a convenient opportunity would be presented of reprofessing himself and family of his Father's Kingdom.

43. He thought it not amiss to carry his Sons along with him, having had by *Hildegardis* three, viz. *Charles*, *Pipin* and *Lodowick*, besides other Children of the female Sex. He had found by experience, that the Authority of the Roman Bishop had not been unserviceable in the crowning of him and his Brother *Caroloman*; and be revolled now to defire the present Pope, who he knew would hardly refuse him any thing to give them the same Cast of his Office. To *Rome* he came, after he

where his Sons had settled matters in *Lombardy*, where he was kindly entertaigned, and according to his desire *Pipin* was first baptiz'd, and then anointed King of *Italy*, and his other Son *Lodowick* over *Aquitain*. In his Return at *Milan* he had a Daughter baptiz'd by *Thomas*, the Archibishop of *See*, and named *Gilla*. But amongst other things agreed on betwixt him and Pope *Adrian*, it was revolled jointly to send to *Tassilo*, the Duke of *Bavaria*, to put him in mind of the Oath of Duty and Allegiance he had made to *Pipin*, and his Sons and Successeours, the Kings of *France*. They that were sent to effectually managed their busines, that he promised immediately to repair to the King, if he could but be secured of his Life by fitting the Hostages. The Hostages being sent he came, as he had ingaged, and receiving the Oath of Fidelity, gave up twelve of his own for good and faithfull performance of it, which done, he returned into his own Country, but not long continued in Obedience. *Charles*, secure of him, now, as he thought, found reaon in Spring to make a Progress into *Saxony*, resolving to hold a general Assembly of the States, as he was yearly wont to do in *France*. At *Colonia* he passed the *Rhine*, and with all his Army came to the head of the River *Lippia*, where he incamped, and continued many days.

After his return he goes to *Saxony*.

44. Here, amongst other busines of Importance, he gave Audience to the Ambassadours of *Sigefrid*, King of the *Danes*, as also to those of *Caganus* and *Juginus*, Princes of the *Hunnes*, sent to defire his Friendship and Alliance. But the Assembly being dissolved, and the King returned back into *Gall*, *Widikind*, who, as we say, fled to the Danith King, returned home, and put all into disorder, which had in appearance been formerly settled. At the same time News was brought to Court, that the *Sorabi*, or *Slavi*, who inhabited betwixt the two Rivers, *Albia* and *Sala*, had made Incursions into the neighbouring Territories of the *Thuringians* and *Saxons*, and had wafted certain places with Fire and Sword. *Charles* hereupon gave speedy order to three of his Ministers, *Adalgius* his Chamberlain, *Geilo* the

The Sleii make Incursions on their Neigh-

**Sect. 4.** The Treachery of the Saxons. the *Comes Stabuli*, and *Woradus* a Count of the Palace, to raise a sufficient number of the Eastern Franks and *Saxons*, and therewith to chastise the Infolence of these Rovers. They, when they came upon the Borders of *Saxony*, to their wonder and disappointment, instead of Aislfestine, found the *Saxons*, by the Practices of *Widukind*, ready to fight against them. It happened well that they met with *Theodoric*, a Count, the King's Kinsman, who hearing of the Revolt, had levied Forces all on a sudden in *Ribaria*. He offered to join with them, and set upon the *Saxons*, who had encamped on the North side of an Hill, called *Suntel*, and they seeming to close with him, ordered him to take one way, and they would march another, so as to incomps the Hill, and surprise them. But they feared lest he should have the Honour of the Victory, and therefore resolved to fall upon the Enemy by themselves, before he could come up and meet them. And on the Enemy they fell, not in any order, but confusely, every one putting Spurs to his Horse, and striking who shoule be the foremost to seize the Prey, which they doubted not but would fall into their Hands. They were so warmly received by the *Saxons*, that they were all in a manner slain, thoſe few that escaped betaking themselves to the Army of *Theodoric*. Amongſt others fell *Adalgisus* and *Geilo*, besides four Counts, and twenty Noblemen.

**45.** The News of the defeat being brought to *Charles*, in great indignation he raised an Army, and entred *Saxony*, where calling before him the Nobility, he inquired into the Authours of the Revolt. All the blame was laid upon *Widukind*, but he, aware of what would follow, had again withdrawn himself into *Danemarke*, or amongst the *Normans*, as our Authours call them, and no example of severity could be shewn upon him. Of those therefore which, moved by his Perfusions, had risen in Rebellion, and destroyed so many *Franks*, no fewer than four thousand and five hundred Men were delivered up, whom he commanded all in one day to be headed upon the River *Alarus*, at a place called *Fredi*. This severity was great enough, and possibly too great, for instead of awing the *Saxons*, it drove them into a rage, and caused an universal Defection. Then was more work made for the King, who being in honour obliged to prosecute the bufines to the utmost, made preparations in Spring for another Expedition, when by a Domeſtique Accident his Journey, for ſome time, was retarded. The last day of April was the laſt of the Life of *Hildegardis* his Queen, whose Funerals he ſtaid to ſee Royally ſolemnized, and then he began his march for *Saxony*, where the Natives were prepared to receive him at a place called *Theorbincell*, as *Aimoinus* hath it. He fell on them ſuddenly, that he made a very great slaughter, and of ſo vast a multitude very few escaped. From the place of the Battel he marcht to *Paderborne*, where making ſome ſtay for other Forces, which he had appointed to follow him out of *France*, he underſtood there was another Party of *Saxons* assembled at the River *Hofa*, with Intention to give him Battel, if he came that way. The ſupplies being arrived, he marched thither, and had the ſame ſucces, putting to the Sword an innumerable multitude, and taking very many Prifoners. Thence triumphantly he marched Eastward, firſt to the River *Wilara*, and then as far as *Albia*, waſting all things in his paſſage. This done, he returned with his Victorious Army into *France*, where he preſently married *Fastrada*, the Daughter of one *Kadulf*, a Count; a *Frank* by Nation, by which he had two Daughters. The ſame year he married her he loſt *Bertrada*, his Mother, who died on the twelfth of July. All the Winter he ſpent in the Village called *Heriftall*, and there kept both his *Chrift* and *Eager*.

**46.** Thence aſſoon as the ſeaſon would well permit, he refolved to return, and finiſh the War with thiſt stout and pertinacious People. Paffing the *Rhine*, he waſted *Weſſalia*, and coming to the *Wefere*, when he perceived he could not doe the ſame by the Northern Part of *Saxony*, by reaſon of the Waters which overflowed the Country after great Rains, he himſelf went into *Thuringia*, commanding his Son *Charles* to ſtay with part of the Army in the Borders of *Weſſalia*. Through *Thuringia* he marched into the Champion Parts of *Saxony*, being near the two Rivers *Sala* and *Albia*, and waſting all the Eastern Countries, he then retreated into *France*, His Son *Charles*, in the mean time fought very proþerouſly with a strong Party of Horse, which gave him battel, with hopes, that though he was the King's Son, he might not be Heir to his good Fortune, but having made great slaughter of them, he followed his Father to the City *Wormes*. But there his Father would not keep him company; for into *Saxony* again he marched, having no patience till he

**Sect. 4.** he could conquer and ſubdue this stubborn Nation, and in his Camp, in a Village called *Huthagoe*, upon the River *Ambe*, he kept his *Chriftmas*. The Feffival being over, he waſted the Country, as far as the place called *Rum*, at the confluence of the two Rivers, *Wefere* and *Wabarne*, and the feaſon of the year, with the great Inundations, prohibiting him to paſs farther, he returned to the Castle of *Eresburg*, and there ſpent the remaining part of Winter.

47. The remaining part he ſpent not idly; ſecuring his Wife and Children, whom he had ſent for, by a strong Garrifon placed in the Caſtle, into all parts, as he could, he made Excursions, killing every Peron he could light on, and burning all the Villages. Sometimes in his own Peron, and otherwhiles by his Captains, he fo plied the *Saxons*, that all Winter long they had no ref, and when Spring appeared, for their farther comfort, a fresh Army out of *France* arrived. Having thus abated their Spirit, as he thought, he held an Aſſembly at *Paderborne* in a formal manner, which being concluded, he removed to a Village called *Bardegoe*, where he underſtood that *Alboin* and *Witichind*, the chief Authours of ſo much trouble, were retired beyond the River *Etbe*. He ſent to them by ſome of their own Countrymen, advising them as the beſt for them, when all was conſidered, to come to him, and own him for their Sovereign Lord, which fo wrought on them, together with the late miſeries ſustained by the War, that they refuled to appear, upon no other grounds, than that they had no Hostages for their ſecurity. He ſent upon their Hostages by one *Amalwin*, a Courtier, and then he returned into *France*. They were not long after him, for having received the Hostages with *Amalwin*, they came to the Court at *Atigay*, where all conſtroverſies were ended by their reſolution, which at laſt the ceipt of Baptiſm, and *Witichind* was made Duke of *Angrie*, being, as ſome have thought, the Progenitor of *Hugh Capet*. Thus Clemency effected that which the Severity of War and Revenge for ſo long a time could not bring about, and the *Saxons* for ſome Years continued in Obedience.

48. But these being over wearied, as it were, with Ease and Fidelity, they returned to their old rebellious humour, and then returned the like ſlaughters and deſtaſtions, as formerly had been committed. Neither could this humour be quite subdued by fo many and grievous Calamities, till Induſtry completed that which Force and Arms had in vain attempted, almost for thirty years together. Such as lived on this ſide the *Elbe* were by the more frequent Incurſions of the *Franks*, ſooner tamed, their humours were ſooner foſtened by their conuerſation, and their fury and violence calmed by the powerful Charms of Christian Religion, once cordially imbraced. But they that lived on the farther ſide this River, being separated from the rest, leſs accuſtomed to commerce, and dwelling in no great apprehenſion of Chaitement, upon every occaſion were prone to their old wont of Rebellion. *Charles* therefore paſſing over the River, cauſed them to assemble together, and eaſily procured them to take the Oath of Fidelity, to which they had been as much accuſtomed, as to break it. This By transplanting done, he peruaaded them to make an Exchange of thiſ their Country, which was cold and barren, for better Lands, which he would find out elsewhere. Ten thouſand of the moſt ſtout and conſiderable among them, with their Wives and Children, he tranſported over the *Rhine*, and planted them amongst the *Franks* in *Babant*, *Flanders*, and other places. And that theſe that remained might not return to their perfidious practices, and the grounds lie wafe and uelgis, he cauſed the *Abrodite*, People he could truſt, and the next Neighbours, thither to remove themſelves. Moreover he ſettled a Council in the place, which was to ufe great severity toward thiſ ſeafon as faſhified their Faith, the Image of which continued in thiſe parts many Ages after. The Conclusion of thiſ War, and thiſ Transplantation of the *Saxons* happened ſome time beyond the period of thiſ preſent Volume; ſome ſay in the thiſty third year of the War; but we were unwilling to leave the Reader al- together in the dark, as to thiſ iſſue.

49. *Charles*, by his Clemency to *Witichind* and his Party, ſettled the Affairs of *Saxony* for a certain time, when his contrary carriage to the Oriental *Franks* or thoſe of *Francia*, living beyond the *Rhine*, procured a quite contrary effect amongſt them. His ſecond Wife, *Fastrade*, was of a quite diſferent humour from that of his firſt, of an high and turbulent Spirit, intermeddling with Affairs of State, and diſquieting both her ſelf and Husband, as ſuch Women are wont to doe, if her ambiſious, envious and covetous deſires were not in every point obſerved. Overcome by her vexatious Importunities, he entered upon ſome ſevere Courses, which caſt the Nobility of *Francia* into a Conſpiracy, through the peruation of one *Haraldrade*, a Count. But herein, as in his other Affairs, the good fortune of *Charles* appeared,

Sect. 4. appeared, that he had notice of the Plot, e'er it could break out into any open Act, and by his Prudence and Expedition prevented the mischief intended, the Conspirators being timely apprehended and committed to Cuflofy, with whom, as conscious that his contrary acting had given them some provocation, he resolved not to proceed with cruelty. Some were deprived of their right, others sent into banishment, some absolutely pardoned, and none put to death, only three were killed by the Officers, from whom they fled. *Charles* having so happily prevented this designed mischief, as the Foster Child of Fortune was still led on from one felicity to another. The Inhabitants of *Armoricæ*, or *Little Britain*, for all his great Successes and Name, were unwilling to pay their accustomed Tribute, which the Kings had accounted their due, ever since this People being expelled by the *Saxons* and *Angli* out of the British Island, and having seated themselves in the Territories of the *Veneti* and *Corsoliteæ*, had from *Sylla* fallen upon *Charibdis*, and flying from the Yoke of one, had been forced to submit their Necks to that of another. Sometimes they refused to pay their Money, with what success we have formerly seen; now and then, as they saw their opportunities, they would rebel, and turn open Enemies invading and ravaging the neighbouring French Territories, but still in the end were forced to return, and join themselves in the yoke of Servitude with the rest of the conquered or truckling Nations. *Charles* dindid not bear that Indignity which the meanest of his Predecessours would not endure, and dispatched away *Audulphus*, the Overseer of his Table, with Forces sufficient for chastising and reducing them, who had such success, that without much ado he brought them to crave Pardon, and promise all good demeanour for the time to come, for confirmation whereof they gave up their Hostages, whom, with many of the Nobility, he presented to the King, then lying at *Wormes*.

*The Britains* of  
*Armenia* reduced  
to Obedience.

He makes another Voyage into Italy.

50. *Gall* was wholly now in repeate, and in perfect Obedience, not the least nor accident happening, which might make him work. Being so much at leisure, he thought it as profitable as grateful to his Humour, to make another Voyage into *Italy*, and visite those foreign Dominions, which he had not of so long a time beheld. He had some reason, for *Aragise*, Duke of *Beneventum*, began to grow very formidable, making up again a little fiew of a Kingdom, and having never thoroughly submitted himself, nor owned the Authority of the *Franks*. Upon him *Charles* resolved to fall on a sudden, and take him unprepared, to which purpose in the middle of Winter he took his Journey, and having made his passage over the *Alpes*, and through the Snow, kept his *Christmas* at *Florence*, which over, he departed with all speed to *Rome*. Here having for some time confuted with *Adrian* the Bishop, and the rest of his Friends, he buckled himself to his March toward *Beneventum*, the Seat of the Dukedom, a City of *Samnum*, to which was subject *Campania*, the *Salernitanæ*, with all *Calabria*. *Aragise* knowing himself surprised, and at best inferior to the King in strength, betook himself to craft and policy. He sent to him *Ramold*, his eldest Son, with Gifts and good Words, to divert him from his purpose, but he was too tenacious of it to be so put off, and taking the Messenger along with him, marched to *Capua*, the chief City of *Campania*, which he besieged. *Arigise* perceiving what must be the issue, left *Beneventum*, and betook himself to *Silernum*, a Town both stronger, and standing upon the Water; whence he sent to him *Grimald*, his other Son, to deprecate his Displeasure, and promising him to obey him in all things he should require, which good language and concencion so wrought upon him, that retaining *Grimald*, as an Hostage, he sent his elder Brother home to his Father, with some Noblemen of the French Army, who were to receive the Oaths and Hostages of the severall Cities, which being done, he drew off his Army, and returned to *Rome*, where he kept his *Easter*.

He invades Ba-  
varia.

51. Having dispatcht his Affairs thus in *Italy*, though all was clear on that Coast, when he came out of *Gall*, yet now another storm was gathering in *Bavaria*, where *Tassilo* the Duke plaid fast and loose, being merely by fear and awe kept from openly violating that Agreement he had formerly made with *Pipin* and his Posterior, and ever and anson ready to renounce obedience, when he perceived there was any probability, either by reason of his own Advantages, or the Incumbances of *Charles*, to succeed in his Designes. But hearing now that the *Lombards* were absolutely reduced, and that his Kinman would be at leisure to call him to an Account, he sent his Ambassadours to *Rome*, where *Charles* still resided, to desire of the Bishop, that he would beget a perfect understanding betwixt them. The Bishop was very ready to become Author of so good a work, and *Charles* was not so averse, but that he easily brought him to close with the Offer, so that there wanted

Sect. 4. nothing but to sign the League, and confirm the Agreement. But the Ambassadors being demanded what Power they had to conclude or ratifie the Treaty, denied that their Instructions or Commission extended any farther than merely to understand the Pleasure of the King and Bishop, and return their Answers to their Master. *Adrian* hereat conceived great Indignation, as fooled by a trifling Message, and sent them away with Threats of Ecclesiastical Censures, in case *Tassilo* stood not firm to the former obligations he had made to the House of *Pipin*. *Charles* thought it best not to be long after the Messenger, and taking his leave of the Bishop, departed to *Wormes*. Here finding his Wife and Family, he called an Assembly of the Estates, wherein the whole matter relating to his late Exploits in *Italy*, and the bussines of *Tassilo* was reported, and forasmuch as it was reported and feared, that this *Bavarian* Duke would call in the *Humes* to his assistance, it was unanimously resolved to raise a very considerable Army, wherewith *Bavaria* in three several places should be invaded.

52. On one side *Pipin*, the Son of *Charles*, with his *Italian* Forces, was ordered to march over the *Rhetian Alpes*, and invade the Country from the South. From the North the *Oriental Franks* and *Saxons* were to give the Onset; and the King himself, with the third Party, resolved to fall on where the River *Luccus* divided the *Bavarians* from the *Alamanæ*, at the City *Augusta*, so that *Tassilo* should have no way to escape, except he took that of the East, toward the Territories of the *Humes*, which if he did, then would the *Franks* enter, and seize upon his Domains. *Tassilo* found himself so intangled, that he laid off thoughts of invading *France*, wherewithal, at the Instigation of his Wife, and the Promises of the *Humes*, he had flattered himself, and cast himself at the Feet of *Charles*, begging Pardon for his past Errours, and renewing his usual Protests. The King for this time yielded to his importunity, and receiving his Son *Theodo*, with twelve others, for Hostages, returned into *France*, and wintered in a place near to *Menz*, called *Inglisheim*. Here in the Spring following he held an Assembly of the Estates, whereat all his Subjects and Vassals were commanded to be present, and *Tassilo*, the Duke of *Bavaria*, amongst the rest. He made his appearance; but his own Subjects afraid, it seems, of the War which threatened their Country with devastation, in case he should revolt, laid heavy Crimes to his Charge, as that since his last swearing Obedience, at the importunity of his Wife *Liutberga*, the Daughter of *Desiderius*, he had tampered afrely with the *Humes*, to procure a strong alliance with them, in order to a Rebellion, with other things and words, which were so aggravated, that he was, as a Traitor, condemned to Death, he not being able to deny what was objected. But the Clemency of the King procured a mitigation of his punishment, for that Head which was to be cut off, was covered only with a Monk's Hood, and *Theodo*, his Son, was shaven also, and for company shut up with him in the Monastery, those *Bavarians* that had been of the Conspiracy being banished into several places. The *Humes*, as they had promised, raised two Armies, whereof with one they invaded the Marches of *Fonna Julii*, and with the other made an Inroad into *Bavaria*, but in both places were worsted, and driven back with great los of Men. This los enraged them, and to be revenged, with more numerous Forces they again invade *Bavaria*, but the Inhabitants receive them with such Conduct and Resolution, that having put to the Sword an innumerable Company of them, many of the rest, for fear, took the River *Danubius*, and thinking to swim safe to land, are overwhelmed with the floods.

53. *Charles* having fully reduced *Bavaria*, put the Government into another posture. He made no one Duke over the whole, left he should commit too much Power into the Hands of one Man, but many Counts or Governors, that their number might render them weaker, and more contemptible. His Hands being now again idle, he must some other way employ, and rather than want work, he will travell to feit it as far as the very *Baltick Ocean*: There where it passes by *Germany*, in the Territories now belonging to *Pomerania*, *Meckleburg* and *Holstia*, lived a Nation of the *Humes*, fierce and barbarous, in their own Language called *Welatabi*, and in the French *Wiltzi*, or *Viltzi*, always adverse to the Interest of the *Franks*, if we believe their Authors, and infesting ever and anon their best Friends and Confederates, particularly the *Abrodice*. The King not able any longer to endure their Insolence, resuled to make them feel the Effects of his Displeasure, and gathering a vast Army together, passed the *Rhine* about *Coloene*, whence travelling through *Saxony*, he came to the *Elbe*, and pitching his Camp upon the River, over it he laid two Bridges, whereof one on both sides he fortified, and thereon

Sect. 4.  
He subdues the  
Vrdri.

thereon placed a Garrison. Then marching forwards, at length he entred the Enemies Countrey, which he wafted with Fire and Sword, till such time as the Inhabitants being terrified with his Name, and his manner of proceeding, began to consult how to appaſe him, and laying their Heads together, the Reguli, Nobility and Senate, though they were a Nation Stout and Warlike, gave up themselves into his hands, promising all Fidelity and Allegiance from which they never in the least departed. This Conquest ſo happily performed, he returned back the ſame way he came, and in Worms kept both his *Christmas* and the *Easter* following. And that year, which was a wonder, he made no expedition at all, but reſiding in that City, gave Audience to the Ambaſſadors that came from the *Hunnes*, and ſent ſome of his own to them; a great Controverſie having arifen about the Borders of their Dominions, which became the Original of ſuch Heats and Malice as could not be ended but by a War. Farther, to buſt and divert himſelf, he paſſed up the River *Menus*, to his Palace of *Salz* in *Germany*, built upon the River *Sala*, and down again he Rowed to *Wormes*, where Wintering, his Houſe wherein he lived accidentally was ſet on Fire in the Night and Burnt. Yet he ſtill continued in the place, and as magnificently as ever solemnized the Feat of *Christmas* and *Easter*.

54. Theſe *Hunnes* we lately ſpoke of, were part of the Potterty who in the Reign of *Honorius* power'd themſelves into *Europe*, and being a moſt direfull Plague to the Inhabitants thereof, had feiz'd on both the *Pannonia Superior* toward the Weſt, where are now the Provinces of *Carniola*, *Carinthia* and the greater part of *Austria*; and the *Inferior* also toward the South, which at this day contains *Bosnia*, *Sclavonia* and that part of *Hungary* lying towards *Iſter* or the *Danube*, ſo named from thoſe People which were called both *Hunnes* and *Avaræ*, and as we are told from both words joyned together, known by the name of *Hungari* or *Hungarians*. So long as *Bavaria* continued a Dukedom of it ſelf, there was no occaſion of quarrel miniftred betwixt theſe *Hunnes* and the *Franks*, but this Countrey being moſt subdued, and laid to the reſt of their Dominions, *Charles* and they began to quarrel about the limits of their Territories. The quarrel aroſe to that height, that *Charles* diſdaining to receive the leaſt diſadvantage, and elevated by the conſtant ſucces he had over their Neighbours, from fo small a beginning, raifed a moſt tedious and grievous War, which continued full eight years, and then was completed with the Deftruſion moſt of the whole Nation. Making Levees throughout all his Dominions, he diuided his Forces into two Parties according to his Cuſtome, to diſtract and amufe the Enemy the more, whereof the one he committed to the Conduet of *Theodorick* a Count, and *Magnifrid* his Chamberlain, with Orders to invade the Countrey at the Northern Bank of the *Danube*; he himſelf led the other, reſolving to make an Invaſion on the Southern part by the way of *Bavaria*, the Inhabitants whereof he Commanded to convey Proviſions for the Army down the River.

55. Thus appointed he began his March, and made his firſt incamping upon the River *Arisus*, which separated *Bavaria* from the Territories of the *Hunnes*, and there he ſpent three days in Prayers and Supplications to Almighty God, for a bleſſing upon his Expedition. Then invading the Countrey, he wafted all with Fire and Sword, the Enemy not daring to give him Battel, but ſecuring himſelf in his Forts, whereof two were very conſiderable; one upon the River *Cambus* wherewith it was exceedingly Fortified, and another near the City *Comageni*, upon a Mountain called *Cameoberg* moſt difficult of Acces. But the Reſolution of *Charles*, and the Valour of his Souldiers Conquered both thoſe places, and he went on defroying all things as far as the River *Arrabo*, over which paſſing his Men, he came to the confluence of it and the River *Danubius*, where he made ſome stay, purpoſing to return by the Countrey of *Gabaria*. To *Theodorick* and *Magnifrid* he ſent Orders to Retreat by the way of the *Begamini* as they came, and then having laid waſte a great part of *Pannonia*, he returned into *Bavaria* without any los or diſadvantage in all this expedition, except in Horſes, amongt which raged ſo great a Contagion, that ſcarcely the tenth part remained alive of ſo many thouſands. Having diſmiffed his Souldiers, he himſelf ſat *Aimoinus* came to the City *Regimini* which now is called *Regensburg*, where he refolved to Winter, and there to celebraſe the Feſtivals both of our Lord's Nativity and his Reſurecſtion.

56. While here he yet refiſed, Conſulting how with beſt ſucces he might farther proſecute the War with the *Hunnes*, he was in danger of his Life at home by a Conſpiracy. He had a Baſtard Son named *Pipin*, one of a beautiſh Face, but Hutch-back'd, and as deformed it ſeems in his mind as in his Body, for ſeveral great Men

Picks a Quarrel  
with the *Hunnes*.

Waſting this  
Country with  
Fire and Sword.

*Alias Magifrid.*

*Alias Rabu.*

*Alias Beamini.*

*Alias Reginum.*

Another Conſpiracy.

Sect. 4.

Men wearied with the cruel demeanour of *Fafraſde* the Queen, conſulted with him how to prevent her practices by her Husband's Death, and by ſending the Father into another World, to make way for his Son's advancement in this. He being either an Authour or the pretext of this Conſpiracy, they expect a convenient ſeaſon to execute their Deſigns, when the whole Plot and Contrivance is diſcovered to the King by one *Fardulf a Lombard*, and they as Guilty of High Treafon were ſome of them Beheaded, and others Hanged, *Pipin* being ſhot up in the Monaſtery of *Prumium*, and *Fardulf* rewarded with that of *St. Demi*. This Conſpiracy thus haſily blown over, he cauſed a Bridge to be laid over the *Danube*, continuing ſtill in *Bavaria* and intent upon the War with the *Hunnes*, for which he refolved in the ſame place to ſpend the ſecond Winter. When he began to prepare for another Expedition, News was brought that the Forces under the Command of *Theodorick*, in their return through *Friſia* in a Village called *Hirufri* near the River *Wifara* were intercepeted and destroyed. This cauſed him to put off his Journey into *Pannonia*, though to keep up his Reputation he diſembled the greatness of the Loſs.

57. But left he and his Men ſhould be idle, he gave ear to the Project of ſome about him, who pretended they had found out a rare Expedient for the enriching of *Germany*, and the Neighbouring parts of *Europe*, by promoting Commerce betwixt the feveral Countries. Of the *Rhine* and the *Danube*, the two greatest Rivers of thoſe parts of the World, the one falls into the *German Ocean*, and the other runs Eaſtward into the *Euxine Sea*. Betwixt theſe lay two more inconfideſable, in the days of *Aimoinus* or the Authour of that History called *Radantia* and *Alomora*, *Allis Ardenia* & *Alemia*, whereof the one mingles its Waves with the *Danube*, and the other empties it ſelf into the *Rhine*. Betwixt theſe two they aduifed a Ditch three hundred foot broad ſhould be cut, ſuch as would receive large Veffels, and accordingly the whole Autumn many men were employed, who digged ſuch a Ditch three hundred foot in breadth, and in length two Miles. But all this was loſt Labour, it being hard for Mortals to alter that courfe of Nature, which God Almighty has appointed to ſublunary things. What they digged on the Day, was by Night filled up again, partly by Earth at the Ground being Fenny and looſe, and partly by Water, great Rains as is uſual at that time of the year falling in thoſe Parts, lying fo neare to the *German Ocean*. While he thus made himſelf work in this part of *Germany*, he had other work made to his hands elsewhere by the *Saxons*, who univerſally Revoluted, and the *Sacrons* who having entered *Septimania* defeated in Battel ſuch Counts and others as oppoſed themſelves in defence of the Countrey, and having put many of the *Franks* to the Sword, returned Victoriously to their own Homes.

58. In the beginning of the following Summer another Accident happened, which however he took it to his Subjects ſeemed not unluckly, and that was the Death of his Wife *Fafraſde*, who was Buried at *Menz* in the Church of St. *Alban*. Having taken care for her Funeral, and held an Aſembly of the Estates, he diuided his Forces into two, and refolved to renew his ancient Hoſtility with the *Saxons*, giving order to his Son *Charles* to paſs the *Rhine* at *Colin*, and with one half to invade the Countrey on the Weſt, while he himſelf by the way of the South, with the reſt of the Army ſhould attacene them. This being done, although the *Saxons* had pitched their Camp in the place called *Smetfeld*, and there in appearance expected his coming as ready to give him Battel; yet the matter was fo carried, that deſpairing of that Succes which they had lateſt promiſed to themſelves, they caſt away both their Arms and Courage, and as univerſally begged pardon, as they had committed the Offence, and without fighting a ſroke, both gave up their Hoſtages, and according to their old Trade took the Oath of Fideſility. This being over, the King returned into *France* and Wintred at *Aix*, and in Spring following not being unmindfull of the perfidious humour of the *Saxons*, held another General and ſolemn Aſembly of his Estates, beyond the *Rhine* in a Village called *Cafeſtin* not far from *Menz*, and thence with an Army re-entered and waſted almoſt all *Saxony*, and coming to a Village called *Bardenburg*, he encamped near the place called *Bardenbunk*, and there expeſted the coming of the *Slavi* whom he had ſent for.

59. In the mean time News was brought him that *Wixin* the King of the *Abrodiæ* as he was paſſing the River *Elbe*, was intrapp'd and ſlain by the *Saxons*, which fact farther enraged and provoked him to be revenged on this perfidious Nation. All that he could doe was again to waſte their Countrey, and receive more Hoſtages, of which doubtles having ſo often broken their Faith, they were not at all

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all sparing; while he was about this work, one *Tudun* a man of chieftest Rank amongst the *Hunes* came Ambassador to him out of *Pannonia*, and willingly offered himself to receive Baptism, and to be instructed in the Christian Religion. In so good an humour this Barbarian was frightened, by the success which the Arms of *Charles* though not present in Person, had lately had in that Countrey. For *Henry Duke of Forum Julii* being sent thither had made very great spoil, and in particular taken and railed the Royal Palace of the *Hunes* called *Rhing*, whence he brought to the King a very great Treasure, a great part whereof he was ordered to carry as a present to the See of *Rome*, or as they phrase it to *St. Peter*, and the rest was liberally distributed amongst the great Officers and Courtiers, having been the flower as it were of that vast Wealth which this vagrant and thieving People had pilfered out of *Aisa* and *Europe*. *Pipin* also his Son he had sent into *Pannonia*, with Forces raised both in *Italy* and *Bavaria*, wherewith he beat the *Hunes*, and drove them beyond the River *Tiza*, which done at his ease and pleasure, he wafted and spoiled their Territories, and what was left untouched and rejected by *Henry*, all in a manner fell as booty into his Hands, with the Palace *Rhing* which he totally destroyed. *Eginhart* to this Relation of *Aimoinus* adds, that the *Franks* hitherto, <sup>Eginhart Regia</sup> <sup>anno 730 dicitur</sup> <sup>etiam Arianus et Langobardus ac</sup> <sup>tem Campus rot-</sup> <sup>catur, ex us</sup> <sup>defracta Ama-</sup> <sup>tius, lib.4.c.86.</sup> <sup>et pars antiqua</sup> <sup>que avara pug-</sup> <sup>nata est, et confu-</sup> <sup>ta est.</sup>

And returns  
again with rich  
booty.

*Another expa-*  
*sition into Sec-*  
*tion 9.*

de Drac & La Rambe fait appelle Ostifl Oest à dire en Thivis Royaume Oriental, ayant regarda Banieres & partie duquel regardant l'Occident & la Rivière de Leid's j'espere environs Auffrique. Faucher, Aimoinus, c. 87.

Seen again wa-  
ited by Charles.

60. About this time, as if all things and places conspired together to render Charles Fortunate and Victorious, the City *Barcimona* situate on the confines of *Spain*, having been sometimes in the hands of the *Franks*, and otherwhiles of the *Saxons*, was restored to him by *Zatis* one of that Nation, who had lately got it into his hands. This encouraged him to send *Lodovick* his Son to lay Siege to *Ocsa*, he himself having no patience till he was again in *Saxony*, which he wafted throughout as far as the utmost limits of it, where it lay bounded by the Ocean betwixt the two Rivers *Elbe* and *Wefer*. Thence returning to *Aix*, he gave audience to *Abdella* the Son of King *Abimenanga* who was come to him out of *Mauritania*, and to *Teckfus* sent from *Nicotes* the Governor of *Sicily* with Letters from the Emperor dated at *Constantinople*. But such was his propensity toward the punishment of the *Saxons*, that in their Countrey he resolved to Winter, and passing thither, fate down by the River *Wefer*, in a place which he would have called *Heristall*, and our Autour tells us was so called to his very time. Having distributed his Army into their Winter Quarters, he sent for his two Sons *Pipin* and *Lodovick*, whereof the one was returned from his *Italian*, and the other from his *Spanish* Expedition, and entertained the Ambassadors of the *Hunes*, sent to him with great presents. The like he did to the Ambassadors of *Hadesonius* King of *Austria* and <sup>Al. Asturia.</sup> *Galicia*, who neither came empty handed, and then remitted *Pipin* into *Italy*, and *Lodovick* into *Aquitain*, with whom he sent *Abdella* to be conveyed into *Spain* on his way homeward.

61. *Charles* passed all this Winter in *Saxony*, to the great terror of the Inhabitants, as very well might be imagined. But that this was not common to all those that inhabited beyond the *Elbe*, sufficiently appeared in this, that e'er the seafon came, that there was Grafs enough for the Army to take the Field, they fell upon certain of his followers, whom he had sent to do Justice amongst them, and preserving a few for Ranfone killed the rest, and with them *Godefalcus* who was in his way returning from his Embassy to *Sigefrid* King of the *Danes*.<sup>1</sup> Inraged hereat, above all measure, he mustered his Forces, and whatever lay betwixt the *Elbe* and the *Wefer* he destroyed with Fire and Sword. But those that lived beyond the *Elbe*, elevated with the cowardly attempt they had made upon the Persons lately mentioned, for which as yet they could not be called to account, went about to make War upon the *Abodrite*, who ever after their first Conjunction had continued faithfull to the *Franks*. But the prudence and expedition of *Theoso* the Captain of the *Abodrite* prevented them, who having timely notice of their motion met, and gave them Battel in the place called *Scuentana*, where he made great slaughter, and forced those that escaped with their Lives to run for them, withal the haste they could make to their own homes. *Charles* returning to *Aix*, received

The Saxons fall  
upon the *Ab-*  
*odrite* but are  
beaten by the  
afflition of the  
Franks.

ved the Ambassadors of *Irene* the Empress, who having put out the Eyes of her Son, had reassumed the Government, and at their regret released *Silennius*, the Brother of *Tarafus* the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, who had been taken Prisoner in Battel. They were scarcely dispatched, when others arrived out of *Spain* from *Hadesonius*, with a small part of the spoil he had lately taken at his Conquest of the City *Olysspona*; these were seven *Moors* with so many Mules and Corleets, <sup>Libon.</sup> being as one observes rather marks of Victory than any considerable Present. But the bringers he kindly received, and sent back with rewards. Now were the Islands *Baleares* afterward called *Majorica* and *Minorica*, overrun and wafted by Moorish Pirates. *Charles* spent this Winter at *Aix*, and there celebrated the two usual Festivals.

62. The Spring following, when he was again preparing for a fresh Expedition into *Saxony*, he was a little diverted by displeasing News brought him from *Rome*. There *Leo* the Bishop had been most unhumanely treated by the Kindred of his Predecessours, and after much Cruelty and Malice shewed upon his Body, was clapt up close Prisoner in a Monastery, but thence making an escape over the Walls, was kindly received by *Winfidus* the Duke of *Spoletum*. The King hearing the News, with great sorrow and indignation took care that he should be Honourably brought to his presence, yet revoluted not to put off the War, which he intended once more against the *Saxons*. Removing then to the *Rhine*, there in the place called *Lippia*, he held the usual assembly of the Estates, and expected the coming of the *Roman* Bishop, sending in the mean time his Son *Charles* with part of the Army to the *Elbe*, to dispose of some matters relating to the *Wiltzi* and *Abodrite*, and to receive some *Saxons* of those called the *Nordluidi*. Not long after his departure the Bishop came, and after a kind entertainment for certain days, he sent him back to *Rome* with certain of his own men, who restored him to his See. He being dismissed, he gave audience to a Messenger sent from *Michael* the Patritian from *Sicily*, and presently after received the unwelcome news of the defeat and Death of two of his Captains, whereof one <sup>\*</sup>*Geroldus* by name, being a Governor in *Bavaria* was slain in Battel against the *Hunes*, and the other called *Erick* or *Henry* famous for his many Victories, was by the Inhabitants of *Tarfus* or *Tarfus* a <sup>†</sup>*Hildericus* premier femme de Charles made him as soon as he returned to *Aix* where he Wintred. For *Wido* or *Guado* a Count and Prefect of the *British* Coast, <sup>II</sup> having with others his fellow Counts and Captains overrun *Britany*, brought him the Arms of the great men he had subdued on which their Names were engraven. Other Trophies were presented him from those that had restrained and punished the Moorish Rovers, about *Majrica*; and *Azan* the *Saracen* Governor of *Ocsa* sent him the Keys of the City <sup>III</sup> *Wili* (of *Wili* or *Wulfric*) <sup>IV</sup> *Castellum*, <sup>V</sup> *Castellum* <sup>VI</sup> *Castellum* <sup>VII</sup> *Castellum* <sup>VIII</sup> *Castellum* <sup>IX</sup> *Castellum* <sup>X</sup> *Castellum* <sup>XI</sup> *Castellum* <sup>XII</sup> *Castellum* <sup>XIII</sup> *Castellum* <sup>XIV</sup> *Castellum* <sup>XV</sup> *Castellum* <sup>XVI</sup> *Castellum* <sup>XVII</sup> *Castellum* <sup>XVIII</sup> *Castellum* <sup>XIX</sup> *Castellum* <sup>XX</sup> *Castellum* <sup>XI</sup> *Castellum* <sup>XII</sup> *Castellum* <sup>XIII</sup> *Castellum* <sup>XIV</sup> *Castellum* <sup>XV</sup> *Castellum* <sup>XVI</sup> *Castellum* <sup>XVII</sup> *Castellum* <sup>XVIII</sup> *Castellum* <sup>XIX</sup> *Castellum* <sup>XX</sup> *Castellum* <sup>XI</sup> *Castellum* 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Sec<sup>t</sup>. 4. if not the growth of the Party contrary to his Interest, and seemed to threaten the Authority of a Prince, whose absence incouraged a People as yet not fully settled to a Revolt.

Where he is magnificently received by Pope Leo.

And Crowned Emperor.

64. The day before he arrived at *Rome*, twelve miles off at *Nomentum* Pope *Leo* met him, and having Supped with him that Night, returned to the City to be ready for his solemn reception the next day. He rode on Horseback to the Stairs of St. Peter, where *Leo* with all his Bishops and Clergy received him, and with solemn procession conducted him into the Church of that Apostle. After seven days he called the People together, and laid open to them the cause of his coming, the Principal whereof was, as he said, to make Inquisition about those Crimes which were laid to the Charge of their Bishop. But no Accuser appearing, *Leo* with the Gospel in his hand went up into the Pulpit, and there in presence of all the People purged himself by Oath of the things objected. On *Christmas*-day, the King being come to St. Peter's Church to hear Divine Service, as he kneeled before the Altar, *Leo* set a Crown on his Head, and all the People Acclaimed to *Charles Augustus*, *Crowned of God the mighty and peaceable Emperour of the Romans, Life and Victory*, which Acclamations over, he was according to the Custome of the ancient Princes adored by the Bishop, and leaving off the name of Patrician, was saluted *Emperour and Augustus*. So was the Title of Emperour revived again at *Rome*, from what Inducments, how legally, and in what manner we shall consider more properly and fully in the History of that Countrey. Here we see the *Franks* advanced above all the rest of the Western Nations, and a King but of the second Head raised prodigiously to so sublime a pitch of Grandeur, how and by what Degrees both Nation and Family arrived at this height, we have as fully discorred as the nature of this Work will bear. Here we must leave *Charles* upon his Imperial Throne, but e'er we take our leave for altogether, we are obliged to return to his Cradle and take some notice of the Tongue he first spake, with other things belonging to the most ancient State and Customs and Polity of this confiderable Nation, which in the precedent History could not but too abruptly and confusely be performed.

The Sicambrian or Teutonick Dialect was their Language.

The Names of the Month.

Of the Winds.

65. To begin with their Language, as the great both Effect and Sign of their Original on which we have already so largely insisted, it's certain it was the *Sicambrian* or *Teutonick Dialect* their first coming into *Gall*, and so even to the time of it continued. There were other Languages indeed spoken in the Countrey where they inhabited, one whereof at length partly swallowed up, partly expelled theirs, but this could not be but by degrees, and in many years use and conversation, so that though many words were stolen in upon both, and those that were Learned or Nobly Educated, spake as well the one as the other, yet for the Rule or substance, the *German* or *Teutonick* still continued in ordinary use and practice. Nay, it was the Language of the Court, as appears from what we are told concerning *Charles* the Great himself. *Eginhart* an Author beyond all exception testifies, that he gave Names to the Months according to his own Language; the *Franks*, before that time having known them partly by Latine, and partly by Barbarous words. To the twelve Winds also he gave Proper Names, whereas formerly scarce four words were in use to exprest them. Of the Months January he called *Vunthermonat*, February *Hornung*, March he named *Lentzmonet*, April *Ostermonet*, *Hac confertum est May Wimmonet*, June *Brackmonet*, July *Heumonet*, August *Aermmonet*, September *Anga Saxonica de Herbsmonet*, October *Uynmonet*, November *Wündmonet*, and December *Heiligemonet*.

On the Winds he imposed the Names following; or that by the Romans called *Subflanus Ostrenwint*, on *Eurus Offsundren*, *Euroauster Sundofren*, *Auster Sundren*, *Aufroafricus Sandwefren*, *Africus Westsandren*, *Zephyrus Westfren*, *Corus Westworden*, *Circus Nordworden*, *Septentrionis Nordren*, *Aquilo Nordofren*, *Vulturinus Ostworden*. He adds that certain Baracons and most ancient Verses whereby were Sung, the Acts and Warlike Exploits of ancient Kings he wrote down and committed to Memory, and farther began a Grammar of his Mother Tongue. If any one desire farther satisfaction in this particular, and see what the very Language was, he may know that *Orfrid* a Monk of *Waffenbury* in *Wales* this Language of the *Franks* Translated the New Testament into Verse or Rythme, some of which together with the Lord's Prayer are to be seen in several Authors, particularly in *Fonsattus his Origines Franciae*, with Verses in Commendation of the Nation of the *Franks*. He may also there see part of *Tatianus his Phil-*

*Mensibus justa  
patrictiam lingua  
nomina impioris  
quae sunt id  
tempus, &c.*

\* *Na will ib scriban Under heil  
Evangeliou duli.  
So Offrith biar biguanum,  
In Eren Riffs langen...  
Prof. in Evangel.*

So will I write (the Dutch ay yet Scri-  
ven) the health (for which the word Sal-  
vation is least crepe in) of the Evangel  
the dial (for which is crepe inpart)

mony

## CHAP. I. Contemporary with the Conf. Roman Empire. Charles.

mony of the four Gospels Translated into this French Tongue, which continued thus *German* or *Teutonick*, at least till the Ruine of the Family of *Charles* the Great. This is evident from *Wildeman* Abbat of *Mersburg* his \* Translation of the *Canicular*, out of Latin into this old French, in the time of *Henry* the third Emperour, about the year of our Lord 1010, one of the Chapters whereof he begins thus; *Stand up Friundinna min iletgo, Min duna Min scona and Kim*. Such like Language is all the rest, and hereby it may be seen as one of our Modern Writers observes, that the old French and the old English, had then as great Affinity together as our Northern and Southern English have at this day. Now none will deny that our old English or ancient English Saxon was German or Teutonick.

66. Such therefore was the true and ancient French, a German or Teutonick Dialect, before it was corrupt, mixed and at last abolished by another Speech, which overpowered it by the multitude of Speakers. For in conquests of Countries this rule is to be observed in point of Languages, that where the Invaders in Numbers prevailed, either in a small space of time putting in multitudes upon a weaker Nation, or in a long continuance of time perpetually supplying their first Planters, there though they mixed with the People Conquered, their Language followed the Fortune of their Arms, and at length, getting Ground every day, became Victorious, but where a fairer invader the greater, and the Courage or good Fortune of a few prevailed over a Cowardly effeminate or unfortunate Multitude, there the succell was not the same, for as the Vulgar is Master of Language, which is founded upon Use and Custome, more Voices or Words carried it, and the Tongue had better fortune than the Hand, as far greater Sounds or Noises do drown the lesser. The former part is sufficiently evidenced in the *Roman* Conquests, especially in the Western parts, as also in the Invasion of the *Saxons* made into this Island of *Britain*. The later part not only in the matter of the *Franks*, who Conquered a People much more vast in Numbers than themselves, but in the case of the *Goths* in *Spain*, and *Lombards* in *Italy*, where the Languages prevailing in the Countries, at last got Ground, and prevailed over those they brought in with them, and not to stir far from home, we see the truth hereof abundantly manifested in the case of the *Normans* who coming into *France*, and bringing in with them a Northern or Teutonick Language of their own, first made Shipwreck of that there, as the *Franks* had formerly done, and then having got instead of that the *Romantick* or *Bastard Latine* now called French, when they Conquered here the *English Saxons* lost that also, and returned to their ancient *Teutonick*, (though altered by their Invasion,) and this they did notwithstanding all Arts imaginable used by them for abolishing the English, and propagating that other amongst a People to which their Politerity in this point was contrained at last to yield their Tongues; though not their unjuyfully got Possessions.

67. The *Franks* therefore by mixing and embodying with a far more numerous People, lost their Language, what then the speech spokē by the Natives at this time was we must enquire. The Language of such of them as were Originally *Galls*, was the first that was spoken (as far as man can know) in this Country, bearing that which was in use when *Cæsar* invaded them, viz. the *Celtick* or the *Gallick*, which though it might receive an infensible impression and alteration from the Touching of the *Phoenicians* upon the Sea Coasts, the planting of some Greek Colonies also on the Maritime Parts, the Neighbourhood of the *Saxnards* and *Germanas*, and the recourse made by the *Italians* to the Medicinal Waters in *Aquitaine*, yet till his time in the Body of the Land continued pure and uncorrupted. What this Language was is the great question much debated by certain Learned men, and that in two respects especially, viz. Whether it was the same Originally with our ancient *British*, or the *Welsh* Tongue, or whether it was the self same in substance with the *Teutonick* or ancient *German* Language, differing only in its Dialect, in form variety of phrases and terminations of words. For the first, that the Language of the old *Galls* was all one with the *British*, unless perhaps in variety of Dialect, *Cæsar* himself sheweth, where he writes that it was the custome of the *Galls* who desired farther knowledge or instruction in the Learning, or Discipline of the *Druides* to go over to them into *Britain*. Now forasmuch as they had no use of Books, the *Druides* in teaching must have used the same Language the *Galls* did, which *Tacitus* farther confirmeth, alledging that the *British* Speech, and that

So we now here begin,  
In the French Tongue.

\* *Trix Plantinianar. editio Extat  
Opera Pauli Merula.*

Stand up the Friend mine Speedily  
My Dove my fair and come.

*Primum Seconci Amica*

*Schon bodis stius*

*Vespergan Belge*

*pro pulchra*

*Inde nigrum Sceam.*

Sect. 4. of the *Galls* differed not much. But seeing the Language it self is lost, some scattered words only remaining as the broken Boards of a Shipwreck, by comparing those words with the present *Welsh*, our Learned *Condua* evinceth this truth, and that not by any wresting or Straining but very easily, and without violence he proves them to agree to our *British* both in sound and sense.

68. To give the Reader a shorter account of what he makes out more at large, that *Divona* a Fountain at *Bourdeaux* of which *Anfogius* Writes, that in the *Gallic Tongue* it signified God's Fountain, the *Britains* would have called by the same Name, for God to them is *Dyu*, and a Fountain *Vonan*, in the Latine *Divona*, by Analogy and for Verse sake. *Jupiter Tarans* or the *Thunder*, by the *Galls*, as many witness, was worshipped by the Name of *Taranis*, and *Taran* with the *Britains* betokened *Thunder*. The *Galls* had another God called *Hesu*, *Heus* or *Anubis* pain-  
ted like a Dog, and *Huad* with our *Welshmen* signifieth a Dog. Certain it is that the *Galls* worshipped Mercury under the Name of *Tuteates*, as the Inventor of *Arts*, and guide of their Journeys. And *Diw Taib* in the *British Tongue*, is as much as the *God of Travelling*. The *Galls* as *Polybius* informs us in their own Language called their *Mercenary Soldiers Gessatae*, and at this day the *Welsh Britains* call their hired Servants *Gueffin*. As *Phalanx* was the *Macedonian Legion*, so was *Caserne* peculiar to the *Galls*, as may be seen in *Vegetius*. Neither is this word Obsolete amongst the *Britains*, who yet use to call a Troop *Caserne* and *Wartad*, and the strength of War which lieth in a Legion *Kaderne*. The *Galls* that marched with *Brennus* into *Greece*, named that order of Horse-fight, which consisted of three Horses, as *Pausanias* tells us *Trimarkasia* or *Trimarphia*, for an Horse they call *Mareca*, which in that signification is mere and pure *British*. For *Iri* signifieth Three, and *Marcia* an *Horse*.

69. The Name of *Circius* given to that *Windo*, to which *Angustus Caesar* both vowed, and built a Temple in *Gall*, *Fbaurinus* the same Philosopher of that Nation, as we have it from *Geline* declared to be *Gallick*, and he supposed it was so called from the *Whirling* or *Whiffling* which it makes. This Wind indeed is known to be most Boisterous and Violent; and *Cyrch* with the *Britains* beneathkeneth Violence as may be seen in their Litany. The *Pennine Alpes* by *Cesar* called the *Highest*, had that name imposed by *Livy* writh, not from *Hannibal* the *Penus* or *Carthaginian*, but from the *Highest Top* which the Mountaineers of *Gall* named *Penninus*. But *Pen* with the *Britains*, even in these days, signifieth the *Top of Hills*, whence the highest Mountains they have, viz. *Pennon-maur*, *Pendle*, *Pen* and *Pennigent*, got their Names. Neither have the high Mountains *Appennini* in *Italia* theirs from any other Original. The Cities and States of *Gall* situate upon the Ocean, were as *Cesar* notes after the custome of the *Galls* called *Aremvicias*, and with them the *Welsh* accord in the very same thing, *Ar-more* being as much as *By the Sea*, or *Upon the Sea*. The ancient and excellent Schollast upon *Juvenal* acquaints us, that the *Alebrogos* were so called, because *Broga* in the *Gallick Tongue* signified a *Land* or *Territory*, and *Allanoother*, as one way would *Translated* out of another place. But *Bre* in *Britiis* is a *Region* or *Country*, and *Allan* *Without* or *Eternal*, so that the Etymology in both Tongues holds very well.

70. *Plyn* tells us that there is an *Herb* like to *Plantain* in *Gall* called *Glaſium*, wherewith the *Britains* Died or Coloured themselves as several Writers reſcite, being that we term *Ward*, and giving a blew Colour, which the *Welſh* at this day call *Glaſe*. This was the Greek *Iatis* and *Vitrum* by the Authority of *Oribasius*. The *Galatae* who ſpoke the ſame Language with the ancient *Galls* as *St. Hierome* witnesseth, had a little shrub called *Coccus*, of which that deep red Scarlet Colour was made, and this very Colour the *Britains* uſually name *Coch*. If *Fefus Pampinus* tell true, *Bardus* in the Tongue of the *Galls* ſignified a *Sangster*, and this is a mere *British* word. And like as *Bard* is *Brisib*, to the other part of *Bardoculus* which as *Martial* and others teach us, was the *Cloak* that the *Gallibus* *Bardi* wore, remains intire among the *Welſh*, who call ſuch a Cloak by the very name of *Cucull*. The Herb which of its five Leaves the Greeks called *Pentaphyllos*, was as *Apelius* ſheweth by the *Galls* named *Pempedula*. Now *Pyn* in *British* is five, and *Deilen* a Leaf. And as the *Galls* by *Pyn* meant the Number of five, fo by *Peten* Four, for as we learn out of *Fefus Petoritum* was a *Chariat* or *Wagen* of theirs fo called of its four Wheels, and the word *Pedwar* in the *British* Tongue ſigifigeth Four. Among wooden Inſtrumenta a *Leaver* was among the *Galls* as *Hidore* writes called *Gnoia*, and the lame in our *British* Language named *Guif*. A Birds *Bil* the *Galls* as we reade in *Suetonius* called *Bocco*, and the *Britains* name it *Fic*, *Galba* ſignifieth

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firth exceeding fat and the British word *Galuns* betokneth very big. *Diodorus Siculus* his Drink called *Zithum*, might be reduced to their word *Sider*, and *Cervisia* unto *Kirch or Oates*, whereof the Britains in many places make their Drink or rather to *Cwrf* which we English term *Ale*.

71. To omit many other words, we shall farther take notice of what he observes concerning the ancient names of Places, which end with both People in the same termination as in *Dunum*, *Brixia*, *Ritum*, *Duram*, *Magus* and the like. From such he gathers that these were Originally the same Nation, in the same manner as a very good reason may be drawn that *Englishmen* are descended from the *Germans*, because the later and more Modern names of our Towns end in *Burrow*, *Berry*, *Han*, *Stead*, *Ford*, *Ithrop* and *Wich*, which carry a just and equal Correspondence unto the Terminations of the Dutch Towns, *Burg*, *Berg*, *Heim*, *Stadt*, *Kurd*, *Dorp* and *Wic*. Farther he affirms, that the reaon of old *Gallic* words may be so fitly given out of our *British* Tongue, the property and nature of the thing agreeing also thereto, that of necessity we must confess, either they were Names imposed by the *Britains*; or else that the *Britaine* spake the *Gallic* Language. Whence the *Galls* were called *Celtae* and *Gallatæ*, the best learned of the *French* could never as yet tell. He bids them therefore consider whether not from the *British* word *Gualch* which even yet among *Britains* betokeneth the Hair or Bush of the Head, as also *Gualteck* that signifies *Comata* or with *long Hair*. That the *Celtae* were called *Comata* from the long Hair they studiously nourished all learned men do confess; and as for the letters *C* and *K*, *Q* and *G* how should one confounding their force and Native found put a difference between them? *Garonne* the River to rapid and violent, that the Poets give it the Epithetes of *Vulthus*, *Equerors* and *Rapidus*, he deriveth from *Gaw* which in the *British* Tongue importeth *strong*, and *swift*. The River *Arar* so gentle that it can scarcely be distinguished which way the stream goes, and by the Poets termed *Araris tardior* and *Lentus Arar*, he deduceth from *Ara* which with the *Britains* betokeneth *still* and *flow*. *Rhodanus* into which *Arar* falls: on the contrary runs down with a violent Current, in which respect it is styled *Initus*, *Celer* and *Præcepis*, which words do not disagree from the *British* Rhedreck that signifie the *speedings in Running*.

72. The Hills *Gebeme* run out into *Gall*, in the manner of a long continued Ridge. And *Rovers* among our *Britains* foudeth as much as the *Back or Ridge* call *an Eifl*, and there is a long Chain of Hills in *Yorkshire* which the Inhabitants call the *Kevin*. Stones being of old time erected in *Gall* by the Highways side, at the distance of every thousand and five hundred Paces, and the *Gallic Luca or League* containing just so many, he bids them consider whether it took not its name from *Leach*, which in the *British Tongue* betokeneth a Stone. That part of *Gallia Narbonensis*, where as the fabulous story goes *Hercules* and *Albion* fought, and where lie so many Stones that one would think it had rained them, the *French* in these days call *les Crans*, knowing not the reasoun of the name, but Stones in *British* are termed *Craig*. The *Mortui* were so called from *Mor the Sea*. *Arles* or *Arckam* situated in a moist and watery Soil, from *Aripon* and *Laith*, *Mossytree* in the same Language. *Tzecelwood*, which as *Cesar* writes was situate on a high Hill difficult of Acces, from *Tchell*, *Steep*, or *Lofty*, and *Dunum an high place or hill*. The Promontory on which the City *Tolon* stands was called *Citharipes*, and if you ask our *Welsh Britains* what *Cithara* is in their Language, they will by and by tell you *Telen*. Such is the opinion, and so pregnant are the reasons of our famous *Cambden*, wherein most learned Writers concur with him as *Beatus Rhenanus*, *Genfer*, *Paxor Daniel*, *Picardus* and many others. But some there are albeit in comparison of the other but few, who would have the ancient *Gallick* much the same with the *Tzotwick or German Language*.

73. Of these the most remarkable is *Pontanus*, one who by reason of his birth, and speaking the *German Tongue*, had more cause to know the Roots and Originals of such words, and to understand the Etymologies than any other *French* or *English*, or other not fully acquainted with that Language. He denies not, but that the *Gallic* and *British* were the same, but yet contends the *Germans* were near akin to them both, and that for these Reasons. He cites a place of *Tacitus*, which relates how the *Æsii* a People of *Germany* in their Rites and Habits, were more like the *Suvi* their Neighbours, but their Language was nearer that of the *Britains*. He alledges a saying of *St. Jerome*, that the *Galatians* or *Gallogrecians*, except the Greek Tongue, which was spoken through all the East had a Language of their own, the same which the *Treviri*-used, which could be no other than the *German* they

Dætria Suevick  
maris litore A-  
fforum Genes  
alluntur, quibus  
Ritus Habitusque  
Suevorum, lingua  
Britonica propior  
"Commentis Ep.  
Pauli ad Galas"

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74. *Livy* presents us with a certain *Regulus* of the *Galls* in *Asia* called *Lutarius*, *Livii*, lib. 22. which *Cæsar* changes into *Luterius*, and both are plainly *Teutonick*, not unlike *Cæsar bell Gallic*.

The Gallick German and British Language agree, and are near akin, if not the same.

thoſe of *Lotharius*, *Lotarius* and *Clodarius*. *Lutanicus* also in *Cæsar* is the same <sup>1.7. 6.7.</sup> as that of *Olonicus*, *Lodovicus* and *Chlodovicus*. The *Germans* had many Names ending in *Marus*, as *Othmarus*, *Wolmarus*, and *Thietmarus*; to amongst the *Galls* we find *Civismarus*, *Combolomarus*, *Indutiomarus*, *Virdumarus* and *Vrdemarus*. As for People and Places, many we reade of amongst the *Galls*, like to which it cannot be denied, but several are found amongst the *Germans*, for as in *Gall* we find *Santones*, *Pittones*, *Turonos*, *Suffenses* and *Lingones*; so *Jubones*, *Senmones*, *Caviones*, *Jugenones* and the like in *Germany*. For the Names of Winds he saith, they are still common, both to the *Germans* of *Belgium*, to the *Britains*, and the *Galls*, whereof he renders this reason, that they alone continued sound and safe without any Alteration, because that the *Romans* making War against the *Galls*, rather by Land than Sea, this People preferred the Appellations of things belonging to the Sea and Navigation, as out of the reach of the Invaders. But now as to matter of Fact that they did keep them, and that the Names of these words still continue the same amongst the *Galls*, *Germans* and *Britains*, how doth it appear? He instanceth in that called *Occidentalis* in Latine, which the *English* naming *Westwind* (*Winde* he means) the low Countrymen term it *Westen*, and the *Galls* (*Galli* not *Franci*), *vent de Ovest*. In like manner, that which the *Romans* knew by the Name of *Auster*, the *Germans* call *Suyden-Windt*, the *English* *Soutwindt*, and the *Galls* *Sud*. Moreover *Orientalis* as to the *Germans* is *Osten*, so to the *English* it's *East*, and *Est* to the *Galls* or *French*, which Dialect mightily agrees with the words of *Tacitus* lately mentioned, who calls them *Aeffi*, who in Language more resembled the *Britains*, agreeable also to their Speech, who inhabit nearer to the North-East. In Conclusion, that Wind known in Latine by the Name *Septentrionalis*, the *English* and all others, even *Charles* the Great himself called *Noiri* and *Noorden*; but the *French* term it *vent de bise*. Yet though herein they seem to depart from us, and imitate the word *Boreas* in use with *Romans*, yet have they but exchanged one *Teutonick* word for another. For *Biesen* and *Bijfen*, to the low Countrymen is the same, as to be *tossed up and down*, and *disturbed*. The *Scarabaeus* or *Beetle*, from the noise it makes with its Wings, and the violence of its flight they call *Biesbont*. And in the Tranlation of the Latina *Plater* into the *German* Language, made about the time of *Ludovicus Pius*, *Bifa* is used to signifie *Turbo*, or *a Whirlwind*.

75. But the reaſoning of *Pontanus* in this point is very Pleasant, though in other things he must be acknowledged, a very rational and learned Man. The thing to be proved from this Instance in the Winds, is that the *Britains*, *Germans* and *Galls*, still retain the same words they did of old, and therefore it's thence probable, their Languages were the same, not much different or near akin at the least. Now whereas by the *Britains* must be meant, the true *Britains* in the time of *Cæsar*, and before, the *Britains* that had the *Druides* amongst them, the *Britains*, the Posterity of whom are our *Welsh*-men, he makes use of the Language not of them, but of the *English* or *English Saxons*, who came out of *Germany*, and brought with them the *German* Dialect, to prove that the *British* Language was the same with the *German*. In like manner the thing to be proved, being that the ancient *Gallick* or *Celtick* Tongue was the same, or near akin to the *German*; he produces not the *Celtick* Names of Winds, but the *French*, or those that *Charles* the Great and the *Franks* used, who also came out of *Germany*, and no wonder if they brought a Language with them, which was the same, and as near akin as could be to it, and to that of the *English Saxon*, though nothing related to the other of the *Welsh* or *British*, which

which is the matter in hand. His Succes is better in the last Branch of his Proof, and that is from the many words, which in Authors appearing to be *Gallick* or *Celtick*, in sound and Signification came near to the *German*. For this he refers you to his Glossary of ancient *Gallick* words, added to the Itinerary of *Gallic Narbonensis*. Without coming to his particulars, which would be too tedious, we can avouch his Testimony to be true in many Instances, and undertake for him to the Reader. Nay amongst thoſe produced by Mr. *Camden*, we can find severall, which without more wretting or force, thane himself profleſeth to ſe, we can for *Pontanus* his fake eaſily make ſpeak the *Teutonick Dialect*. *Taranis* the Name of *Jupiter*, or the *Thunderer*; however, it may agree with the *British* word *Taran Thunder*, yet no doubt was the fame with that of the *German* God *Thaar*, whence the *Danes* call the fifth day of the Week *Thaarsda*, or with the *Saxon* *Thor* or *Thur*, whence we call it *Thurday*. The *Germans* by ſome Variation call it *Donderdack*, *Dand Th* being promiscuously uſed in the *Teutonick*, whence as we ſay *Thunder*, they ſay *Donder*, but the Original was the fame in both.

76. Whatever affinity there be, betwixt *Teutates* the Name of *Mercury* and the *British* *Taith*, certainly that from which our *Tuesday* was derived, may ſeem to bear as great Proportion to it, being *Tuisco* the Great Idol of the *German* Nation, from whom as they call themſelves *Tuylſ* or *Dytſ*, to the *Italians* ſtill name them *Tudeſ*. The word *Geffate*, by which the *Galls* meant *Mercenary Soulſiders*, comes as near *Teutonick Gaefſ* or *Gaufſ*, whereby *Strangers* are ſignified as it doth to the *Welſh-British Gueſſ*; and *Geffa* the *Gallic* Weapon may well have hence received its Original, as being firſt taken notice of to be worn by ſuch *Triمارiaſ*, whicheby a fighting with three Horſes was meant, may as well Challenge a *German*, as a *British* deſcent, for if *Tri* be *British*, fo is it also *German*, ſignifying *Three*, in this as well as the other Language; for our *Saxon* Anceſtors called the pleafant Month of *May*, by the Name of *Tri-milki*, becauſe in it they began to Milk their Kine three times a day. And though *Marcus* in *Welſh* ſignifieth *A Horſe*, fo *Mara* or *Mera* in the *Teutonick*, being ued of old to ſignifie the whole Species, as ſome Learned men have obſerved, as *Horse* now doth with us, who alſo think verily that inſtead of *Triمارiaſ in Polybius*, it ought to be read *Triمارiaſ*. As *Mor* in *Welſh* betokeneth the *Sea*, fo in the *Teutonick Moeren* ſignifyeth Moorish as we ſay, or Wateriſh places, whence from the Lowneſs and Flatenſs of their Habitatiōns, the *Morini* might be fo named. As *Glaſſe* in the *British* Tongue ſignifieth *Woad*, which giveth a blew Colour, by the *Greeks* called *Stati*, and by the *Latin* *Vitrum*; if an *English* School-boy be asked what the *Saxon* *Engliſh* of *Vitrum* is, he will anſwer *Glaſſe*.

77. We could note ſomething more upon *Camden's Catalogue*, but we have tranſcribed already in the length of this point, and it's our Duty to give the Reader but a profeſſion of the Controverſie. As for what Objections are made on both ſides from Authority, concerning the main Queſtion, whether the *Celtick* was the fame with the *German* Tongue, they may be anſwered with this Affertion, that there may be many words common to ſeveral Languages, which we have no reaſon to believe were ever the fame, as alſo that of thoſe People, the Language of whom is Originally and Subſtantially the fame, the Dialects through diſtance of place, and length of time, may be ſo diuers, as the diſference of Pronunciation added, very difficultly may they understand each other. The truth of the former part of the Affertion hath been ſufficiently made out by the almoſt impertinent Laſhours of ſeveral late Learned men, who have taken pains to ſhow how many words there are in our Modern Languages, which are almoſt the fame in found and Signification, with ſeveral of the Greek Tongue, particularly in the ancient *English Saxon*, the preſent *English*, *French*, and the *Dutch*. Some find many *Arabick* words, others very many *Phoenician*, where yet they muſt confeſs the bulk and ſubſtance of the ſeveral Speeches are far diſferent. It's certain, that Languages moſt remote in ſome points agree. And *Busbequius*, who was Ambaſadour from the Emperor to the Great *Turk*, obſerves, that many *Dutch* and *English* words were in his time in uſe, in the very *Taurica Chersonesus*. On the contrary, a Language may be for root and ſubſtance the fame, and yet the Dialects diſferent, and the Pronunciation diuers, as with diſſiculty can the People that ſpeak them understand each other at diſtance, and obnoxious to Imprefſions, made by Strangers with other Accidents. This appears ſufficiently in thoſe that make uſe of the *Teutonick*, of whom the *English* understand not the *Dutch*, nor the *Dutch* the *English*, when they ſpeak words merely of that Original, little more do the *Dutch* understand

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stand the *Swedes* or *Danes*, nay the Low Countreymen, those that inhabit the upper parts of *Germany*.

78. To conclude the Controversie so far as concerns us, it appears evident that, the *Celtick* and *British* were the same, both from the Testimony of unquestionable Authors, and the remains of that Language, which Antiquity like broken Boards of a Shipwreck hath cast upon us. The Consideration of the little distance betwixt the Island and *Gall*, brings no small Addition of weight to the Argument; for that *Britain* was planted from that part of the Continent, is rather more than probable, as also that as the Island received its Inhabitants first from *Gall*, so also its Dialect from the *Celtick* Language. That the *Galls* and *Germans* should have many things common, both Words, Names and Customs, seeing they were so near Neighbours, it's no wonder, supposing there was Commerce betwixt the Nations. The *Galls* were an active stirring People, made many Inroads into several Countries, and no wonder at their return they should be somewhat changed in their Manners, and their Tongues tip'd with some Words, Accents or Terminations witness of their restles, light, and mutuble Humours, to which the Inhabitants of that Air and Soil are subject whencesoever they come. But to examine whether the *Celtick* and *German* Tongues were the same, or near akin we take in the *British*, which we can be throughly Confident was the same with the *Celtick* in substance, and compare it with the Modern *German*, we shall hardly be induc'd to incline to the Affirmative, considering what a vast difference there is betwixt our *Weiß* and the present *Dutch* Language, and yet that for a thousand Years and more, neither is the *Weiß* nor *German* so changed in themselves, but that at the first sight one may easily perceive the Names and Words to be substantially the same, however the *Teutonick* be something altered by Communication with other Speeches.

79. As for the Opinion of those few, who thought that the ancient *Galls* spake Greek, it carries so manifest absurdity with it at the first look, of any one that's but meanly skilled in Antiquity, that it deserves not a serious Refutation, especially considering what *Varro* hath written concerning the Citizens of *Marseille*, that they spake three Languages, viz. the *Gallick*, the *Greek*, and the *Latine*; the *Gallick*, because that was the Language of the Countrey where they inhabited, the *Greek*, because they were a Colony of the *Pheoenes* planted here, and *Latine* as they were Subjects of the *Roman Empire*, and had constant Entercourse with that People. That most Learned man *Bucharius*, tracing the Footsteps of the old *Pheoenians* finds them in *Gall*, and many Names of Places, Rivers, and things he deduceth from their Dialect, remainders whereof he finds also in our *British* Islands, being the true *Cassiterides*, to which that industrious Nation traded for Tin in very remote times. But though he maketh it appear, that many things were common to both Languages, yet would not he have it thought, that the *Pheoenians* and *Galls* had one and the same Tongue, or onely differed in Dialect. For from *Polybius* it appears, in the Case of *Astartus*, and otherwise that the *Galls* learnt the Language of the *Carthaginians*, by long use and Custom, otherwise they had no Entercourse with them, but by an Interpreter, as is evident from a passage in the same Author, that in the Army of *Hannibal*, *Magius* a certain *Regulus* of the *Galls*, declared what his Countreymen had resolved by the means and assistance of a *French*-man. Although by reason of Commerce, of common Wars, or which he rather suspecteth of some ancient Colony of the *Pheoenians* planted in *Gall*, they borrowed words one Nation from the other, yet that they had several Languages, and peculiar abundantly appears in the Names of Men in use amongst the *Galls*, \* *Nihil quis est in exemplis nisi puerus et puerinae? et puerus et puerinae? et puerus et puerinae?* *Gregor. part. ad. fin. Chamaen. lib. 1. c. 42.*

80. The *Gallick* Tongue being such before the coming of the *Romans* was forced to truckle to their *Latine*, as well as the Countrey to their Victorious Arms, but this not on a sudden, but by long usage and Continuance of time. The *Romans* wherever they subdued a Countrey esteemed it a Maxime of State never to be left unpractised, to procure the Natives their new Subjects, to learn their Language, to bring them to a nearer Familiarity and acquaintance with them, and their Government, without which more Difficultly could they be kept in Obedience and Civil order. For this purpose they set up several Schools to instruct the Youth, as *Augustobona*, *Vettoniae* *Lugdunum*, *Autunum*, *Besancion* and *Lyons*, of which we are informed, both

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by *Tacitus* and *Ausonius*. The Natives perceiving there was no strugling, and that they must needs submit unto the Yoke, to make the burthen as light as might be, accommodated themselves to the desirs of the Conquerours, and learnt their Language, especially knowing that no preferment could be got without it. *Latine* then began to be the Gentle sort of Speech, and the *Celtick* to be accounted Clownish, and by degrees to grow out of fashion: But as it decayed in Reputation and Practice, it made great Alteration also in the *Latine*, it being impossible, but that amongst such multitudes of Speakers, there shou'd be diversity of Words and Phrases, and a great mixture and medley be produced, for it was hard to obliterate those Impressions, which long Custom and daily Practice have acquired. Therefore though great violence was offered to the ancient *Gallick* Tongue, the words of which were discarded, and *Latine* intruded into their places, yet by a certain sort of Re-action, the *Gallick* forced also some of its own upon the *Latine*, and that very early, when the Contest betwixt them was but newly begun.

81. For *Cicero* in his time complains that a strangeness of Speech was infused into the City, so that no remainders of the ancient quaintness of Language was to be found. The *Roman* Oratours and Poets began to affect *Celtick* words, and by *Vide Quintilian. Institut. &c. Orat. lib. i. c. 5. Gallic affectatio. &c. Gallic diction. &c. Plurima Gallica valuerunt, ut Rheda ac Peturium quorum altera Cicero, tamen Gallicus esse videretur. *Locri* etiam in Orat. pro Milane, hec sunt verba. *Ovidianus* et *Cicero* est in Orat. vide l. 1. Serm. 6. *Plures calices aque Caballi, Pafendi, ducenta petorritas; & Rheda & Peturium genus vehiculi Gallici significat. Peturium & quatuor rotis Confabulat.**

82. This Hodgodge or Medley, was at such time as the *Franks* were well settled in *Gall*, called the *Ruffick* in opposition to the pure *Latine*, which was preserved in Books and understood, and written by Learned men, only as it is at this very day. And yet so great were the Impressions made, by these many Foreign

Which Hodgodge is termed the Ruffick in opposition to the pure Latine Language.

Dialects, that even the Latine writings of the most Learned men of these times, compared with the best Authors, appear little better than Barbarous. What a strange style, and what odd Words do we find in *Caiusdorus*, one of the best Scholars of his Age. By him we may perceive how the *Roman* Tongue was then decayed in *Italy*: And for *Gall* what slender Latine was written by the most Learned amongst them, is sufficiently evident from *Gregory Turonensis*, and what a number of *Gallicismes* and *Francismes* were broken in upon them in his time. To give the Reader a Tafe, the word *Parens* and *Parentes* in the plural throughout his Book, he useth not in that Senfe, that good Latine Authors do, but as the Modern *French*, to signifie Kindred in general, wherein he is imitated by *Aimoinus*; *Repedare*, he useth for to retreat or go back. The word *Reclausus*, as now they do for one retired or shut up close, which they (and therefore we must) call a *Reclus*; *Metatus* for a dwelling or Habitation. *Aripennis* the old *Gallick* word, for a certain quantity of Land, which *Columella* informs us, was half an *Acre*, *Mal hora* in that Senfe as they say, *Malbeure* for ill Luck, and thence *Malbeureux*, for Miserable, unfortunate or unlucky: *Levare* in that Signification they now use *Leur to raire*, lift up or carry away, as an eminent Tranflator of our own most strangely misstaketh it. *Placitum* for Plea or Pleading often, and *Placitare* to Implead as our English Norman Lawyers now do phrase it. *Ledes* and *Leodes* are with them the same with those whom the *Dutch* now call *Lieden*, *Vassals* or such as are obnoxious to their Prince. *Cupas* are *Wooden Barrels* or larger *Vessels*, in which Senfe with the Dutch the word still remains, and thence call they the Workman that makes *Lib. 7. c. 37.*

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*Ibid. 4. c. 10. Ibid. 5. c. 17. Ibid. 5. c. 27. Ibid. 5. de Rus. lib. 1. c. 1. Ibid. 4. c. 45. *Eiusmodi* *Barbarus*, *Latine dicitur, nata ubi hoc verba in Tiro. De exercitu consulari Regem locutus.* *Ibid. 7. c. 13. Ibid. 7. c. 23. *Ibid. 2. c. 22. l. 8. 9. &c. alii. makes Lib. 7. c. 37.***

makes such Vessels *Cuper*, and we English a *Cooper*, though Cup with us signifies a lesser sort of Vessel to drink in, the same which in another place he calleth *Abcabin*, whence the *Dutch Back*, and our and their *Beker* is derived. In His Writings we find *Morganegoba* signifying a *Mornings Gift*, as *Morgengau* and *Morgengabe* now do in the German Tongue, a Gift given to the Bride by the Bridegroom the Morning after their Marriage.

83. The *Rufstick Roman* or *Romance* (as they called it in Spain) being the Medley Language generally spoken when the Franks had seated themselves in Gall, could not for a long time expell or swallow up theirs, but by degrees, as it had dispatched the ancient *Celtick*. For as we formerly said in the days of *Charles the Great*, the old French was the Language of the Court, and after him (there at least) it continued reasonably pure, and unaltered during the Reigns of his Grandchildren, a Specimen whereof we shall present the Reader, to give him full Satisfaction, and a more distinct apprehension of this matter in hand. \* The Sons of *Ludovicus Pius*, had great Differents betwixt themselves, but at length a Reconciliation and perfect Union being made, each of them took a solemn Oath for Confirmation thereof, and *Charles* particularly in the *Theoritick* Language (for so it was called) in these very Words. *Godes minna induitibus Christianes folces ind usfer bid hero Galedensis* for thesme dage *fr amonides de fr amis* Gat genuis ci indi madri furgibit se bald jibit *an minam balle* her seft in thi urba Zormigsof madno indimit lukerem in nothe mit hing negg gango *shenimani wulon in ce fadher merben*. The Orthography of this Oath is very odd, and many Words by often Writing and Printing of *Nithardus* the Historian his Copy are corrupted, but to any one that understands the German Language or the Teutonick Dialects perfectly, it cannot but appear of that Original. This Imprecation is contained in the Confession of the ancient German Church with very little difference, and the *Danes* have at this day a Phrase, and Words not much differing from it. But the whole is to be explained, but out of several Speeches or Dialects of this ancient Language, for as *Rodericus Toletanus* near five hundred Years agoe observed, the Teutonick (properly so called, or German) the *Danish*, *Norwegian*, *Suedian*, *Flemish*, and *English* Tongues were the same, distinct only in *Idioms*. To this Oath of *Charles* we shall add, that Fealty or Allegiance, which their People took, and *Nithardus* hath also related in these very Words, as we have them from the Edition of *Pitheus*. *Oba Karl theu eid theu er finno bruedber Ludwigu gefsur geleifit*, *P. 354.* *inde Ludwigh min herro theu er mo gefsur forbitrich, ob ib ina nes arwendenne mag, no ib, nob ther, no hein themibis incwenden mag nuidbar karle inole follus tine muirdit.* *Portanus* has turned both this and the other into the *Belgick* Dialect, *Orig. Franc.* whereby the Reader if he please may see that near Affinity and Proportion, which one of the Speeches beareth unto the other.

84. The same *Nithardus*, who himself lived in these days, and was the Nephew of *Charles the Great* by his Daughter *Bertha*, hath also left us upon Record the Oath which *Lodowick* the other Brother took in the *Rufick Roman Speech*, a very choice Monument, whereby the Reader may fee the two quite different Languages spoken at the same time upon the same place, by two several sorts of People, the *Franks*, and the *Romanized Galls*, though by the better sort, both of them were understood and spoken. This is the same Oath in the *Roman*, *mutatis mutandis*, which we formerly prefentein the *Theotisch* or *French Tongue*. *Pro do. amori & pro Xpian poble & nostre Commun salvament dist dien avant in quant dis favor & podir me dnuant si Salvarus eo ciste mi on fradre Karlo, & in adiudica & in cadjubra cosa, si cum om per dreit son frada salvar dist ino, quid il mi altro si fazet & ablidur nul plaid nunquam prindrai qui me on vol eift me on fradre Karle in damnati*. The People moreover which understood and spake this same Language, made it in the same Oath with the former, which because it is not long we shall also here prefer to the Readers Eye. *Si Lodbauig Sagramment que son fradre Karlo jurate Conservat, & Karlus meros ferodra in sue part rales tanit, si jo returnar non lint pos ne jo neußliu eo, returnar jut pois in nulla ajnduba contra Lodbauig nun li iner.*

*Si Louis le ferment q'ail à son frere Charel juré Conserue, dy Charle mon Seigneur de sa part ne le tient, si je detourner ly ne puis ni je per Droit, tyc.*

85. Thus we see what both the *Rustick Romance*, and the *Theotisch* were, into which a Canon of the Council of Tours orders that the Bishops should cause the Homili Episcopis hymnatis aperte tractant ferre studet Romanam Lingum, aut Theotiscam, quia failijus possent cuncti tollendere.

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lies to be translated, that they might be understood by all. And hereby may the Reader perceive how great a change in all Sublunary things time produceth. That Language which is newest is always counted the best and most Gentle. The *Celtick* was first esteemed Clownish and laid aside; the *Roman* being most in request, and happy he that could speak it. Then when the *Franks* came in, their Language called the *Theotisich* being that of the Court, became the Gentilest, for a while, and the ordinary *Roman*, as well in respect to it, as to the pure Latin only preferred amongst the Learned, was termed *Rufisch*: Yet as we formerly noted, the Language of the multitude prevailed at length, over that of a few Invaders, and what was once counted Gentle and Courtey, became neglected and out of Practice, Custome, as *Pindar* the Poet saith, being King of all things. But behold still more to admire. The *Theotisich*, that is the *Tuisich* or *Duitisch*, or *Teutonick Dialect* was at this time, whereof we write, called the *Frankiska*, *Tauger* or *French Tongue*; but afterward the Case was quite altered, the *Franks* by degrees forgot this their Language, accustomed themselves to that of the Provincialis, or Native *Galls* mixed with *Romans*, which had the same Success over it, as it had formerly over the *Celtick*. This they own, this they hugge and embrace, this they admire, esteeming all others Barbarous, and forgetting their own Original. This still corrupted Latine, though it be, to use their own fine Words, a *Fargos* and *Melange*, or *Hodge-podge* of *Celtick*, *Roman*, *Gothick*, true *French* (or *Theotisich*) and other Speeches, they think they can never trim, adorn and polish enough. But thou seest, Reader, what the true and first *French* was. How now by degrees this being forsaken, the Bastard *Roman* was espoused, and having got the Name of *French*, how it altered to what it is at present, and what its Constitution was and is, I think it not altogether impertinent to tell thee, to make our Discourse more complete in Sum, to present thee with the Memoirs of the *French Tongue*, a Tongue most dear unto thee if thou beest not a Pedant, a mere *English*-man, art a Traveller, or hast any thing in thee of good breeding.

86. Know them, that being adopted as it were into the Name of French by the dying Language of the *Franks*, it was confisced as we formerly hinted, and now again are forced to repeat most of Latine, but yet had many words out of several other Speeches imposed on it, however against its *Genius*. The ancient *Celtick* though so long agoe driven out of *Gall*, yet left some remainders of Words behind it, which by their near Affinity to the *British* sufficiently shew what was their Original. To instance in a few: *Guerir to Heal*, which *Guerir* signifieth amongst our *Welsh*-men. *Guaine* with the French is a *Sheat*, and so is *Guaine* with the *Britains*. They say *Derechf* for *Again*, and the *Welsh* *Dercbfus*: The French have *Camur* for *Crooked*, and the *Britains* *Cam*, the one Nation useth *Bateau*, and the other *Bad* for a *Boat*, the one *Gourmand*, for an over great Eater, and the other *Gormud* for over much; the French *Bafcon*, the *Britains* *Pafcon* for a *Staff*, the French *Accablier*, the *Welsh* *Cablu* to Oppress, the French call an *Hayven* by the Name of *Hawe*, and the *Britains* by that of *Aber*; and the word *Comb* is used by both Nations for a *Valley*. And as this Language retained many of the old *Celtick* words, so many more of the *Teutonick*. The Names of Rivers, Towns, and Places, are most of them *Gallick*, but the Christian Names of men, when not out of Scripture, particularly of their Kings, are generally of the *German* Original, as are a great quantity of common and ordinary words, of which it would be too tedious here to make a recital. The General and most probable Estimate is this. The present French Tongue may be divided into four parts, whereof one half is to be ascribed to the Latine, as to any one that is meanly skilled in both, it cannot but evidently appear. The other half is to be distributed, as that one part may be allotted to the ancient *Gallick*, another to *Henry Stephen* has abundantly shewed, and the Modern French there is great Conformity, by reason of the Commerce with the *Maffilenes*, or old Inhabitants of *Marfelles*. So weak is the saying of *Matharell*, who refoloves to oppose *Hotoman* whether right or wrong, that the present French is nigh the same Speech with the old *Gall*. *In repon*, ad *Hotoman Franco*, c. 2. because fortho he finds some words the same with thosse *Gallick* that are *gall*.

87. To come then to the Latine, it had much more Conformity to it, in the time of *Charles* the Great, and thereabout than it hath at present, the *Teutonic*, or that of the *Franks*, e'er it self became extin<sup>t</sup>t giving very much Alteration to it. And indeed from the *Teutonic* hath it received its Phrase, Form and Declension,

Sect. 4. though most of its words from the Latine. For no otherwise do the French at this day expref their minds, than the Germans, Low Countreymen, and English by the adjurant Verbs, *Am* and *Have*. For Example, a Roman would have said *Tu fecisti*, which if a French-man imitate or translate, he must say, *Vous avez fait*, nor otherwise than the German would say, *Du habest gedaen*, and an English-man, *You have done*; which way of Speech in Latine would be Intolerable, for who would say in that Tongue, *Tu habes illud factum?* The Reader by comparing the Oaths lately mentioned with the Modern French may be farther satisfied in this particular. We come to the Latin words, to see how they came into that form and shape we now behold them. This was by changing *A* sometimes into *E*, as writing for *Aetas Estè, Bonitas Bonitè*; sometimes into *I*, as *Cerasum* into *Cerise, Vacuus V'ide*; sometimes into *Ou*, as for *Tangere, Toucher*; otherwise into *Ea* as *Aqua* into *Eane*, and into several other Diphthongs, as vice *verfo Ea* into *A*, as in many Inflances we could shew; as also their change both of the Vowels, *I* and *O* into *A*, and indeed mutably the same Alteration in them all. For Consonants the same thing may be observed, as for a taste, *B* into *C*, as *Cubare* into *Coucher, Cubile* into *Couche*. So also into *F*, as *Babalus* into *Boufle, Trabs* into *Treft*; into *G*, as *Ruber* into *Rouge*; into *P*, as *Turba* into *Troupe*; and into *U*, as *Caballus* into *Cheval, Debittus* into *Deuvé*, and *Ebruis* into *yure*. The like might be said of all the rest of the Consonants well nigh, and an whole Dictionary made, but that's not our work, and the Reader if he desire full Information may consult the French Grammar of Learned French-man Robert Stevens.

88. But herein the ancient Speakers of this Language imitated the Romans as in other respects, that they joyed not Articles with Words, as the Modern French doe in Conformity to the Teutonick, and ended divers Genitive Cases in *S*, as for *Liber Casari* in Latine, they would say and write *Lieu're Casars*, whereas now they write *Le livre de Cesar*. From this Correspondence with the Latine comes it to pass, that there are many proper Names ending in *I*, because they were called by the Name of their Family, more especially in Italy; but in France also some, they being so named in their Contracts made in Latine. But to note farther the Inconstancy and Alteration of this Tongue, those, who anciently spake it, ended many words in *Erre* and *Effe*, which now-days are terminated in *Eur* and *Euse*. For example they said *Semerre, Gaigierre, Trichierre, Sannerre, Vainquierre, Luitierre Vergierre, Pechierre, Conoifierre, Decomerre*, for what is now written, *Semeur, Gaigneur, Trompeur, Saumeur, Vainqueur, Lutteur, Vengeur, Pecheur, Conoisseur and Decourer*. They said *Taucerre, Trounerre, Lecherre, Mangeresse, Repenterre, Demonsrre, fesse, for what now they say, Taucerse, Trounese, Friande, Mangeuse, Repentante, and Demonsfreuse*. Sometimes they ended their words in *Oiffe*, as *Aideroffe, Conforteroffe*, and the like. To such words as end now in *Eau* they added *Aux*, though they spake in the singular Number, as in *Biaux, Oiffaux, Touiaux, Aniaux*, sometimes they left out the *u*, terming them *Biax, Oifax*. On the contrary from plurals they took the Letter *S*, as saying *Li autre*, which is now changed into *les autres, li enchantement, now les enchantements*. Such as now end in *jeu*, they terminated in *ex*, writing *Dieux and Lieux*, for *Dieu and Lieu*. More anciently they wrote and said, *Soye and Moye*, which now is altered into *Sienne and Mienné, Sor for Sur, Ot for Eut, Pot for Peut, Seau for Vent, Veau for Vest, Fui and Bu for Je fus, and Je heus*. In some words they placed *Haffter C*, where the Modern French now leave it out, and on the contrary had no *H* there, where it is at this day placed; for Example they said *Cha, Embracher, Merchy, Conclut, Puche, Cheler, Piech, for* which now you have *qa, Embraffier, Mercy, Consent, Puce, Celer, Pieq;* on the contrary they called *Reproce, Duecfe, France, Blance*, which now is *Reproche, Duefffe, Franche and Blanche*. They said *Sente for Sentir, Creez and Veez*, for *Croyez and Joyez, S'ame, T'ame, Mame, S'image, T'image, S'angoisse, T'aucelle, Maucelle, S'ofesse Mesped*, whereas now they write and speak *Son ame, Ton ame, Mon ame, Son Image*, and the like for those that follow.

89. As more conformable to the Latine, they ended such words in *Ous*, which their Posterity now have changed into *Eux*, saying *Pions and Religions*, for *Pieus and Religieus*. On the contrary they changed the *U* into *O* in several words, to which those that came after again added the *U*, and so retained both *O* and *U*, saying *Pouu and Poori*, instead of the *Pource and Pouvoir*, and *Molt and Cort*, for *Moults and Court*. Many words they terminated in *El*, which since have been ended by *Eau*, as *Cremel, Mantel, Corbel, Chamel, Vael, Cheuel, Morcel, Pel, Moncel, Vaifel, Fournel, Bel, Fourrel, Chapel and Tumbel* more agreeable to the Latine, instead of

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of which now if you will speak proper French, you must say *Cerneau, Manteau, Corbeau, Chameau, V'eau, Chevereau*, and the like. Many they ended in *On*, as *Meprison, Achosion, Delivreson*, for which *Mespris, Occafion, and Deliverance* are now in request. For *Dirent, Mirent* and *Ocirent* they said *Diftrent, Mifrent* and *Ocirent*, *Ensoigne for Enseigne, Pointure for Peinture, Tech for Tache*, and *Plaigne for Plain*. The Latine *O* now and then they changed into *U*, laying *Cael* which now is *Col, Cuer* now *Cœur*, and to *O* added *U*, as *Repos and Propos*, now written *Repos and Propos*. Most of the words ending now in *Eur*, they terminated in *Or*, as *Trouweor and Chanteor* they wrote not *Trouveur* and *Chanteur*, and *Jougleor* not *Jougleur*. The Participle *de* they often omitted, or underflood as *Les fils Iuain* for *Dyuain*, which yet is continued as they say still at *Paris, l'Hôstel Dieu*, not *Hôstel de Dieu*; and lately *Le Palais Cardinal*, as in the Northern parts of *England*, they seldom put the Letter *S*, as the sign of the Genitive Case, but instead of my Father's Horse, Stable, House or the like, say my Father Horse, my Father Stable, and my Father House; and here in *London*, not *Somerfel House*, *Tork's House*, *Kirk's House*, but *Somerfel House*, *Tork House* and *Kirk House*. Their *Dux* was afterward changed into *Duc*, their *Salut* into *Salut*, and their *Capel* into *Capet*, their *Nuis* into *Nuit*, and their *Pous* into *Pout*.

90. The Observations of this Nature might be infinite, but this may be said in General, that the remoter times in the use of Words, went still farther from the Latine, although in some Cases this Rule must admit of an exception. One thing by no means is to be omitted, and that is the strange Affectation of brevity in words, in writing by Contraction of Syllables, and in Pronunciation by leaving out the Consonants. *Quadragefina* must be *Quarlefne*, and then *Carefme, Perdere* contracted into *Perdre*, and *Pudicelle* into *Puccelle*, *Scribere* into *Escrive, Christifianus* into *Chretien*, and Thousands of others so abbreviated. But neither would these French-men content themselves with such a Contraction of words, but these words thus contracted, they must again in their Pronunciation contract, leaving out many Consonants; as for Example the *S* in all these we have now mentioned. The Humour and Custome of the most ancient French was to omit in their short writing the Vowels, whence afterward proceeded new words, as *Quarlefne* they were wont to write *Qurlef, Quarrel, Orel*, for *Mouds Mls*, and for *Chevalier Chr.* But late days their Posterity thinks fit in their Writings, to omit the quickest Consonants, especially the *S* before the *T*, as for *Estant* they wrote *Estant*, for *Eftè Etè*; *Or qu'il ne fait fo S before C*, as for *Escrive* now you find *Ecrive*, and the like in other Words. If *malghe fe perd, par la nauscete Orthographe, conſiderer si le mot* they compare not only some of their present words with the Latine, from which they are derived, but with those in use about *Charles the Great* his time, we cannot but a little wonder at this Affectation. We find in the Oath taken by the People in this Romance Tongue, and lately mentioned, that one of the Brothers was called *Ludhuvig*, as *Ludovicus* in Latine, and *Lodwick* or *Hlodwick* in the French or German. Now is it to Metamorphoz'd, that one living in that time could not know it, for they write it *Louis*, and pronounce it *Loui*. He that was called *Clodenewi* in like manner they write *Clouis* and pronounce *Cloui*. And what is more, *Theodorick* they write *Thiberry, Landerrick Landry*, and the latter part of the Name of *Bruncihild*, they have quite mangled and changed, calling her *Brunchault* in *ist que Saus, et ainsi d'une infinité d'autres mots que je pourray* their modern Histories.

sous silence. Ils voudroient cacher l'origine de leur Langage qui n'est que le Latin corrompu su un jargon de mélange, comme nous avons dit, fait à l'irruption des Barbares dans les Provinces Romaines.

91. They are so possessed with an humour of refining this Bastard Latine, that *pour qu'en tout le temps qu'il sera en usage de faire parler le françois* in the great Courting word of this elegant and neat Courting Language as they would *met, en vertu de la force de la nature, et au moyen de la force de l'art, et de la force de l'usage, et de la force de l'habileté, et de la force de l'habileté des hommes qui en sont possesseurs, et qui en sont maîtres, and the like.*

92. They are so possessed with an humour of refining this Bastard Latine, that *pour qu'en tout le temps qu'il sera en usage de faire parler le françois* in the great Courting word of this elegant and neat Courting Language as they would *met, en vertu de la force de la nature, et au moyen de la force de l'art, et de la force de l'usage, et de la force de l'habileté, et de la force de l'habileté des hommes qui en sont possesseurs, et qui en sont maîtres, and the like*. *Et ce que nous parlons mieux que nos peres, et plus de Jugement ? Rien moins*. *Mais c'est que nous sommes preoccupés d'autre chose que nos Enseignes, et que nous nous accoustumons tellement, que le langage amien nous chique incertitude. Si encore en demeurant la loi ou en egi, on pourroit prendre patience. Mais les Chambres deviennent autant que le monde, et ceux qui par leur eloquence preste et cogne auoit acquis une reputation eternelle, plescent pour ridicules dans moins d'un siecle. Hoe serre et ingenue fatetur Borelus Parisiensis Medicus.*

Me-aire,

Sec. 4. *Me-aire*, wholly Spiritual or Angelical; so airy is their fancy, and light is their temper, that to avoid harshness, they run upon the other extreme of Effeminacy. Certainly a due mixture of Vowels with Consonants, and an open pronunciation of both, provided there be no rude harshness such as is that of the *Italian Tongue*, is more majestic and manly, and more suitable to the Organs of Man's Voice, as that Musick is not always the best, which departs the most from the Base in sound and proportion. But so great a desire have they to polish this Speech with Eloquence, because to them there seems nothing to want to the felicity of their Kingdom, but to separate from the Number of Barbarous Languages, that Tongue which they speak, and which all their Neighbours too will speak e'er long, (they are their own words) if their Conquests continue as they have begun. For so brave a Design, of one of the greatest Ministers of State they ever had, founded a Society called the *French Academy*, consisting of the choicest and most refined Wits of *France*, the Conferences of whom he looked upon as the most assured means to bring it about. Forasmuch as their Tongue which was then more perfect than any other which was spoken at that time, might as well at length succeed the Latine, as the Latine did the Greek, if there were more care taken than had been thitherto of Elocution, which is not indeed the whole of Eloquence, but makes a very considerable part of it.

92. Such are their hopes and expectations that their Conquests shall increase, and their Neighbours be forced to submit both to their Language and Empire, which they think is in a fair way to succeed that of the *Romans*, as the *Romans* did the other of the *Greeks*. Now both *Greeks* and *Romans* found it a very great expedient for the Continuation of their Empire, to propagate their Language, and suppress by degrees the Original Speeches of the several Conquered Countries. They like great and perfect Statesmen consider this, and are so prudent as to conclude that it's in vain to expect and attend an after Game, where there is hope they may be beforehand. If the Speech of the Conquerours propagated amongst their Subjects be a great means to keep them in Obedience, by rendering their Persons and their Government familiar to them, then it must also be a means to facilitate their Conquests, and draw in a People not yet subdued, their Language making way for their Arms by communication of Councils, and a convenience of infinuating those things there, where want of understanding what each other says, increases a strangeness, and strangeness ever procures a diffidence and an Aversion. Therefore did they not only set about the polishing of their Language as they imagined, to make it more charming and effectual; but having begot a good opinion of it in those who, ignorant of better, travel into their Country for gallant Breeding, translate all the most considerable Authors which speak either the Greek or Latine into it, to render those Languages usefull, and to advance their own interest to the place of both. What their success in this kind of Conquest of their Tongue hath been, and is daily we have largely seen; the *French* being now the Courtly gentle Language, and in as great Reputation in some other parts of *Europe*, as its parent was once in *Gall*, it obtruding its words, and phrases still upon those of the Countries, and giving good hope to its Masters to obliterate them wholly at the length, it is already become the Gentle, and as to the Commerce of *Straingers* has already in a manner displaced the Latine, which by imprudent People, who never think nor consider whither things drive, now begins to be droll'd at as the Language of Pedants. Could it once attain to be the learned Language, the work would be accomplished, and this it would quickly be were it once imposed upon the Universities, and had the Keys of the Arts and Sciences delivered into its Custody, a fair way to which they have already made by their Trauailions, and as they hope by the dints of their Swords. But what progress they have made in that other sort of Conquest, viz. by Arms, it's more proper for others to consider than my self, as so far how far this may farther consern to it, that the Latine Tongue begins to be despised, and *Europe* is generally Frenchified, being one would think bewitched and running a madding, both after the Speech and the Fashions of that Nation.

93. Whatever the issue may be, the danger is not very much apprehended, as we may judge by the universal demeanour of the Christian World; and however the cause may stand upon a formal Examination and scrutiny by the principles of ancient, and therefore now-a-days dull and despised prudence, it may be hoped their whole design will no more succeed than hath the prudence of their Academy, for refining of the Language, in order to which by all means a Dictionary must be made

made of true and Authentick words and phrases. But their Founder before his Death often complained that he was frustrated in his Expectations, and that they did little or nothing of moment. The People in despite of their Rules, and Observations ever was and will be Masters of Speech, which is framed by custome and generality of Expressions, any one word in it self signifying no more one thing than it doth another. Therefore though a Dictionary hath been promised and expected above thirty years, yet cannot we yet have the happiness to see it, and to speak truly it's *Sifybus* his Work, for as they add still new words to it, the first and oldeſt will become out of ſe and fafhion. But there is no great need of their Travel in this matter, for be it what it will, being French, it is and will be both greedily received and admired, witneſs the rafcaly Bagatells, which come out every day, and by our People are bought up because French, as the greaſt treasures of Wifdom and Ingenuity, though not one word of truth or ſenſe in them. This, Reader, is the caufe of our ſo great prolixnes upon this Subject, for I thought I could not doe thee a more eminent Service, than in drawing the Pedigree though at length, of that whereof thou art ſo exceedingly inamoured. Take with thee at parting, and diſpoſe of it next thy Heart, or where elſe thou pleafeſt, the true and lively portraiture of it drawn in little, by no worse Pencil than that of him who undertooke it well, the moſt ſkilfull and dextrous Joseph Scaliger.

94. Art thou ignorant faith he, that the Tongue thou now usest like as the *Italian* and *Spaniard*, is an Abortive Brat of the Latine? The Materials of it came from *Latinum*, which have now acquired a depraved form, are stuft with aspirations, the sounds of the Vowels being distorted to the forming of deformed Diphthongs, infomuch that even at this time you cannot agree amongst your selves, with what Elements (or Letters) you should Write. How much more purely do the *Suissers* ipeak who use no Diphthong at all? Farther, the Accents and Quantities are adulterated, the Consonants devoured in pronunciation, in which if there be any fence, why should not the Orthography be the same, and omit them as well as doth the speech? Of the Declensions I say nothing, for they are nearer akin to the *German* found, whence the *Franks* are descended. But go to, if you will ask any thing requisite for Eating and Drinking, or for War, of which necessary things you are very studious, you must (though barbarously) ask for them in Latine, as *Pigis*, *Caro*, *Panis*, *Vinum*, *Spatha*, *Scutum*, *Lancea*, *Caballus* & *Coriacea*, for this must come from *Corium*, as with them *Locria* from *Lora*. As for these Madmen, who would derive you from the *Greeks* because of the *Druides*, their inconsiderateness often makes those laugh, who are furnished with more acute Judgments. Thus much, and too much indeed of this Language, but Reader as I said thou must thank thy self.

The Govern-  
ment Monarc-  
hy

95. We shall spend the remainders of what we have to say, upon the *Custumes* and *Polity* of the ancient *Franks*, and herein as it is fitting give their Kings the Honour of *precedency*. That they had Kings from that very time that we have the first knowledge of them in Antiquity is very evident, their being is certain, the only question is concerning the manner, and first how they came to that Dignity; the opinion of some Learned men is that the Kingdom was not hereditary, but in conformity to that Nation from which they had their *Original*, was conferred by the choice and suffrages of the People. That the Kings of the *Germans* were created after this manner, \* *Tacitus* affirms, where he tells us that they chose their Kings for their Nobility, and the Captains for their Valour. This custome is yet retained by the *Germans* themselves, and the *Polonians*, and lately both by the *Suedes*, and *Danes*. Yet have the Sons † of the Kings ever had the prerogative, or been first confidered in the Choice, a great mark of the excellency of ancient Prudence. For as skilfull Hunters according to the Observation of || *Plutarch*, do not so much desire a Whelp begot by a Dog of generous or Noble Breed, but such a Dog himself; so good Statesmen will not chuse a man who is to be a Prince, but one who is a Prince already. To this may be added, that the Parents of such Children upon hope of such Election, and lest they be rejected by the People, will have especial care of their Education. But to prove the matter

ter in hand, that the Kings of the Franks were Elected they produce these Testimonies. First from *Aimoinus* they alledge these words: \* *The Franks, according to Lib. i. c. 4. the custome of other Nations chusing a King, advance Farumund to the Throne; again, Regem, careras*  
† *The Franks establish a certain Clerk Daniel by Name, his bair now growing, in the sum more Nationum, Franci, Franci sedigentes Farumundum sibi electum regis.* † *Lib. 4. c. 51. Franci Danielum quendam Clivicam, scilicet Capua erescere in regnum stabilitate, argue Chilpericum nuncupant, Lib. 4. c. 67.*

Sect. 4. Kingdom, and name him Chilperick. Out of another place, King Pipin being Dead his Sons Charles and Carloman by consent of all the Franks are made Kings; and out of another, Pipin being Dead, the Franks in a solemn meeting, make both his Sons their Kings, on that condition that they shoulde part the Kingdom equally betwixt them. So much out of Aimoinus, according to what we have formerly written upon these occasions.

96. The like Testimonies they produce out of *Gregorius Turonensis*, as where writes, that the Franks having rejected Childeeric, unanimously make choice of Egidius, and then the Franks who formerly had an Eye to Childebert the Elder, send a message to Sigebert that in case he would come, they would desert Chilperick and make him King. A little after he adds all the Army came unto him, and setting him upon a Shield made him their King. In another place, *Sigebert consenting to the Franks*, and being according to the custome of the Nation put upon a Shield was ordained King, and obtained the Kingdom of his Brother Chilperick. To strengthen these Testimonies, they produce the last will of Charles the Great, published by *John Naucleus* and *Henry Mutius*, out of which they urge this passage. *In case any of these my three Sons have a Son, to him whom the People shall make choice of, will that his Uncles consent that he succeed in his Father's Inheritance, and permit their Brother's Son to Reign in the portion of his Father's Kingdom.* All this they enforce by what *Regino* hath written concerning this same Charles, his Disposition of his Dominions to his three Sons while he yet lived; namely that, *He held a Consultation with the Nobility of the Franks, concerning the partition of his Kingdom amongst his Sons; and a Division being made into three parts, of this he made his Testament, which was confirmed by the Oaths of the Franks.* Lastly, *Eginhart* relates in his life that sending for Lodowick the King of Aquitain, who only remained of the Sons of Hildegaris, in a solemn Assembly of the Nobility, met from all parts of the Kingdom of the Franks by advice of them all, he made him his Colleague or Partner in the Kingdom. *Francis Hotoman* in his *Franco Gallia* produceth many more examples, but respecting the times later than those whereof we write, they are not so proper for our Cognitance and Disquisition.

\* *Liberum statum veteris Regni Gallicae, cum deinde a Franciis occupata, deservita. Editio Secunda ex Officina Hieronymi Berulphi. 1574.*

97. *Hotoman* having in his *Franco Gallia* published this amongst other Doctrines, at such time as in the Civil Wars in *France* he had sidaed with that Party which took in *Scaligerius* against the King, and had withdrawn himself out of the Kingdom, a \* great Alarm was taken by his Adversaries, and the Book looked upon and that not un-*Hotoman* *Franco Gallia* *est bonum, ita aperte.* *Dicitur ex saeculo* *Hotomanus* *Francie Regio-* *ne, et hereditate infra-* *fratia deferre-* *tur, & de Re-* *turn, & de Re-* *gnum creandorum* *more: quam que-* *re, non ubi huius-* *am nobis operari,* *sed ut Franci gal-* *lam fatis sedi-* *nibus agitatum* *funditus evan-* *escatur.* *Ad editio-* *nem Franco-* *gallianam anni* *Matharelli Re-* *ginae Matris à* *rebus procuran-* *dis primaria, Re-* *cepit, ac* *Officina* *Hotomani Merili* *Typographi Regis,* *1576. Cum Pri-* *meadici arguit.*

vilegio. \* *Regnum interfecit aqua lance dividens ut verba Aimoinus marqui tejam Hotomane quater*

98. Of these Childebert dying without issue, *Clotair* Reigned alone, who as the same Author testifies, left four Sons the Heirs of his Kingdom, viz. *Cherebet*, *Guntaran*, *Chilperic* and *Sigebert*, the Posterity of whom inherited as their Ancestours had done before them. As for *Daniel* the Clerk, who was by the Franks chosen King, his Hair being suffered to grow, and named Chilperick, he takes notice, and Complains

Complains that *Hotoman* should sweat so much to establish a lie. He tells him a Lawyer (such *Hotoman* was, and that a great one) ought to consider that Laws are fitted and framed to such things as frequently happen, and not such as fall out very seldom; for from *Pharamond* whom he calls the first King of the Franks to this *Daniel* the Clerk passed three hundred years, in which space of time the Kingdom was devolved not by Election, but Inheritance. And by this Election of *Daniel* and such like, he puts him in mind that he never considers how that not succession it self, but the successours were Condemned; forasmuch as good Princes may have very bad Heirs, and yet the Succession and Inheritance be just and good. It happened that the last three or four of the Family of *Meronens* were lazy and Drones, and stupid, which gave occasion to *Charles Martel* with ease, though he himself he said to have refuted the Crown, to transfer the Government upon his Children. They being not of the Royal Family, this was effected partly by force, and partly by content, of those whom they had obliged by many good Offices, and *Pipin* by means of *Zacharias* the Roman Bishop, obtained to be Crowned and anointed King; as his two Sons *Charles* and *Carloman* were by the Hands of *Stephen* who was then in Exile, which thing he accuses *Hotoman* for omitting and making mention only of the content of the People, as desiring to make out his Election from that place of *Aimoinus*, which place yet he affirms, makes nothing for his Lie and figment as may be evident to any that's half blind.

99. As neither doth the Testaffement of *Charles the Great*, by which it's certain he made *Ludovicus Pius* King of *Franco-gallia*, *Bernard* his Nephew being made King of *Italy*, as is clear from the Testimony of *Naucleus*. This is farther confirmed from what *Aimoinus* writes of this very Subject, that *Lodowick* being in *Aquitain*, when News was brought him of his Father's Death, came to *Aix*, and there by Content and good liking of all the Franks he succeeded him, where the word Consent can by no means be referred to Election, but signifies the wishes, expectation, and desire of all the People. In like manner the frars being pacified, which were risen betwixt *Pius* and his Sons, to the great detriment of *Franco-gallia*, and which produced an horrid Example, the Kingdom was divided by *Pius* amongst his Sons, as *Aimoinus* farther witnesseth, and not by the Election of the People, so great truth is it, that not only in the times of the *Meroningi*, but the *Carolingi* also, the Sons succeeded their Fathers in the Kingdom. But as all humane things are instable and mutable, and nothing can last always, in like manner as the *Meroningi* when they degenerated were deprived of their Power, and their Authority transferred upon the family of *Pipin*; so by a certain vicissitude, and the secret Judgment of God, the *Carolingi* behaving themselves no lefs idly and luxuriously, it passed from them to *Hugh Capet*, either as a Punishment of their first perfidiousness and Rebellion, or because the Sons of *Pius* had so impiously demeaned themselves toward their Father, for God punishes Sons for their Disobedience to their Parents, though it may come late.

100. That which *Hotoman* cites from *Gregory Turonensis*, concerning *Childeeric* the Father of *Clodoveus* his being expell'd by his Subjects, no way proves that the Kings in those times were made by Election, it being one thing to depose and expell, another thing to Elect a King. He upbraids him for intancing in a Pagan Prince, and in the endeavour of *Sigebert* for expelling *Chilperic* out of *France*, a thing rather to be Buried in silence, than revealed to the People. He tells him that *Sigebert* was sent to, and provoked by such like wicked persons as himself, neither was it a wonder if having defipited the Council of *Saint German* the Bishop, he came to such a Tragical end, and was punished for his Infidelity, as *Hotoman* had seen from that place of *Turonensis*, yet shamed not to produce it. As for what *Hotoman* affirms that *Sigebert* consenting to the Franks was made King, and obtained the Kingdom of his Brother *Chilperic*, it's repugnant to what is written by *Turonensis* in the place that's cited. For there he affirms, that *Sigebert* despising the advice of *St. German*, and being come to the Village *Vistoriacum*, all the Army assembled before him, by which he was put upon a Target and saluted King; then two young men with sharp Knives ran him into each side, whereupon he crying out fell down, and shortly after expired, and together with him *Charegisius* his Chamberlain. " Thou haft here the reward of Perfidiousnes and Treachery, and what happened to one that gaped after another Man's Kingdom, and thou perhaps, says he, appearst it, and saist it is lawfull by the Law of the Franks. By this the Reader may see what to judge of the rest. Neither is that of any moment that we often find in *Turonensis*, *Ado*, *Aimoinus* and others, how the Franks were wont when resolved

Sect. 4. solved to have such a King, to raise him, to lift him up on high, to set him upon a Target, and the like; for all these Expressions signify only Inauguration, and not Election. Upon such an occasion the Nobility was wont to meet, to salute the new King, and swear Fealty and Obedience to him, which custome yet continues, as may be gathered from the said Authors, which yet it's certain do not in the least argue an Election. To this may be added the Testimony of Foreigners; particularly of *George Cedrenus*, the Greek Historiographer, who in his *Compendium of History* writes: 'It's reported that the King of France, according to custome, receives his Kingdom by Succession from his Ancestours. So much *Mabillard* in his Answer to *Hottoman*, besides much other approbations and peculiar Instances.'

As to *Merovingian*, besides much other opprobrious and reviling Language, 101. But though to an indifferent Person, his Language would make his cause suspected, yet in this point he really hath the advantage. For the Instances of *Faramond* and *Pipin* conclude nothing, but in an extraordinary Case, neither do those of *Daniel* the Clerk, of *Aegidius*, or any other produced out of the Histories of the *Merovingians*; and we are taught by *Julian* the Lawyer, that things extra-ordinary, or which rarely happen, are not easily to be reckoned of, or esteemed to conclude any thing in question. The *Franks*, like as their Kings, were a fierce and untamed People for a long time; and if they former time depos'd lawfull Princes, and set up others in their Rooms, it was not so much as has been practised in other Kingdoms, not to go far off; where yet there is no such thing as Election, and the Succession by right of Inheritance has ever been out of doubt. The calling of the Estates together, and having their Consents was a matter of Prudence, as elsewhere it is a thing of Course, that the Nobility be present at Inaugurations, to have them swear to defend that Crown on which they lay their hands, nay to have the People asked, whether they will have such an one for their King; and yet none can have the Face to say that the Kingdom is Elective. These Ceremonies were used at the entrance of the Kings of the *Franks* upon the Government, and thence at their Inauguration the People were said to make them Kings, and yet they did it no more than those who now proclaim or Crown our modern Princes. Whatever the posture of Affairs and Convenience might suggest to *Charles* the Great, in ordaining that such a Grandson should be King as the People should chuse, he never designed to put it into the power of the People to chuse any whom they pleased, or one out of his own Family; or to imitate herein the Custome of the *Germans* mentioned by *Tacitus*, that Sons of Kings should but be first considered. For whoever seriously weighs that long and uninterrupted Possession of the Sovereign power, by the Family of *Meroveus*; and that wonderfull Zeal all the *Franks* had for it, which affrighted the Majors of the Palace from assuming the Title, will easily perceive it never entred into their thoughts, from the time of *Childeric* to make any Innovation, nay they esteemed it a point of great Wickednes to think of any other House or Lineage, till *Martel* and his Sons had so far insinuated themselves into the power, that they were forced to make a Virtue of necessity, and forfeake those who were neither in a Capacity to help themselves nor them. We shall dismiss this Point as *Mashared* hath done it with the clear Testimony of another Foreigner, more to the purpose than that of *Cedrenus*, who was not born till about two hundred Years after the Death of *Charles* the Great. This is *Agathias*, who wrote more than so many Years before *Charles* was born, and therefore his Testimony is more direct to the times, whereof we write. He testifies that it was the Custome or Law amongst the *Franks*, for the Sons to succeed their Fathers in the Kingdom, or rather to receive it from them as by Decsent.

Long Hair very  
much worn,  
especially by  
their Kings; Males as were of the Royal Family were not wont to cut their Hair, but have it  
dry dif-flueled about their Shoulders, being perfumed with sweet Ointments, as a  
Mark of distinction betwixt them, and the Inferior 'fort. This admits of no  
dispute, but is accorded on all hands, and the Reader may be satisfied by the  
Course of the preceding History, as also in this, that such as were to be deprived of  
the Kingdom, or of the Succession, had their Locks cut off, a thing which *Clodonald*  
or *St. Clos* practised upon himself, when he refolved to forake the World and enter  
into Orders. The Custome of wearing long  
Hair, they brought \* with them into *Gall*, where  
it had also been long † practised, inso much that  
part of it, hence got the Name of *Gallia Comata*,  
as any one meanly Conversant in Antiquity, cannot  
but know.

\* Ex Chaucis seu Chaycis orti sunt Franci. Lucanus  
autem :  
Et post Crinigeros bellis arce Chaycos  
Oppositi, petitis Roman, Cyc.  
¶ Claudianus verò lib. 2. in Ruffin.  
Inde truces flavo Comitantur vertice Galli;  
Quos Rhodanus veloz, Aravis quos tardior ambi-

-  
bu

but observe. Afterward the wife was confined to the Blood of the Kings, who as  
some obserue, from what *Dagobert* did in the Battel with *Berthaold* the *Saxon* Cap-  
tain, were wont in fight to tye up their Hair and lay it upon their Helmet, as a  
Creft and a farther Mark of distinction. Hence it came to passe, that some Foreigners  
who bore them no Good-will, gave the Kings of the *Franks* the opprobrious Epithete  
*Setari* or *Brifflid*, and whereas the *Setæ*, or strong and upright Hairs, or Bri-  
ffles are common, nor only to *Lions*, *Horses* and the like, but to *Hogs* also; thence  
came the Fable, that on their Back-bone, the *Rachis* or *Spina Dorsi* they had  
Hairs growing, as hath that kind of Creature. A passage whiche we learn from  
the History of *Cedrenus*.

103. But we leave this Mark of the Bloud Royal, as a thing not so considerable, and come to the Signs and Tokens of the Royal Prerogative, thing much Banded betwixt our two Antagonists, but with more Partiality and design, than evidence of Truth, more flourishes, and Digrressions than real Arguments, like the *Andabate* we reade of, so much are they, or rather is the matter in the dark. Yet if we may judge of the Conclusion by the Premisses, and of the Superstructure by the Foundation, *Fistoman's* Fabrick and Model of Government cannot subsift; for he makes the Sovereign power to have lain in the People, to whom he ascribes Authority, both of electing and depoosing Kings at their Pleasure, a thing he supposes for weak Reasons, and to be exploded upon that account, we have already given unto the Reader. He confounds the Forms of ancient Governments, making those the same which were far different, commends the Extravagant Liberty, the *Ephori* usurped over the Kings of *Sparta*, whom yet he can never prove to have had any hand in Election, it being notoriously known to every Novice almost, that the Kingdom of *Lacedaemon* was Hereditary. Instead of a Government, he would assert a Medley of Power, which would never hang together, never thinking he can lessen the Royal Power enough, and not considering that a Prince may have as well too little, as too much, to protect himself and his People, and keep them from running into Confusion. The truth is, he would allow the Kings of the *Franks* no more than what the late *Meroninians* enjoyed under the Licentious and Extravagant Actions of the Majors of the Palace; but as to matter of Fact, to prove it was so, he is not able, and therefore flies out, and keeps nothing clost to the matter in question. True Royalty, or a Prerogative above the Infolence of the Rabble, he accounts Tyranny, commanding that Form of Authority, he cites out of *Cæsar*, that amongst the ancient *Galls*, before they were Couquered by the *Romanis*: The People had as great Authority over the Petty and Nominal Kings, as these shadows of Royalty had over the People.

104. Then gives he you three special Notes, or Marks of Tyranny; whereof the first is a forced Command over Subjects, when they submit to them unwillingly; and merely by Constraint; the second is, when they keep a Guard of Foreigners about their Persons; and the last, when the Profit and Welfare of the People are not considered, but the *Emoulment*, and Arbitrary will of him that Reigns. By these, as so many Touch-stones, he tries the Government, to see if it be true and Natural, or to discover the Sophification, as he accounts it, which the Lust and Ambition of some Men hath made. For the first he concludes, the Authority of the Kings of the *Franks* was not forced, or by constraint, because the People had Sovereign power in chusing and rejecting them at their Pleasure. As to the second worthy and infallible Mark, he will undertake to prove out of *Gregory Turonensis* and *Aimoinus*, though he doth not doe it, that these Kings used no Guards about their Persons: And for the third he has a sufficient Argument to the contrary, that Matters were not ordered according to their Arbitrary Will, but for the good of the People, because the chief Administration of this *Franco Gallick* Kingdom was in the publick and solemn Council of the Nation, which later Ages have called a Convention or Assembly of the three Estates.

105. To defer a little the matter of Fact, as to the Kings of the *Franks*, and omit *Matharell's* reply as too dilute, it will not be amiss to try the Infallibility of these Marks, and to compare them with his other Principles. The fifth either may be, or not be, and yet the Government may be exceeding good. For sometimes the Commands of a Prince may be very reasonable, his Maximes highly just, his Designs tend as well toward the defence of their Liberties, as his own Prerogative; and yet the People, or rather the prevalent faction may not understand it: A matter which a very mean Historian may make evident by many particulars. On the other side it hath been found, that Monarchs who (to speak to his Principles) M. m. m. neither

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neither could be elected by the People, nor (justly, and according to the Model of the Government of the Land) could be deposed, have Reigned over the Subjects without any forced Command, any other (for the main) than to which without constraint or unwillingness they have submitted. In this respect there are Nations, the Laws of which consented to, or made by the People, both are against Election and Deposition; and yet say the King can doe no wrong, acting according to the said Laws, and Constitutions of their Kingdoms. The second, or that of a foreign Guard is trivial; for most of these Uprisers we meet with in story, have seized on the Power, and maintained themselves in it, by standing Guards of their own Nations. And as to the work of this Touch-stone, scarcely is there at this present, any one Monarch or Sovereign Prince Elective or not Elective, who hath not these Protectors of his Person about him; a thing not denied to Vice-Roys, and very Generals of Armies. For the last we must say, it is a certain Mark of a Tyrant (though the Government according to Law established, may not be Tyranny) when he acts all things according to his mere Lust and Will, not considering the advantage, or disadvantage of his People. But must needs every Prince, who is not merely Nominal as he would have him, and to be set up and kicked down at the Will and Pleasure of the unconstant multitude, needs act all things in this manner? No, a Prince may have as well too little as too much Power, to Protect himself and his Subjects from the violence of unreasonableness Men, and we may say, that without flattery to such Princes, there both have been and are, who are neither Elect, neither can be deposed by the People, but succeed by Inheritance, as proceeding from the Loins of their Ancestors, who do not make their Lust a Law, but propound the Good and Welfare of the People generally to themselves in their Actings. When any otherwise disposed do happen, the Men, not the Government is to be blamed; forasmuch as Accidents, and such things as do rarely fall out, are not to be reckoned on in such Cafes.

106. Therefore as to the matter of Fact, we answere, that the ancient Kings of the *Franks* were not Elective, but Hereditary, and yet their People willingly submitted to them, not forced, nor by Constraint and TERROR. The Rules and Methods of their Government, were such as the People approved, and generally they observed, and kept cloe to them; when they did not, they blamed the Men, as we find, not the Ordinances and Customs of the Realm, as knowing that there will be Persons of several Humours; and not any one Course of Administration can be found out, which will have no Inconveniences attending it. His design to Tax the Custome of the Modern French Kings, in having a few *Scots* and *Swifles* for their Guards, is extremely ridiculous. What grand Feats of Tyranny could they achieve in so great a Kingdom against such multitudes, by so small and inconsiderable a number? *Hotoman* had read how *Pisistratus*, *Agathocles* and other Tyrants of petty Cities or petty States, got some Troops of *Satellites* about them, sufficient indeed, to awe and terrifie their fellow Citizens; and thence he presently concludes, that where a few Souldiers Watch and Guard a Kings Person, though by reason of the smallnes of their number, they cannot be fit for any considerable Attempt; yet they are a manifest sign of Bondage and Tyranny. But the ancient Kings of the *Franks*, however he be so positive in affirming the contrary, were not without their Guards about them, no more than the Consuls of *Rome* (not to speak of the Dictators or Emperours, for these perhaps with him were Tyrants) nor the lesser force of Magistrates, who had their Lictours with bundles of Rods and Hatchets. From *Gregory Turonensis* the very Authour, he would wrest to his purpose (but very inconsequently and ridiculously, as if because a King doubles his Guards upon some imminent danger, he never had Guards before) it is evident, that *Clodoveus* had these *Satellites* and Guards about him: And if he, why not his Successours in the Throne, upon the same Account; for the same Reasons? That *Clodoveus* used such *Satellites* Matharell doth well observe, to which we shall add this Observation farther, that those whom *Gregory* calleth *Satellites* a little before in the same Chapter, he nameth *Pueri*, this word by Writers of these times, being used to expreſſ such kind of Attendants in general, who were usually chosen out of young Men now called *Pueri*, in like manner, as when the *Roman* Tongue decayed, *Infans* came not only to signifie a young Child, but a Son in general, though grown to Maturity, as at this day do *Enfans* and *Infante* in the *French* and *Italian* Tongues, and *Infante* a Kings Son in *Spain* and *Portugal*, as *Infanta* a Kings Daughter of any Age in both these Kingdoms. Now if *Pueri* and *Satellites*, when applicable to the Attendants about these Kings were the same, let any one who hath

*Lynd Satellites  
audientes & De  
gratias agentes,  
etc., l. 2. c. 37.*

*Maturioribus  
etiam pueri &  
ad laem acci-  
derunt, etc.*

been Conversant in that Authour, but consider how many times he speaks of these *Pueri*, and consequently of the Guards about their Persons.

107. As for *Hotoman's* third and last Mark, we cloſe with him, that the ancient Kings of the *Franks* ruled not merely according to their Wills and Appetites; but we must needs differ from him, about the evidence or the reaſon of this our apprehension. For what we can gather from the ancient and faithfull Historians, we must say the bounds that were fet to their Wills, were fet by their Conſciences, and their Conſciences were regulated by the good Laws and Customs of their Country, which directed them in the Management of Affairs, but never aweiſed them by the Terroir of Depoſing, nor by any Punctive or Coercive power, the People ought to exercise over their Persons and Authority. But he is quite of another Opinion, he believes they did not rule merely after their own Wills and Appetites, because they could not doe it, that they did not, bite because they had no Teeth, did not pull because they had no Horns, at least but very ſhort ones; forasmuch as they could do nothing of Consequence, nothing amounting to Empire and Sovereignty, but all this was to be tranſlated by the Convention of Elates, which he tells you every Year, met on the first of May. Here he admires the Wifdom of his Ancestours, and from this Rapture falls to an Enumeration of ſuch things as were handled and determined by the Sacroane Authority of this publick Council, as he words it. These were no leſs, you muſt know, than electing or depoſing a King, which he is never weary of indicating, determining about Peace or War, making Laws, beſtowing the greatest Commands, Honours and Government, providing Patrimony for the Sons of the deceased Kings, and Portions for their Daughters, which by a German word they called *Abonnagium* as an excluſory Part; in ſum, here were determined all thoſe things they vulgarly call matters of State, becauſe nothing that related intiſately to the State or Commonwealth could legally be done any where, but in this Council. If the Cafē ſtood thus, the Kings were indeed but Idols of Wax or Puppets, which moved their Lips, Eyes and Hands, according as they had motion given them. But the boldnes of his Affeſtion, quite over Balances the weight and Efficacy of his Arguments.

108. Indeed his Reaſons to ſpeak indiſcretely are very frivolous. The making and marring of Kings, he strengthens by one other Testimony out of *Aimoinus*; but one fo ridiculous, that we fhame for him to put it. This is, that *Charles the Bald* in a general Assembly held at *Carifacum* or *Crefy*, girt his Son *Charles* with a Sword, and ſetting a Royal Crown on his Head, gave to him *Nesfrisia*, and to *Pippin Aquitain*. A fit evidence to be joyned to thoſe he formerly made uſe of. A King is Crowned in a great Assembly of Nobles, and the common ſort, therefore the People elect him, and beſtow the Crown upon him, as their own Gift. It feems *Charles* their Father was the Orator or Speaker of the Assembly, and how can you chufe but believe that after a great debate, the Quæſition was put, and it was carried in the affirmative, that their ſaid Speaker *Charles* (who poſſibly had no Vote, neither as our Chancellors and Keepers have not in the Houle of Lords, when they are not Peers themſelves) ſhould in their Name, and by Virtue of their Command, as their Minifter solemnly invest them in their Royal Offices, which ſhould be but Conditional neither held during Pleaſure, or at fartheſt, fo long as they ſhould well demean themſelves therein, that is till this multitude ſhould by them diſerwife, for who I pray muſt Contradiſt them, if they affirmed a Wart to be an Horn? Almost as weak is the next that follows, abouit the ſaid *Charles*, how going to *Rome*, he had a general Assembly on the first of June at *Compendium* or *Compeigne*, where he ordained in certain *Capitula*, or Heads, after what manner his Son *Lodwick*, with thoſe were truſy to him and the Nobility of the Land, ſhould govern the Kingdom till his return. This he calls *Inſigne Testimonian*, concerning the power of this Council, in diſpoſing of the Kingdom; and judge, Reader what it amounts to. It is not faid, that they ordain in his Prefecture, or together with him, but in the singular number: He ordains, uſing their Councils and Direction. But he ſubjoynes, that the Nobility finding *Charles* the Simple, by reaſon of his young Years uncapable to Governe, chose *Odo* his Protreſcour or Guardian. Another wonderfull Testimony of the Peoples power in diſpoſing the Kingdom. If he was not able to Govern, ſome muſt; they offered not to depoſe him, and Elect another in his place. A Guardian he wanted; and he had not Judgement and Discretion enough to chufe one himſelf; in ſuch a Cafē of neceſſity therefore, why might not he doe it for him?

*Lib. 5. c. 17.  
Hic fide  
memor  
lapſus  
Hoc  
etiam  
enim Aimoīni  
qui filium suum  
de Ludovicuſ  
cū curru armis  
viriſtis id est  
Ex auct.*

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109. As worthily doth our Authour discharge himself, in reference to the second thing, wherein he afferts the supreme Power of this Council, and that is in the point of making Laws. Would not the Reader expect some such Proofs as these. The Council by its own Authority enacted such and such things, such Laws were made by the Council, the King not being at all considered therein, being unwilling, absent or the like; there were some Foundations for such high Confidence and Presumption. But what think you is his Evidence? a certain place in *Gaginus*, which hath these words concerning St. *Lewes*, and you must mind them well. *Lewes* being come to *Paris*, and having assembled a general Convention, reformed the Commonwealth, excellent Laws being made concerning the distribution of Justice by the Judges, prohibiting the Sale of Offices with other matters. Behold here *Lewes* reformed the Commonwealth, how? By making Laws; for though it be said, *Statutis optimis Legibus*, absolutely without a restriction to his Person, yet it's said, *Habito generali Convantu*, now who called and assembled the Meeting but himself? That in such Meetings there used to be debated the making of Laws is most Evident, even in later times, when the Government was grown more highly Monarchical, as in *Francis the First*, and *Francis the Second*'s time, little more than one hundred Years since, such a Design was set on Foot in the time of *Francis the Second*, and completed at *Orleance*, in the beginning of the Reign of *Charles the Ninth*, in a full Assembly of the Nobility, Ecclesiastics and *A.D. 1560.* inferior to none of Men, the product of which was a Book of Laws published the *A.D. 1565.* same Year; which work was renewed by the said *Charles* several times after. But <sup>1572.</sup> to say, that all the Power and Authority of making Laws remained with the Estates without the King is most absurd. Certainly it's one thing for a matter to be Transacted or done in an Assembly, by its Council and Direction, another to be enacted and ordained by the sole Virtue and Authority of such a Meeting.

110. If in any Authour, he can but find after his diligent search any impudent Act, any Seditious and unlawfull Attempt, any Violence and Usurpation committed by the People, or a party of the Nobility, he hath both the Logick and the Modesty to argue from the Fact, to the Right and Authority of the Actors; with as good reason as from the Robberies of the *Banditi*, and the force they many times put upon the Inhabitants of the Countrey, he may conclude they have a Title to the Territories, and a Legitimate Sovereignty over those Persons, which are the Subjects of their Rapines. Because *Charles the Bald* had discontented some of the Great ones, about the disposing of Offices and Preferments; that is, had not preferred themselves, they met together, they entered into a Conspiracy against *Lodowick* his Son, who was to succeed, but after some Messages, sent to and fro they agreed, and he was Consecrated and Crowned by the Consent of all, as well Abbats and Bishops, as the Nobility of the Kingdom. That they mutinied it appears, but that they themselves had right to dispole of Preferments appeareth no where. Neither can *Hotoman* conclude any thing we hope from this place, that they Elected him King, the words being that by their Consent he was Consecrated and Crowned, and that they swere fealty to him. He received the Kingdom from his Father, concerning whom there is a passage in this very place he quotes, which *Hotoman* would not mention, and therefore we shall doe it for him. Before the Agreement fully concluded, and the Coronation, *Richdik* came to *Lodowick* to *Compeigne*, and thither brought him the Precept, whereby his Father before he died, had delivered up the Kingdom to him, together with the Sword of St. Peter as they called it, whereby he invested him in the Kingdom, and a Royal Robe, a Crown and Staff, or Sceptre, of Gold and pretious Stones: His Father it seeme thought he could herewith invest him in the Kingdom before any Ceremony pasted from the People. As much to his purpose, is what he cites out of the Appendix to the History of *Gregory* concerning *Cloair*, his referring it to the Estates of *Burgundy*, to chuse a Major of the Palace to succeede *Warnbar*. The Reader may remember, that the *Burgundians* had of their own accord shakene off the Yoke of *Bruncibald*, and revolted to *Cloair*. In way of Gratitude, and to bind them to him he grants them this Privilege, and passeth this Complement, which had they had a Right to chuse, it would have behoved them not to wate it; but they defred to be excused, chusing rather to live under his immediate Government, without such an interventien Minister.

111. As little wonder is it, that in times of Contentions and Factions, those that thought the Estates would be on their side, should refer the matter in question to the Determination of this Council, as *Cloair* did knowing *Bruncibald* to be mortally

*Cum Parvum  
Ludovicus ve-  
nifit Convemu  
generali habita,  
et statutis opti-  
misi Legibus  
jure à Judicis  
dictando, &c de  
Officiis non emen-  
dit, &c.*

*A.D. 1560.*

*A.D. 1565.*

*Aiminoius, lib. 5.  
c. 35.*

*Avulit ei Pre-  
ceptum per quod  
pater suis illi  
Regnum ante  
mortem fecerat  
et cetera, &  
Sathanus que-  
catur post Pe-  
tri, per quam e-  
mum de Regno in-  
veftire: sed &  
regiam refervan-  
tum & coronam  
ac saecum ex aere  
& gemmis.*

*c. 54.*

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mortally hated by all the Nobility. Neither can we blame *Charles the Great*, if to secure to his Sons those shares of the Empire he had designed them, he should require the advice and consent of the Estates, as that which would oblige them to obey such as they had received to be their Kings, and as a means to keep his Sons in Order, and hinder them from incroaching one upon another. From that single example of *Cloair*, whereby to shun Odium, and the thought of Malice and Revenge, he referred the case of *Bruncibald* to the Army and Nobility, (which he calls by the Name of this Council,) he fairly draws this General Conclusion; that it was a Custome, if any Prince or great Person was accused of a Crime, to be arraigned before this Assembly. And from all put together, that the whole Government lay in this Assembly, which was called *Placitem*, because after the custome of the Latine Tongue that was properly so called, which after much deliberation was settled and agreed upon, as for Example, in *Ciceron* and other ancient Writers we meet with *Placita Philoporphorum*. Hence he infors that Conjecture which he had made in other Books he had formerly Written, that the common Form used by the King's Clerks at the end of Laws and Edicts, viz. *Quia tale est Placitum nostrum*, had its Original from this *Placitum* whereof we speak. This being written in Latin, (as he conjectures it appears from *Aiminoius*, the Capitulary of *Charles the Great* and other Monuments;) these Clerks or Scribes coming to use the Speech of the Countrey, by ignorance, or rather through an evil purpose turned it into this Expression: *Car tel est nostre plaisir*, *For such is our Pleasure*. That which concerns him in his Opinion is this. The People was interrogated concerning the *Capitula* or Heads to be added to the Laws, and after they had consented, they confirmed them by Subscriptions. Hence it appears, that the People were bound to no Laws but what they made themselves. Lastly, he observes again from one single Testimony and instance and no more, that Foreign Princes <sup>Vide Appendix ad</sup> *Gregor Turon.* <sup>Hift. c. 37.</sup> were wont to refer their Controversies to the Cognitance and Determination of this Council, so great was its Fame and Authority.

112. So great a Noife he made, for Noife it is consisting of words, which conclude nothing of his Assertion, that the supreme Administration of affairs lay in this Assembly, which they did indeed call by the Name of *Placitum*. But as *Matharell* very well excepts against him, there's no need that the ordinary Form of *Cartel est nostre plaisir* now used, should at all be derived from this *Placitum*, but from the ancient custome of *Roman Emperours*, Kings and Popes who generally used such an Expressio at the end of their Edicts, to take away all doubt and Ambiguity. *Justinian* hath this exprefion at the cloie of his Constitutions. *Quae i- Confir. 2, 8, 11,  
stituerunt Nobis tua sublimitas operi effectuque dare selenit;* some times this: *18, 19, 20, &c.* *Quae à Nobis disposita sunt, or Quae igitur praecare Nobis & Religioni placuerunt;* but *Quae placuerunt Nobis* most commonly. Nay it's to be hoped so great a Lawyer as he could not affirm, that the Emperours of *Rome* held such *Placita* wherein lay the supreme Administration, and without which they could neither make Laws, nor do any thing else. But so great is his Design and *Studium Partium* in this matter, that one cannot but with admiration and disdain perceive how right or wrong he drives all things in by Head and Shoulders. Surely he had never read, or he deeply dissembles that place of *Gregory Turonensis*, where he speaks concerning *Chilperick*, who in his Edict or Precepts sent to the Judges added this Clause; if any *Si quis praecep-  
tus est infra Contempni-  
tationem, si viderit audire-  
re, et Herod of his time, and so indeed he is accounted by our Historians, but any  
one may answser us that this *Chilperick* was a Tyrant, or as *Gregory* calls him, the *Nero vulpius malitiae*,  
they were such men as he was no Friend to; he complained they had got all the Revenues, and his Exchequer was poor, and such  
Princes as he who have had the luck in these dark times to have their actions re-  
lated and transmited to posterity, by no other than Religious Persons, are never well spoken of but rendered infamous, a thing which hath happened from Monk-  
ish Authours, to some Princes of our own Nation.*

113. But to make an end of this Controversie as it's more than time, by perusal of *Gregory Aiminoius* and others of those ancient Writers, to any unbiased and indifferent Reader it will appear, that the *Meronian* Kings of the *Franks* had *Jura Majestatis*. Theseare such as these, Power of Peace and War, to make Laws, power to raise Money, and of Life and Death. The Wars of *Clodonius*, of *Theodorick*, and in general of all those that Conquered *Gall*, and made War in *Italy* and other Countries, may, of *Charles Martel* who was no King, but the Prime Minister, or Major of the Palace, sufficiently evidences this thing, for who will shew us that it was

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was done by a present Vote or decree of this General Assembly, except he will say that when this present French King for example makes war in the Low Countries, because his Nobility and Gentry accompany him in the Expedition, because they do not refuse to join with him, but serve him in this Employment, therefore Peace and War are in their power, and they are the General assembly, or *Placitum* which hath the supreme Administration of Affairs; for this would well suit the way of *Hotoman's* Arguing, to be sure, if the King should make a Speech to them at the Head of his Troops, and they applaud his purpose, and encourage him to the Undertaking. For the power of making Laws, the famed *Salick* Laws no man hath yet said to have been framed in a *Placitum* or assembly of the Estates, but by *Wifogolt* and his few Companions. If the Kings could make Laws for raising of Money and payment of Tribute, certainly they might do it in other Cases; *Clothair* required the third part of the Fruits of the Grounds, even to be paid by Churches. And we find that *Chilperic* laid new Taxes upon the Subject, and several sorts of ways increased the former Revenues of his Crown. He is blamed for this by the Historians, and we are told it caused a Mutiny, but what was the reason, viz. *clavis Regni* *terram partem frumentorum modicam*. *Greg.* lib. 4. c. 1. *Alem. Almannus* lib. 2. *c. 19.*

*Denique Clothairius Rex indicavit ut omnes Ecclesiæ Regni satrari partem frumentorum modicam.*

*Statutum enim*

*fuerat, ut usque*

*pro proprietate*

*est uiam amphora*

*rum videretur Ari-*

*pmentum valeret.*

*Sed & alie functiones infingebantur multa tam de reliquo terris quam de municipiis: quod impleri non poterant.* *Greg. L. 5. c. 27.*

114. The like is objected as to the Punishments inflicted by him, not that he did *punire* or take the cognisance of the case to himself, but *injuste punire*, and that for to seize on the Goods of the Persons condemned. Nothing is more ordinary than to meet with examples of this kind, how not only he but all the other Kings of the *Meroningian* Family, before such time as the Majors of the Palace came to usurp the Government, took this Power of Condemning or absolving, Puniting or Pardonning at their own Wills or Discretions. When they did without cause, as *Gaufran*, put to Death his best Servant, then are they blamed, but never for taking the Authority of the thing itself, of depriving men of their Lives or Estates, when the Parties deserved it. The most way of them considering what a matter of weight the Life of a Man and the ruine of a Family is, were wont to call to their assistance, their Nobility or attendants to sift out the matter, and give their advice for a more certain and just way of proceeding, it being indeed a very hard and dangerous practice for one man to assume the Cognisance of matters relating to Life and Death alone. So the Tryal of *Injurias* about killing of a certain *Jen* his Creditour was held before King *Childebert*, and this was called *Placitum*. *Greg. Turn. Lib. 7. c. 23.* *turnum*, as indeed any meeting in General, as the Treaty betwixt *Gaufran* and his Nephew *Childebert* is by this very name. So doth *Aimoinus* use it to signifie a Colloquy or Treaty betwixt *Clodoveus* and the *Goths*, and an Enterview, Debate, or Colloquy betwixt the said *Gaufran* and his Nephew *Childebert*. The *lib. 3. c. 57.* & first time we meet with it in him when it signifies an assembly of the Estates, *is c. 61.* when *Dagobert* summoned a General assembly together for making of his Testament. The cause was not that he could not make it himself without their authority, but as he tells them, that he alone might not applaud himself. He had already determined and resolved what to do, but he would have it signed not only with his own Hand, but those of his two Sons, whom this day faith he in many words I make and ordain Kings, and by the Hands of the Bishops also and Priests. Now *Hotoman* will not say the Subscription of the Sons of the Kings was necessary, to establish or enact a thing in the Assembly. Yet this he requires especially and for this reason, that he was afraid after his Death his two Sons would endeavour to invalidate his Will. There lay his fear, therefore he conjures them to keep it inviolable, as they should expect the like Duty and Obedience from their Successours. No arguments, no persuasions doth he use to the Assembly, as having summoned it to Give Countenance to the thing, the better to keep his Sons to their present promise and Ingagement.

*tixas, nec non genitrix Princeps. Pater filius Reges Constituit non itaque electus est à Populo Clodoveus vel Hlodowicus, quamvis Romane hoc assertet, quando vero probati pulsive sibi ex iis Append. Veribus Omnesque Laudes cum Mafolana villa fabrili in 82-*

gem. euge.

115. Indeed

Indeed before this we find in the same Author mention made of a Convention of the Nobility of the *Franks*, but not by the name of *Placitum*. This *Clothair* the Son of *Chilperic* advised *Brunichild* to summon to debate the matter of Succession, having had Intelligence with them, and knowing most certainly they would be at his Devotion, and therefore he would make them Umpires in the case, not that by any right and authority they were so, neither do we find that he owned or followed his advice. Not long after this time, I am verily of the opinion that those Assemblies began to be things of course. Of the yearly *Placita* or Conventions of the Estates in *Gregory Turnensis* not one word is to be found, neither can it be perceived by him that the *Placita* were held of course, but only as occasion required the Kings summoned these Conventions. Towards the decay of the Monarchy they came into fashion, when the Majors of the Palace to gain more Power, fought to please the Nobility by referring matters to their Cognisance, and determination. The first hint we have out of *Aimoinus* that they were Annual, is given upon occasion of the *Saxons*, whom *Pipin* having brought to terms, caused them to ingage to present every year three hundred Horses at the General meeting. *Pipin* to obtain the Crown which he so much longed for, omitted nothing to court the People, and having once obtained it, that it might sit fast upon his Head and those of his Successours, thought it safest to follow full on the same course. So did his Son *Charles*, to prevent Seditions during his absence in *Saxony*, *Italy* and other places, knowing very well that he was an Emperor of the first, and a King but of the second Head. After his Death most grievous Troubles arose, through the differences and Wars of his Posterity, *Emulation* betwixt Competitors ever producing this Effect, that People gain and the Crown loseth, while every one that contends for it, is glad to make Friends and part with one or more Flowers of it, to purchase a quiet Possession of the rest, through the favour and assistance of the Estates. This gave encouragement to these Assemblies, to take still more upon them, and the differences, through their sidings and bandyings, of *Charles*'s Posterity came to such height as to give encouragement to *Hugh Capet* a man of another Extract to set up for himself, there being none thought worthy to Reign that remained of the *Carolingians*, who were thus punished in their kind, for their Usurpation and Revolt from the *Meroningian* Line.

116. Thus did the use and Authority of this *Placitum* or Assembly of Estates arise and increase, through the diminution of the Royal Authority, the ambition of the Majors of the Palace, the Usurpation of *Pipin*, and the Judgments which ensued upon his Family. But from particular extravagant and illegal actions *Hotoman* would draw general Conclusions; So weak are his Arguments, and so palpable his Design, that his Book upon a levere examination, can hardly escape the censure of a Libell, which Name by certain Persons is thought most fit to be conferred on it, and they confirm to us the truth of what *Cujacius*, that great Lawyer passed upon his Works, that they do *Scutica indigere, need something fit to chafe & correct them*. A very learned Lawyer indeed he was, but addicted to a Party which was too fruitfull in this kind, and about the same time brought forth several such Brats as this, for instance, *Junius Brutus*, and the Treatise *De Jure Regni apud Scottos*, forged doubtless upon the same Anvil, though not perhaps by the same hands, which sufficiently betray the extraordinary Heat and turbulent Humour of the Contrivers; what he farther Writes concerning the Majors of the Palace in part we must approve, and in part reject: That they came up but towards the latter end of the Reign of the *Meroningians* is certain, I mean to that Power and Dignity which they usurped. For towards *Clodoveus* his days, who hears any thing of such an Officer? and in the very Reign of *Lotharius* and *Childebert*, where have we any mention of these Majors, except by the bye upon occasion of some other thing, for they were then Domesticks and Officers in the Palace?

*Ipsi Thebanus Malibon erat director sermonec-*

*ari. Franci belli non ab re iuste Parlamenti nancipiunt. Belgum Malibon & Malibidi & nigrum Medimnet pro convicio & con-*

*suetudo tempore ab eodem male dimicare head ambigendum, cum ferro & confabulatio ruris quasi caugium & vita sit. Hinc quoque exi-*

*stunt & quidam non aliisque ratiore Pantani quod nosterius exinde post Carolum M. sculis huiusmodi Imperialis subiecta convenientia quod*

*Germanus Diata capite nominari.*

117. Therefore do we find that their Dignity and Place was inferior to that of a Bishop, as appears from *Gregory Turnensis* in the case of *Badechift*, who from a Major of the Palace was preferred to that Sacred Function, and from the same Author it is evident, that not only Kings but Queens also had such Officers, as had *Bogundus* whom *Waddo* served in this capacity. *Hotoman* observes out of His-

*Gregor. lib. 8. c. 27.*

ry,

Sect. 4. ry, that besides this they had several other Names or Titles, being called *Magistri Regii Palatii, Praefetti Aulae, Comites, and Comites Demus Regiae*. But as he is out in comparing them for the Nature of their Office to the *Praefecti Praetorio* of the *Romanis*, so in this also that he makes the *Major Domus*, and the *Comes Palatii* to be the same. For *Gregory* makes mention of *Florentius* the *Major Domus Regiae*, *Lib. 9. c. 30.* and of *Romulus* the *Comes Palatii*, both which were sent by King *Childebert* at the invitation of *Meronens* the Bishop into *Poitou*. About the time of *Clothair* the Second, they began to aspire after an extravagant Power, and the carelessness of some Princes gave them opportunity to increase it to that grandeur, at which last it arrived. Yet were not all the Kings of the *Meronvingian* Race, in general, such Sots as *Eginhart* the Chancellour of *Charles* the Great, (and from him *Sigebert*) out of flattery to his Master, and to palliate the Treason of *Pipin* would make them, witness the great things achieved by them against the *Romanis, Alemanis, Goths* and other Nations before ever these Majors were heard of. As I hinted before, the Authority of the *Placitum* or General Assembly increased with theirs, as well that of the one as the other being not heard of till later times, whatever *Sigebert* Writs that once a year on the first of *May*, the Kings were wont to show themselves to the People, to salute and be saluted by them. They found it a good expedient to preserve and increase their Power thus to cajoll the People; then *Pipin* concluded that as naturally things are preferred the same way they are obtained, it was convenient to use the same means for keeping the Crown on his Head, which he had served himself of in the setting of it on; and what in him and his Son *Charles* was highly convenient, the Difensions and Quarrels of their Posterity did afterward render as highly necessary.

118. To understand yet more fully the Polity of the ancient *Franks*, to that of the Kings and Majors of the Palace, we must add the knowledge of the Dukes and Counts, a Subject proper to have been consider'd by *Hofman* in his *Franco Gallia*, but that he could find nothing in it fit to drive on his great Design. That *Duces* were Generals of Armies amongst the *Romans*, and afterward Commanded Forces upon the Borders, we have already sufficiently discovered. After the *Goths* had seized upon part of *Gall*, although deadly Enemies to the *Romans*, yet did they not much alter the State of the Provinces, setting after their Example Dukes over the Provinces, and Counts over the General Cities. So do we find that King *Enrick* appointed *Vistorius* to be Duke over seven Cities and the *Arverni*: And about the same time we find that *Marfeilles* was under the Government of a Count, mentioned by *Sidonius* upon a particular occasion. Afterwards we find *Goianus* and *Tibethus* famous upon this account, that the Breviary of *Theodosius* his Code being finisht, *Alarich* sent it unto them to be made use of in Administration of Justice, as appears by the Commonitory prefixed to the Work. In like manner the *Franks* having vanquished the *Romans*, *Goths* and *Burgundians*, and become Lords of *Gall*, did not change the State and Polity of the Provinces, as they found them framed by the *Romans*. They neither abolished the use of Dukes nor Counts, left by a new posture of things they should discontent and alienate the affections of the Provincialis, but on the contrary accommodated themselves to the *Roman* Customs, as both *Procopius* and *Agathias* do testifie, and thereby though Conquerours submitted to the Conquered. Neither can this seem strange, for the *Franks* serving in the Wars, and being in the *Satellitum* of Guard of the Emperours, had sufficient opportunity to make the Customs of the *Romans* familiar to them; *Anmatus*, Lib. 15. as we have formerly shewn, witnessing that a multitude of them flourished in the Court, and *Gregory Turonensis* confirming this to us by this passage, that *Valentinian*, Lib. 1. c. 9. being shut up in a private House of *Vienna*, and almost reduced to the State of a private Man, the care of the *Militia* was committed to the *Franks*, who were *Soldiers* or of the Guard about him.

119. The *Franks* as they found so continued those of Dukes and Counts, and that from the first founding of their Kingdom in *Gall*, for *Aimoinus* makes mention of *Winomadus* a Duke under *Childeric*, and of *Aurelian* under *Clodowery*, to whom the Kingdom of *Mildanum* was delivered. From the beginning of this Sovereignty of the *Franks*, this was the difference betwixt Dukes and Counts; that Dukes had the Command of many Cities, or of particular Provinces, whereas the Counts ruled the particular Cities or parts of Provinces. This is so evident from \* *Gregory Turonensis*, that nothing can be more; and thence came it that Counts are + compared to Bishops in Dignity, and Dukes to Arch-Bishops. The Power of Dukes was larger than that of Counts, but their Office and Duty was the same for substance. *Cofertis 1.8.*  
The Franks  
several Dukes  
and Counts in  
their Power, Du-  
ky and Office.

The difference  
betwixt Dukes  
and Counts in  
their Power, Du-  
ty and Office.

stance. Dukes had charge of matters || concerning War, and gave Order out to the Counts concerning the levying of Forces. It was incumbent upon \* both Dukes and Counts, to fortifie and protect the Cities and Places under their charge. In times of Peace Dukes presidēd in hearing † and deciding Controversies. Hence it is that in the form of the Office of a Duke extant in *Marcilfus* the Monk, it's required that such an one Govern the People committed to his trust; whether *Franks*, *Romans*, or *Burgundians*, according to the Laws and Customs of each Nation. || Dukes also took care of the yearly Tributes of the Provinces, as did the \* Presidents and Governours of Provinces amongst the *Romans*. Such as answered not to the Summons to the War, the Counts † punished. In Peace also they were employed as well as Dukes in || Administration of Justice. It was their concern to have \* the Province kept in quiet, to take care also of the † Tributes and publick Revenues, in which Employment they used the Ministrity and assistance of their *Vicaris* or *Vicars*.

*in domo B. Martini, &c.* ¶ *Gregorium Vide, lib. 8. c. 18. & L. 10. c. 6. Eudem de miraculis Santorum, l. 2. c. 16. Forxatun, l. 10. c. 2.*  
*Concilium Venerense c. 22. Capillonense Secundum, c. 21. & Tribonianse, c. 9. \* Lib. 5. c. 15. † Gregor. passim.*

¶ 120. For the \* *Vicarii* were their Deputies, as were also the † *Centenarii* & the ‡ *Scabini* or *Decani*, in the lesser Towns or Villages, the Count's *Pagis*, Place of his Jurisdiction or County, being divided into *Vicaria*, *Centena* and *Decanía*. Farther, let the Reader take notice these several Counties and Provinces also made up the *Misericordia* or *Misericatica*, which were certain Regions or Tracts, through which certain Ministers of Princes from their fending called *Missi*, were dispatched abroad and distributed. From these *Missi* came the Title of *Commissarii*, and they were of several sorts. As *Missi Dominici*, who were extraordinary Commissioners, sent by the Prince into divers parts of the Kingdom for dispatch of some particular Affair, *discurrentes* who were sent into the Provinces for dispatch of some particular Affair, and so called because they laid not in their *Misericatica*, as did the *Missi Dominici*, but having dispatched their busines, quickly returned, most like to our Juffles of Aylse. *Charles the Bald* distributed all his Kingdom, (except *Aquitain* which was Governed apart, and *Britannia Arremorica* which had lately Rebelled,) into twelve of these Regions or *Misericatica*, and in these instituted so many Colleges of *Missi Dominici*, whereof each according to the custome had one or two Bishops belonging to it, as also one Abbat and one Count, or more of each sort as the case required. For example, in the third *Misericatica* of these are these *Pagi* to be taken notice of by the Inhabitants of the Low Countries: *Noviomagis* or rather *Norivomagis*, now *Argonne*, *Vermandius*, *Vermandus*, *Adertifus Artos*, *Curticus Courtry*, and *Flandres Flandres*. Of the *Cortoracenes* the *Notitia Imperii* maketh mention, and of *Flanders Ludovicus Pius* in the division which he made of his Kingdom amongst his Sons, and is extant in *Pithaeus* his Collections.

121. But to return to the Counts, the cognitance of more weighty caules belonged to them, and those of the lesser to the *Vicars* and *Centenarii*. For some reason therefore are these *Vicars* of Counts and *Centenarii* compared to Parochial Presbyters, which held Baptisal Churches, and commanded the inferiour sort of Priests, by *Walfridus Strabo*. The Dignity of a Count was a step to the promotion of a Duke, which was accounted the Top or highest pitch of his Preferment. That the *Ducatus* or Dukedom contained several *Comitatus* or Counties is certain, but how many is not agreed on by Learned Men. *Pithaeus* reckons no fewer than twelve, as necessary to the making up of a Dukedom, and herein he follows the Annals of *Pipin*, and *Aimoinus* which inform that the said *Pipin* gave to *Griffo* his Brother after he was taken Prisoner, twelve Counties and this was according to the custome of Dukes. But others contend that the Number was varied according to the pleasure of the Prince, neither was the account of Dukedoms certain in this respect, as almost an infinite Number of places in *Gregory Turonensis*, do abundantly testifie which seldom assign more than three or four Counties to a Dukedom, and conclude nothing certain. *Bignous* that he may not contradict *Aimoinus*, very cautiously would fix this custome of twelve Counties upon the Reign or Age of *Pipin* as peculiar to it. But *Alteferra* doubts not to affirm, that these words *Ducum more*, according to the custome of Dukes, are a Comment of the unskillful Monk, there appearing in this Age not any one Footstep of such a Custome. Nay that same Author acknowledges, that in the next following Age of *Ladobodus Pius*, the Dukedom of *Forum Julii* or *Friuli* was divided into four Counties. Or *Aimoinus* might be deceived by the Confutition of *Pelagius the Second*, which N. n. 2. gives *Vide Capitulum Caroli M. I. cap. 10. de Consuetudine de Civitate, Cap. L. c. 3. q. 1. C. ult.*

which gives

Sect. 4 gives ten or eleven Cities to a Province, whereupon he might think a Dukedom was to consist of so many, or one more. But he ought to have observed, that a Province was here designed, rather according to the Ecclesiastical than Civil Form and that in *Gall* the measure of Dukedoms was as has been said, in place certain

122. At first the Duration of the Offices of these Dukes and Counts was various, limited only by the Will and good Pleasure of the King to a certain time. This is abundantly evident from *Gregory Turonensis*, as well as others, who has frequently by these forms of Speech, *ex Duece*, *ex Comite*, *ex Vicario*, signifying those who were formerly discharged such Employments; but now were superceded. It were needless to reckon up those many, which by Name we could mention to have been made Dukes and Counts of such and such particular places. In Cafay one died in his Employment, the Prince appointed him his Successour whom he pleased, to *Charles the Bold* bestowed the Honours of *Gerard Count of the Bitturices*, upon *Boso* the Brother of his Wife *Richildis*, and *Ludovicus Balbus* distributed the Employments of *Bernard* the Marques of *Gothia*. The first that began to Change this Course, and to take more upon him, was *Bernard* the Duke of *Septimanias*, catching hold of the opportunity presented him by the War which then raged between *Lotharius* and his Brothers, *Charles* and *Lodwick*. Confident in his own strength, he fate as an indifferent Perlon and looker on, and then by his Son *William* recommending himself to *Charles the Bold* the Conquerour, required that his place and Honours he had in *Burgundy*, might be confirmed and settled on him. Afterward the Authority and Empire of the second Race, or the *Carolingia* declining, and *Charles* the simple Reigning but precariously in respect of his Age, our Provincial Dukes and Counts began to Challenge their Governments by way of Dominion and Proprietary, and transmitting them to their Heirs, made the Kings *Vassali* to be their *Vassals*.

123. After this manner did Robert succeed Odo his Brother in the Dukedom of the *Franks*, and because some part of the Principality which Odo had held before he was chosen King was not restored to him, he began to conspire against Charles the Bald, and affect the Kingdom. In like manner Richard the Duke of Burgundy had for Successour Rodulph his Son, and Herbert Count of Vermandois his Son of the same Name with himself. This now was universally Challenged as a Thing of Right, but such as were more dutifull to their Kings, when they divided their Governments amongst their Children, would deferre their Consent to the Distribution. So in *Regno* we reade, that *Ulo* the Count at his Death, whatsoeuer Preferment or Ad. A. D. 950. Governments he had by Permission of the King, he divided as an Inheritance amongst his Sons. About the same time seven Dukes or Provincial Counts, raised themselves to the Power of so many petty Princes or *Reguli*, as the Duke of the *Franks*, the Count of *Paris*, the Dukes of *Burgundy*, *Normandy* and *Aquitain*, the Counts of *Flanders*, *Champagne* and *Toulouse*, who in a manner contended with the Kings for Dignity, and by their Ambassadours would dispute with them as upon even Ground. At length *Hug Capet*, having feized the Sovereignty, in some measure made up the Breaches of the Kingdom, but very cautiously like a prudent Physician gently handling these great and seffered Wounds of the Common-wealth. Accommodating himself to the times, he let pass such as had been of longer Continuance, left he should discover his own weaknes, and made them with the other lesser *Feuda*, as perpetual and Hereditary, referring to himself and Successours the Sovereign Jurisdiction, Allegiance and Military Services. By this Agreement and League, as it were, the Face of a Kingdom was restored, and the Dukes and Counts became faithful and obedient; but yet the Majesty of the Kingdom recovered not, till some time after, these Noblemen retaining the *Regalia* or Royal Privileges, which during the Disturbances they had usurped. What these *Regalia* were it's too long for us to inferr, and the Reader may have abundant Satisfaction out of *Alteferra*. Thus much at present we obserue, that contrary to the Assertions of *Eotoman*, the Power of the *Meroningians* was free and uncontrolled; those Dukes and Counts being wholly at their Devotion. And that the Wars, Seditions and Changes of Government which followed, brought forth these Extravagancies and Innovations for which he pleadeth.

Vide Frodatum in Chron. ad Ann. 924.

124. To omit the *Seneccallus & Comes stabuli*, as Officers considerable only in latter Ages, and so not proper to our present Work, as neither to this Disquisition <sup>Sed vide supra</sup> tending to the discovery of the Polity and Government of the ancient *Franks*, we shall alter the Governors, inform the Reader a little concerning the Ranks and Distinctions of the People. They were distinguished into *Edelingi*, *Frlingi* and *Lalli*.

The People are  
distinguished  
from:

CHAP. I. Contemporary with the Constantinopolitan Roman Empire.

*Edelingi.* Laffi, as were the *Saxons*, their Neighbours. The *Edelingi* were the Nobility, *Edel*, Sect. 4-  
*Ebel* and *Etheling* in the Teutonic, and our ancient English *Saxon* Tongue signifying *Noble*. Of these *Edelingi* mention is made in the Rhymes, Composed in the true and ancient French Language, sent to King *Ludivicus*, and in the *Ofridian version* of the Gopfet. *Marculus* the Monk, who lived about the Reign of *Dagobert*, A.D. 660, mentions the order of the Nobility, and shews how Bishops were Formular. I. 1.  
as he Edelingi out of it, which is observable also in *Sidnibus*, and *Gregorius* 4.<sup>5.</sup>

Frlingi. won to be Elected out of it, which is contrary the Law of the Franks. The *Turonensis*. The *Frlingi* were so named, because they were *Fry*, or as we say *Freemen*, answering to our *Teomen*, as did the *Ethelingi* to our *Edelmen*, Noble *Gentlemen*; and of them mention is often made in the Laws of the Franks. The

*Lass.* *Lass* were Slaves, or rather answer'd fully to our *Villains*, who filled the Ground as Hireslings, and Tributaries to the Condition of which, that of the old *Lacedemonian Helots*, and the present French *Peasants* doth much answ'r. Such of these were Manumitted or free'd, were termed *Friglassis*, or in their own Language *Friglasse*, concerning which the Reader may see enough in the *Formulae of Marcus*, and the Notes of *Hieronymus Bignonus* upon them, who observes, that there were three sorts of these Manumissions, or three several ways they were made Free. One was by a *Denarius* or piece of Money, another was in the Church, and a third by a Paper or a private Letter, concerning which we have abundant Satisfaction from the *Salic Laws*, *Gregory Turonensis*, and the *Formulae of Bignonus and Pithaeus*. Besides these *Lass*, in Writers of the same Age we meet with *Lizi*, who are thought to have been a sort of *Villains* also little different from the other, except in this that they parted with their Freedom for Money.

Liii. fides their *Laff*, in Writers of the same Age we meet with *Laffi*, who are thought *Fantana, Orig.* to have been a sort of *Villains* also little different from the other, except in this, *Franc. L.6. c.1* that they parted with their Freedom for Money.

125. Something we must add concerning their Laws, and then it will be more than time to dismiss our *Franks*. And to fetch things a little higher in reference to *Gall* it self, we must know that the Conquerours were not only wont to impose their Language, but their Laws, also upon the Conquered. Therefore as *Livy* tells us, the *Crotoniates* refusing to submit to the Dominion of the *Brutii* affirmed, that they would rather dye, than mixing and imbodying themselves with them, they would exchange their own for the Customs, Rites, Laws and Language of Strangers. The *Romans* using the political Course imposed not only Tributes and their Languages, but also the *Conquerors* who had once reduced under their Subjection.

The Civil Law imposed on them by the Romans.

*Vide Frodoardum  
in Chronic. ad  
Ann. 924.*

The Civil Law was called the *Civis Law* by way of Extent, was propagated together with their Empire through all Quarters, and the Provincial students it, as their greatest Comfort, as that to which of necessity they must have recourse. The first part of *Gall*, which received this Law in this manner, was *Gallia Narbonensis* called formerly *Braccata*, which being Conquered by *Fabius Maximus* had the *Ius Italicum* bestowed upon it with Immunity from Tribute: Many of the best Inhabitants were taken into the Senate before the time of *Augustus*, and from the Privilege it received of wearing the *Roman Gown*, it obtained also the Name of *Gallia Togata*. Moreover *Aquitain*, the *Daulphine* and *Savoy* were Provinces before *Julius Caesar*, and all of them received the *Roman Laws*, being governed by Presidents and Proconsuls, as long as till the Reign of *Honorius* the Emperor, who made an edict; whereupon their Law, called the *Civil Law* by Extent, was propagated together with their Empire through all Quarters, and the Provincial students it, as their greatest Comfort, as that to which of necessity they must have recourse.

who gave up his Right in them to *Abtaulphus the Goth*. At length all *Gall* being Conquered by *Cæsar*, followed this Example. This appears first from the Answers, which the Emperors returned to the Presidents of the Provinces, who consulted them upon occasion yet extant in our Law Books. Secondly from this, that the Youth of *Gall* frequently reforted to *Rome*, there to study the Law, as appears from *Rutilius*, *Sidonius*, and *Aelitudorensis* and others, who instance in *Paladius*, *Europius*, *Germanus* and the like. Thirdly, the new Constitutions of Princes were wont to be published at the Tribunals of the Judges in *Gall*, and entered amongst their Records. And lastly from *Zozimus* it appears, that at the Declension of the Empire, *Britain*, and some Provinces of *Gall* having by their own strength cleared themselves of the *Germans*, without the Assistance of the *Romans*, rejected their Laws, and returned again to their own Customs. Hence it is evident, that *Gall* with the Empire received the Law of *Rome*, although some Free Cities were permitted at first to live according to their own Customs. As were the *Arverni* and *Rutani* by order of the *Roman* People, the *Hedui* and *Atributes* by *Cæsar*: *Strabo*, *Massiliensis* also retained their old Laws and Customs, whereof some Footsteps remain in *Strabo*, *Valerius Maximus* and others. The first *Roman* Lawyer that *Gall* saw after *Cæsar's* Invasion was *Trebatus*, with whom *Cicero* makes himself very Merry.

126. The ♂ 16.

Sect. 4. 126. The Roman Empire going to Ruine, and the *Goths*: having seized on *Aquitain*, with the Province of *Narbon*, they indeavoured to remove, as other Marks of the *Roman Dominion*, so also that of the Laws. But in respect of the Laws, the Provincials despised them, keeping to those of *Theodosius*, and raised heavy Complaints against *Serotonus* the Prefect of *Gall*, as treading upon those of *Rome*, and Conspiring with the *Goths* for their Extirpation. At length *Alaricus* the last King of these *Goths*, perceiving the Minds of the People so addicted to the Laws of *Theodosius*, that there was no hope of bringing them to have any *Gusto* of the *Gothick*, caused a Breviary of *Theodosius* his Code, to be Composed by some Select Persons, and to be published by *Anianus* his Chancellour; and left he should diminish his own Majestie, by admitting this Foreign Law, made it his own as appears by the Commonitory to *Timotherus* the Count prefixed to it. This *Alaric* being slain, *Aquitain* with part of the Province of *Narbon*, was subdued by *Clodonatus*, but *Septimanica* for the present escaping the Conquerours hands, remained in the Power of the *Vishgoths*, as did the Province of *Arby* in the hands of *Theodorick* the Ostrogothian and Italian King. In these Countries yet remaining to the *Goths*, to be sure the *Roman Law* Continued safe, of which *Theodorick* himself is more than once witness in *Cassiodorus*. *Clodonatus* also, either because he thought it impossible, or unsafe to make such an Alteration, or unwilling to shew any Hardness to those who had invited him into the Country, or rather for that he had no better to obtrude upon them, suffered them to enjoy their beloved Civil Law, with all Freedom.

Law, with all freedom.

127. Hence came it to pass, that the Provincials of *Aquitain* and others beyond the *Loire*, were by the Franks called *Romans*, as also the whole Country on that side of the same River, *Romania*, *Roman Terra*, and *Gallia Romana*. Moreover King *Clodhair*, under the Name of *Romans* by an Edict, permitted them the use of *Roman Laws*, as also did *Gunteran*, *Childeric* and *Sigebert* by their Approbation. As agreeable hereto, did several Bishops and others, make their Wills fully conformable to the Rules of the Civil Law which *Gregory Turonensis* witnesseth; and *Aimoinus* tells us, that *Sadregius* the Duke of *Aquitain* being slain, his Sons for that they would nor prosecute and revenge the Murther, were according to the appointment of the *Roman Laws*, despoiled of all their Father's Goods. In the days of *Clodoveus* the second, and the Son of *Dagobert*, flourished this Law as is fully manifest from *Marculfus* his Forms of Codicils directed to the Rulers of Provinces. In the Age also of *Childeric* the second it is evident enough that the Civil Law was in high Esteem, both in the Courts and the Schools of the *Arverni*. *Charles* the Great, following the Example of his Predecessours of the first Line, established the use of it to those that lived beyond the *Loire*, Commanding the Code of *Theodosius* to be mendied for their use, as appears from the last words added to the Monitory of *Alarius*, and prefixed to the said Code. Nay he was so great a Friend to this imperial Law, that many things out of this Volume he caused to be transferred into his own Capitularies. The same Course was observed, by those of his Family to the Ruine thereof, a notable Influence of which we have in *Gerard*, a certain Count of *Aquitain*, who that he might not break the famous Law called *Fusia Citalia* (and *Mundialis* in our Author) by his Testament refused to Manumit more than one hundred of his Slaves. At that time flourished many eminent Men in *Aquitain*, who were great Proficients in this Science. Particularly *Abbo* the Father of *Odo Cluniacensis*, is said by *Joannes Italus* the Writer of the Life of the Son, to have had by Heart the Histories of the Ancients, and the Novel of *Justinian*. In *Septimanian* indeed, by an Edict of *Cindasindus* King of the *Vistogots*, the *Roman Law* was as it were turned out of Doors, and the *Gothick* prevailed so long as the *Goths* possessed that part of *Gallia Narbonensis*, but after the Country was subdued by the *Franks*, they recalled the *Roman* as we may easily gather from the perpetual Laws of *Charles the Great*, *Ludovicus Pius*, and *Charles the Bald*.

Federicus in  
Chronicis Liguris  
stetutus tradidit.  
Romani pres-  
tum, sive Ritu  
rums when ac-  
cedant, ex. Con-  
tra. Iun. Fortunatus  
Lepistrandus stilis.  
Lib. 4. c. 28.

Ex vita S. Pra-  
edi Arvernorum  
Bastiatis et  
seremonibus quod  
Sursum. Tom. 1.  
Januar. 1.  
Et item An-  
XII regnante Ce-  
sare Regis  
Gothicorum &  
Patrum Romanorum.  
Iustini impetrat  
in lex Mandatis  
in hoc obseruantur,  
et idea numeram  
eadem legi  
praeferuntur  
propositum  
ab aliis intermis-  
seruntur.  
Odo Cluniacensis  
vii. S. Gerald.  
lib. 3.  
Leg. Wigf. l. 2.  
4. 8.

128. But we are told by *Eginart*, that the *Franks* had two Laws very different in many places. The Reader must know then, that besides that of the *Romans* they found in *Gall*, they made or brought with them another of their own which is the *Salick Law*, so much spoken of in later Ages. Who were the Authors of it, is sufficiently set forth in the Preface, and *Sigebert* moreover informs us; as that it was Composed by four of their Noblemen chosen out of many, and known by the Names of *Wifogast*, *Bosogast*, *Salogast* and *Widogast*, in these Villages of *Germany*, *Sala-*  
*chaim*, *Bodechaim* and *Wingehaim*. We are told that these four meeting in three  
Malli.

CHAP. I. *Contemporary with the Constantinopolitan Roman Empire.* 463

*Malli*, or so many several places of Assemblies, very carefully handled and disused  
Causes, revolving to Judge according as the *Salick Law* declareth. Whence it  
should be called, there are different Opinions. Some derive the Name from *Sal* <sup>Vide Pontanus.</sup> *Iuris in Oris, Francie,*  
*and Sala*, signifying a *Court* or *Hall*, as if for *Salica* should be meant *Allica*. So *T. G. c. 17.*  
*Aventinus* interprets *Lex Salica*, *Terra Salica*, *Salica Prædia*, and *Salici Clientes*,  
and indeed still at this day the *Dutch men* have this word *Salwick* frequently in  
their Mouths, whereby they mean *Salicus Codex* or a *Salick Book*, wherein are  
described the Grounds belonging to the King or Church, together with the Tri-  
butes and Revenues. Moreover in the Laws of the *Alemanni* and other Nations, the *Lex Alemanni.*  
word *Sala* is often used for an *Houſe*, as *Hall* now is used by us *English*, and not <sup>it.</sup> *Leg. 81.*  
only for the greatest Room or dining Room, as *Salle* in *French* also signifies. In *it.* *3. 4.*  
this Seuse the *Salick Land* should properly be that Land or Ground, which being Con-  
quered was assigned to the Court or Courtiers, wherein the Female Sex could not  
succeed, as unable by Arms to defend and secure it. *Lindebrogius* cites an old  
Glossary, wherein *Terra Salica* is explained by the *Teutonick* word *Selitam*, as the  
Ground or Soil belonging to the Court or the King's Houſe.

129. Others derive the word from the *Franci Salii* mentioned by *Amianus Marcellinus*, who writes that Custome called them *Salii*, who formerly took the boldness to fix their Habitations in the *Roman Pale* at *Toxandria locis*, and when *Julian* was come to *Tungri*, he adds, that there it was, that their Ambassadors met him. Betwixt these Opinions there's no Repugnancy, they may both be true. This Law might be called *Salic* from the People; and the People called *Salii*, from the *Salii* or *Salia* lately mentioned. But this *Toxandria loci* in the Judgement of several Learned Men, is that very Village in the lower *Lorraine*, which to this day is called *Tessenderlo*. For the People called *Tungri* in the same Tract, and the River *Mosa* flowing along are most certain Notes of the Habitation of these *Franci Salii*; in the time of *Julian*, betwixt the Rivers *Sceld* and *Mense*, wherein during the Reign of *Pharamond*, the Law *Salic* was Composed. These three Villages mentioned by *Gas Bishopp*, in the Opinion also of very judicious Persons are still remaining in the *Brabant* Country of *Brabant*, and now known by the Names of *Zelheim*, *Boderhein* and *Uffingen* *Windenborren*. For the first *Zelheim*, with a little Variation of Dialect in the *Vindict. Hipp. c. 5.* *Teutonick Tongue* sounds no other than the Habitation of the *Salii*, over against which on the other side of the River *Tamera*, stands a *Salick* Village called *Zelk*: *germani pro S. There lies also a Region betwixt *Herkana* and *Halen*, at this day called *Urranckrich*, or *sturz z Zell**, or *raze pro Selv* the Kinglom of *France*; and beneath that the *Salick* Meadows, known by the *Sal. Hidm* Names of *Zeeleboden*, which manifestly prove thence to have been the first Seats of the *Salick Franks*.

130. But Julian the Emperour himself writing of these *Franks*, which living at *Tosxandria* had made their Addressees to him, calls them a part of the *Salii*, which hints that another part of them inhabited elsewhere. Now that any which dwelt *beyond the Rhine* were called *Salii*, appears not at all; therefore *Chiffletius* thinks, that those of the *Franks* which had passed that River, and now fixed on this side, were so named from the River *Salia*, which rising out of the Lake by him called *Lindrius Lacus* at the City of *Metz*, empties it self into the *Moselle*. Now that this River had it's Name from *Sal* or *Salt*, *Fortunatus* tells us, who he Enumerates the Rivers of *Gallia Belgica*. *Chiffletius* adds, that this Etymology is found upon very good Reasons. For not far from the River are the Salt Fountains of *Lorraine*, which Spring up at *Dieuze*, *Marjal*, *Mogenne*, *Salone* and *Chateau-salins*, at which places they boil the water into Salt: Neither is far distant, the Monastery of the *Salt Valley*, of the Order of St. *Norbert*. That greatest Content of old happened betwixt the *Burgundians* and *Allemans*, the *Catti* and *Hermundari* about such Salt waters were asfured by several Writers, as well out of a superstitious Conceit they had of such impregnated Waters, for the great Gain that arises out of such Traffick; and why might not they have the same Desires? why might not the same Endeavours be used by the *Franks*? But that from this *Salia* they were so named, this renders it still more probable, that in the parts of *Lorraine* several other People may be found, which took their Names from the adjoining Rivers: As from the River *Mous* (by *Regino* called *Mogonus*) the *Mogeniaci* from *Rura*, the *Ribuarie*, in old French, *les Rayers*, from *Eleus* the *Eisarii*: From *Elaine* the *Elainiorii*, and from the *Mofella* the *Mofellani*. Why then not as well from *In Epiſt. ad Amantias.*  
*Salia, Salis, Sal-*  
*teria, Scaldis, Sa-*  
*bia, Sononia, Sa-*  
*na: Se qui*  
*Martin addit, de*  
*facto nomen ob-*  
*bens, lib. 7. c. 4.*

Sect. 4. from *Salia* the *Salii*. To speak indifferently this is very probable, and *Papirius Mafsonius* was of this Opinion, that the *Salick Law* was so denominated from *Salia*, the River of the *Mediomatrici*, as also *Hotoman*, that the People received this Appellation from the River.

131. From very many Instances and Examples, *Chiffletius* proves that in those Countries, lying within the Rivers, *Meuse*, *Moselle*, *Scilde* and *Somone*, or the *Sonne*, the *Salick Law* was used and in Force for many Ages, amongst those who were first called *Salii*, then *Austrati*, and afterward *Lotharingi*. Upon the very same account, *Conrade* the second Emperor was long after called *Salicus*, because he was born in the *Salick Land*, in the Territories of *Wormes*, within the Borders of the Eastern France, or the ancient Kingdom of *Lorraine*. In like manner, St. *Norbert* born in the Country of *Cleve*, in the Diocese of *Coleine*, by *Hugo Comes racensis*, his first Associate and Successour in the *Pramonstratensian* Monastery, said to be descended of the illustrious Off-spring of the *Franks*, and the *Salick Germans*, that is to say of the *Austrasians*, who were the Eastern *Franks*, called afterward *Lotharingi*, the Kings of whom were intituled, *Reges Orientalis Francie: Kings of Oriental France*. To these in the Opinion of *Cujacius*, truly and properly belonged the *Salick Law*, by Virtue whereof Males alone succeeded their Ancestours in their Inheritances. For so a branch of it runs: But of the *Salick Land* no Portion part of the Inheritance passeth to a Woman, but this the Male Sex acquires; that is to say, Sons succeed in the Inheritance. This is that passage, wherupon has been raised such a noise in the World, and has cost two Neighbouring Nations, so much Blood and Treasure.

132. But *Cajacius* very well observes, and so doth *Holoman* in his *Franco-galia*, that in several Books are written the *Law Salick*, and the Law of the *Franks*: And that this belonged to those of the West, and that to the other of the East, or the *Austrasians*, and *Lotharingians* as they were afterwards called. *Chifflet* affirms, the *Saxian Land* to be the Dukedom of the upper *Lorraine*, the right of Succession in it, by Virtue of this Law belonging to Males only, as also in the Dukedom of the lower *Lorraine*, till such time as by Indulgence of the Emperours, the Succession was also devolved upon the weak Sex. As by many Instances, he proves that the *Salick Law* belonged to the Eastern *Franks*, so by as many and more doth he shew, that it no way concerned the Kingdom of the *Western*, which at this day we call *France*. That sometimes the Kingdom was transferred to the Males, when there were Females remaining, viz. the Daughters of the late deceased Kings cannot be denied, as we have seen in the Case of *Guntram*, who though he left a Daughter called *Clorilde*, yet his Kingdom went not to her, but to his Brother *Siegerbert*. So *Childebert* the third dying, the Crown came to his Brother *Clothair*, though he left two Daughters; and *Cheribert* the fifth being deceased, the Succession was devolved upon *Siegerbert* his Brother, and his three Daughters were excluded. These Instances and Testimonies yet he overrules by a far greater number on the other side, whereby he doubts not, but that he demonstrates that the *Law Salick* was never observed nor practised, there where some in later Ages for their own Interests, have so much pleaded and contended for it.

133. First, had any such Law been regarded as Sacred and Inviolable, it would have awed the *Franks* so much, that after the Death of *Clodio* they would not have passed by their Children, and transferred the Kingdom to *Meronessus* his Kinman, probably descended of the Blood Royal by the Female Sex. It would also have been a Bridle to them, against their rejecting of *Childeric*, and making choice of *Aegidius* the Roman Patriarch, whose Mother or Wife probably was a *Frank*, because we find that his Son *Sigrius* possessed the City of *Soissons* by right of Inheritance. Had there been such a kind of Curb, a Reverence to such a Law, it would have been more effectually joyned at least with their Duty and Allegiance, than to suffer them to reject the Male Line of the *Merovingians*, and promote the Family of *Charles Martell*, which was descended of it by a Female, as we have formerly shewed, viz. by *Blithilde* the Daughter of King *Clothair*, Married to *Anbert* the Duke of *Austrasia*. The like Example we find in *Wido*, Duke of *Sploten* who was chosen King, though he was descended from *Charles the Great*, by a Daughter only of *Pipin* the second; but for this very reason that he was a Kinman by his Mother, of *Charles the Simple*. *Odo* Moreover obtained the Crown of *France*, for being descended from the said *Charles*, though by his Concubine, for which and no better a Reason, *Rodulph* the Kinman of him and King *Robert*, thought himself worthy and capable of a Crown, which he put on his Head, and caused him to be

*Posteros Clodio-  
ni Regis qui bac-  
tenuis ignis fue-  
runt habes in ve-  
teri Stemmate,  
quod ex M.S.  
codice legis Sa-  
lica Cheseaneus  
publici juris fecit.*

## **CHAP. I.** *Contemporary with the Constantinopolitan Roman Empire*

self to be saluted King of Burgundy. The said Robert pretended to the Kingdom by the same Title and none other, as had done his Brother Odo, who as he affirmed, had Reigned by as good Right as had King Pipin. For the same reason was Rodulphus made King of France. Neither could Hugh Capet himself challenge the Crown by any better Title. All these were actually possessed of the Crown. Where was then the Salick Law, which the Modern French so much boast of, as *Vindic. Gall.* firmly established, and sprung up together with the Kingdom, by which alone the *op. 16.* Liberty and Dignity of the Name of France hath subsisted, as that which hath preserved it from being oppressed by the Empire, and Jurisdiction of Strangers. Sect. 4.

134. From the Rights and Pretensions of others, it appears that this *Salick Law* was not in this point at all acknowledged in ancient times. *Henry* the first of that Name being dead, *Baldwin* Surnamed *Piu* the Count of *Flanders*, who had married *Adela* his Sister, was made Protector or Guardian to *Philip* his young Son on this Condition, that in Case the Child *Philip* shoud dye without Children, he should succeed to the Crown in Right of his Wife, the Aunt of his young Pupil. Here Authors say, he shoud be King in Right of his Wife, and that the Nobility swore fealty to him, as the just Heir of the Kingdom, in Case *Philip* shoud dye without Issue. Now no Right can be against such a positive Law, and Juit and Legitimate flowing from Law it self; how could he be said to be King in Right of his Wife, of a Juit or Legitimate Heir, in Case of such an Illegality? In like manner, the Nobility after the death of *Lewi* the eighth, disclaiming to be governed by *Blanche* his Wife, in the Minority of his Son *Leus*, relieved to confer the Crown on *Enguerran* Lord of *Concy*, for no other Caufe, than for that he was descended from the Loins of their Kings in a double Line; but in both by Women, as appeareth by his Pedigree to be seen in *Chifflet* his Book. The firſt time that ever the *Salick Law* was objected and made uſe of in this Case, was after the death of *Lewis Estin*, who left his Wife *Clementia* Great with Child of a Son called *John*, that died the eighth day after he was born. He left a Daughter also named *Joanna*, begotten on *Margaret* the Daughter of *Robert Duke of Burgundy*, for whom her Uncle *Odo* Son of this *Robert*, challenged the Kingdom of *France* in Right both of her Father and Brother. But *Philip* Surnamed the *Long*, tooke off this *Odo* by Marrying to him his own Daughter *Joanna*, and as *Du Haillan* observes, *Philip* having a Controversie with a young Virgin deſtitute of Help and Succour, and having bribed the Nobility by great Promises easly had the better of her. Yet did her Aunt the Ducheſs of *Burgundy* protest againſt the promotion of *Philip* in Right of her Niece, neither would the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Flanders*, though Peers of *France* be preſent at the Inauguration. *Odo* yet afterward as we ſaid re-nounced the Right of his Niece, being taken off by a Marriage with *Joanna*, who brought with her the Inheritances of the other *Burgundy*, and *Arteſia*; though had this *Salick Law* been known amonſt the *Western Franks*; he would ſcarcely have affetered her Right at all. But now was it firſt cited and objected, almoſt nine whole Ages after it was firſt enacted in the *Salick Land*.

135. *Odo* the Duke of *Burgundy* gave up the Cudgels, as we said, as to the Right of his Niece ; but when his own turn came, he was not willing to be so farred. For *Philip the Long* being dead, he Challenged the Kingdom for *Jeanne* his Wife, Daughter to the said *Philip*, and contended though in vain; he himself having helped to make a President, with *Charles* surnamed the *Fair*, the Brother of the King deceased. Not long after, *Charles* had the same fate as had his Brother to dye without issue Male, which Accident procured that famous Contest betwixt the two Nations of *France* and *England*. Our King *Edward* the third, the Nephew of *Charles* by his Sister *Isabel*, justly contended that the Crown belonged to him, rather than to *Philip de Valois* the Cousin German of *Charles*, who laid claim to it. He affirmed, that though the pretended *Salick Law* were admitted ; yet would the End and Design of it be accomplished in his Person, who though descended from the *French* Kings by his Mother, yet was a Man, and fit to Govern. Women by it being excluded from the Inheritance, but not Men who derive their Pedigrees by Women. He produced the Example of *Pipin*, the Father of *Charles the Great*, urged those of *Odo* and *Robert*, and instanced in *Hug Capet*, who were promoted for this very reason, that by their Mothers and Grandmothers, they drew their descent from the Kings of the *Franks*. His Right and Title to the Crown, to be better than that of *Philip* he shewed, in that he was the Grandson of *Philip the Fair*, begotten on his Daughter; and therefore it was fitter that he should succeed his Grandfather and his Uncle, than *Philip*, who deriving his def cent

Sect. 4. cent from the Father of *Philip the Fair*, was more in Bloud remore, though he feized on the Kingdom. He quartered the Arms now of *France* and *England* together, and defied *Philip the Invader* of the Kingdom, calling him by no other Name than *Philip of Valois*. Then what Wars followed none can be ignorant, than which *Aemilius* affirms none ever was more grievous, none more long, none more Bloody and Contentious, nor any more frequently repeated. A later Writer adds, that this Contention involved the *French* and *English*, by reason of a tedious War, in the greatest Calamities: Hence the Kings of *England* have taken the Title and Arms of the Kingdom of *France*, and as yet do take them; and affirm the Controversie as yet not to be decided.

136. While *John the second of France* was here Prisoner in *England*, *Charles King of Navar*, Son to the Daughter of *Louis XI*, renewed the Claim of his Mother, and the *Dolphin* then Regent, was glad to buy him off with that part of *Normandy* he had got into his hands, before the Kings Captivity: by Virtue of which Bargain his Right was then extinguished. But *Charles the fifth* could not so stop the Mouth of our *Henry the fifth*, but Marrying to him his Daughter *Catharine*, ordained him Regent of the Kingdom during his Life, and after his Death Successor to it. The French Writers here except that *Charles* was not well in his Wits; but its a wonder that the Estates of the Realm shou'd be so mad with him for Company. For it's certain enough it was done by their Consent; if Madnes was the Caufe, this Madnes neither died nor was buried with him. His Body being laid in his Grave, in the Church of *St Denis*, *The Officers of his House* brake <sup>Monstrans Tom.</sup> <sub>I. c. 207.</sub> *their Staves*, and cast them into the Grave, turning their Keys also downwards, then the Heralds coming to the Graves side cryed out: Rest the Soul of the most high and most excellent Prince *Charles King of the Franks*, of that Name the fifth, our Natural and Sovereign Lord: then with an higher Voyce added: God lengthen the Years of *Henry* by the Grace of God, King of France and England our Sovereign Lord. Then erecting their Keys and lifting up the Lilies or their Coat Armours toward Heaven ingeminated these Words, Let the King live. Had the *Salick Law* been of such Sacred and inviolable esteem, it's not to be supposed, the Estates would have Conferred, especially *Philip* the good Duke of *Burgundy*, who being himself issyed from the House of *Valois*, had no reaon to make Shipwreck thus of his Hopes and Expectations. But in prosecution of the Right which rose from the Title of our *Henry the fifth*, his Marriage with *Catharine*, and the Agreement upon that Marriage, *Henry the fifth* his Son some thirteen Years after came to *Paris*, and there with the same Consent was solemnly Crowned and anointed.

137. The Gouvernor of *Paris* with the flower of the Citizens went out to meet him, and did him Reverence. They were followed by the chief President, habited like a Prince with the Members of Parliament, clad in Purple and Scarlet. Next to them went the Masters of Accounts, after them they that had the Charge of the Treasury, the Masters of the Requests, and the Secretaries: All these kneeled before him, and acknowledged him for their Sovereign. The Provoft of Merchants, and the *Echevins* or Sheriffs brought a Canopy of blew Silk poudered with Golden Lilles, and carried it over his Head all the while he passed through the City. On the seventeenth of December he went to the Church of *Noſtre Dame*, and there was Consecrated by the Cardinal of *Winchester*. Thence returning to the Palace, he entred as it were into Possession of the Royal Dignity, the Doors were set open, he sat on his Bed of Justice, heard and determined Causes, and executed the Office of a King. Letters Patents were sealed with his Seal Royal, and he had two Crowns, the one on his Head, and the other standing by him, to shew openly that he was King of so many Kingdoms. Where was then the *Salick Law*? In the same Esteem doubtless as it was more lately, not yet one hundred Years ago after the Death of *Henry the third*, the *French* King. The greatest Faction would willingly have Cancelled it out of Enmity to the Family of *Bourbon*. Some were for the Duke of *Lorraine* or one of his Children, others for the Duke of *Bar*, as the Son of a Daughter of *France*; but most eft their Eyes on *Philip the second King of Spain*, as descended from the Loins of *Charles the Great*, and sixteen *Parishes* who had then the Care of the State upon them, wrote to him Letters full of Duty and good Wishes, to be seen in the Book of *Chifflets*. What caufe the Modern *French* have to brag as they do, of the Observance of their *Salick Law*, inviolably preferred since the founding of the Monarchy it self, let the Reader judge by these Instances, which howsoever they transcend the Period, we have allotted to this Volume, yet in so material a Subject which

*cognitio libri*  
we

we here handle once for all could not be omitted. We assure our selves, that during the Reigns of the Kings of the first and second Lines, it was never thought of, and it was so far from being a Check upon the *French* in ascertaining the Succession, that the contrary Doctrine, viz. that the Descent from the Royal Family by the Female Sex, gave a Right and Title to the Crown, was no small encouragement to the ancient *Franks*, to commit those extraordinary and extravagant Practices, upon which *Hofman* founds his Doctrine of Election, and opened the Door to the Succession of *Pipin* and his Family, if not of that also of *Hug Capet*.

138. All this is abundantly confirmed from the Successions of several Dukedoms, and Counties of the Western or Modern *France*, which have often descended from the Spear to the Difaff, have been possessed both long since, and lately by Women and their Children: He that desires Satisfaction may consult the Book of *Chifflet* written upon this Argument, where he may find the several Examples, and the Pedigrees he produceth for the Proof and Evidence of his Assertion. We shall here give the Reader only a Tafte of it. First, he produceth the Testimony of *Otho Frisingensis*, who writes that it's the Cuftome in *Burgundy* (as almost in all the Provinces of *Gallia*) that ever to the elder Brother and his Children, whether Males or Females, the Right of the Father's Inheritance belongs; others looking upon them as their Lords. He observes, that the Particle *Pene*, or almost, excludes the *Salick Law* of the Eastern *France*. Then for Instances, *Conrade* Count of *Paris* was Duke of *Burgundy*, in Right of his Wife *Adelais*, the elder Daughter of *Hugh* the Baftard Son of *Charles the Great*. So was *Hugh* the Son of *Conrade*, in Right of his Father and Mother. After *Hugh* succeeded *Alayda* his Niece by his Brother, her Husband *Richard* the Count of *Autun*, being in her Right made Duke of *Burgundy*. In their Right succeeded *Hugo Niger* their Son, betwixt whom and *Hugo Albus* there arose a difference, for he pretended to the Dukedom, because his Mother was *Beatrice* the Daughter of *Richard* and *Alayda*, Married to *Robert* the first King of the *Franks*: The Contest grew so high, that they divided *Burgundy* betwixt them. *Hugh* the Black dying without Issue, *Gilbert* Count of *Dijon* the Son of *Manasse*, who had Married another Sister succeeded, and in like manner left the Dukedom to *Orbo* his Son-in-Law. Long after this continued the Succession of *Hugh* the White in the Male Line; but at length Duke *Philip* Surnamed *Robore*. A.D. 1351. *James* dying without Issue, the Dukedom fell to *Jean the French* King, by Right of *Joanna* his Mother, great Aunt to *Philip* the last Duke, though there were several of the Male Line remaining; therefore certainly not by any Right he claimed by Virtue of the *Law Salick*.

139. Which Law in the Succession of *Burgundy*, was never heard of till *Lewis the eleventh of France*, indeavoured to exclude *Mary* the Daughter of *Charles the Bald*, slain in the Battel of *Nancy*; and this, saith *Chifflet*, is the Fountain of that Right, whereby the *French* King retains from her Posterity the most noble Region of *Burgundy*. But to proceed, the Province, saith he, which the King of *England* affects at this day as his Right, and which his Ancestors throughout all the Kingdom of *France* enjoyed quietly in times past, belong to him no otherwise than by Right derived on the Female side. For the County of *Maine*, *Fulco Earl of Anjou* married *Eremburgis*, the Daughter of *Helias Earl of Maine*, together with *Williamus Gen-*  
*merita*, lib. 8.  
*her*, by her receiving the County, and by her had two Sons and as many Daughters, whereof one married to *William* the Son of *Henry King of England*. His Two *Hilfrid Nor-*  
*Hilfridus* and *Geoffrey* and *Helias*, whereof the elder married *Maud* the Daughter of *manus* and *Anglorum*.  
*our Henry the first*, the Sister of the said *William*, and Dutches of *Normandy*: And at length *Henry* Son of *Geoffrey* and *Maud* (being Duke of *Normandy* by his Mother, Earl of *Anjou, Touraine and Maine*) took to Wife *Elinor* the Daughter of the Duke of *Aquitain*, or *Guienne*, formerly called Wife to *Lewis* the seventh King of *France*, and by her became Lord both of *Guienne* and *Poitou*. The Historian writes, that *Guienne* by little and little withdrew it self from the Dominion of the *Franks*, and paffed into the hands of the Duke of *Normandy* by reason of his Wife: The *Franks* pining with Envy, but not able to hinder the effect of his Right. Our King *Henry* by the same Right, being Lord of *Poitou* could lay just Claim to the County of *Toulouse*, derived from the Grandmother by the Fathers side of his said Wife *Elinor* by Name *Philippa*, the Heir of Count *William*, and Wife to *William* the eighth Duke of *Guienne*. And no other Right had *Alphonſus*, Brother to *Lewis the French* King, to the County of *Toulouse*, than for that he had married *Jean* the Daughter of *Raimond* the fifth Count of that Country. *Historia libri*  
*o o o*  
*o o o*  
*o o o*

140. As for *Bretagne*, the Dukedom of it hath four times descended to Females, Males and Uncles being sometimes excluded. As to the two first *England* was concerned, and therefore we shall present the Reader with the Writers words. Concerning *Peter*, Surnamed *Mauclere*, Brother of *Robert* the second Count of *Dreux*, it must be known that he married *Aleyda* Countess of *Bretagne*, whose Grandfather *Conan* Surnamed the *Grofe*, had one only Daughter *Constantia* by Name, which married to *Geoffrey* the Brother of *Richard* King of *England*, and brought him a Son Named *Arthur*, together with a Daughter *Elinor* by Name. King *Richard* dying, the Kingdom was devolv'd upon *Geoffrey*, who deceas'd before such time as he could receive the Homages of his Subjects. Therefore *John* Lackland his younger Brother seiz'd on the Kingdom, procuring his Nephew *Arthur* afterward to be drown'd, and detaining his Niece *Elinor* in Capitivitie, out of which the never escapt. *Geoffrey* being Dead, the Countess *Constantia* married to *Amarick* Count of *Anjou*, who begat on her this *Aleyda*. She then posseſſed of the County married *Peter Mauclere*, who had by her one Son and a Daughter. Thus we see how twice this Inheritance defenc'd to Women. Another example we have in *Charles* the younger Son of the Count of *Blois*, who marrying *Claudia* the Niece of *John* the Duke of *Bretagne* by his Brother, in Right of his Wife assumed the Title of Duke, though *John* the last of the Brothers of the deceased Duke contradicted it, denying that this Country could in Equity fall back to the manly Sex. This *John* was in Right of his Mother Count of *Montfort*, whence arose a most sharp War, King *Philip* afflicting *Charles* his Sisters Son, and the English *Montfort*. *Froissart* affirms, that by the Judgment of the Peers of *France*, *Blois* was preferred before *Montfort*, becaſe *Claudia* was neareſt akin to the deceas'd Duke. He had the better therefore upon his Wives account, and in her Right, by Virtue of which he had also received the Vicouncty-ſhip of *Limouin*. As for *Anne* the Daughter of *Francis* Duke of *Bretagne*, later Writers Conſent that she was not onely the Legitimate Heir of her Father, but would never permit the Kings her Husbands to diſpoſe of her Duchy. And for *Claudia* her Daughter, she was rightly enough betrothed to *Charles* of *Auſtria*, but was married to *Francis* of *Valoë*, left so goodly an Inheritance ſhould fall into the hands of Strangers.

141. Farther the County of *Champagne*, as Pope *Florarius* the third decided *Extravagante Cognitio de Adam*, the Question of Right, appertained to the Queen of *Cyprus*, which was *Aleyda* the eldest Daughter of *Henry* the second, Count of this Province, married to *Hugh Lusignian* King of that Island. Her Cousin *Theobald* by strength of Arms carried it from her. But the matter succeeded better in behalf of the Women in the Reign of *Philip the Fair*, to whom this County fell in the Right, and upon the account of his Wife *Joan*. The like might be demonstrated concerning the ancient Countries of *Crepy* or *Valois*, of *Burgos*, *Aabe* and *Vermandois*, of the County of *Provence*, of *Flandres*, which fell to *Philip the Bald*, in Right of his Wife, as also afterward to *Maximilian*, the Husband of *Mary of Burgundy*. It would be too tedious to expatiate upon the County of *Artois*, paffed to a Daughter By decree of the Parliament of *Paris*, notwithstanding the endeavours of the dead Brothers Sons, viz. to *Margaret* Countess of *Burgundy* and *Artois*, who was as a Peer present at the inauguration of *Charles* the fifth at *Paris*, putting her hand to the Crown, as the reft did while the Archibishop prayed for the King. In like manner, it were easie to enlarge upon the Counties of *Nevers*, *Auxerre*, and *Tennerre*, the Duchies of *Rechel*, *Montpensier*, *Touzeville*, *Joyeuse*, *Aunale*, *Mayenne* and *Aiguillon*, very lately in the hands of Women. The County of *Meleconnois*, to which the Privilege of Peage is annexed, was bought by *St. Lewes* of *Aleyda*, the Widow of John Earl of *Drewx*. *Helia*, the Sister of *Robert*, gave the Duchy of *Alenson* to *Philip Augustus*. *Albrecht* fell also in the last Age to *Joan* the Wife of *Antony of Bourbon*, and Mother to *Henry* the fourth. Now by these Instances, to mention no more, let the impartial Reader judge whether *Cassanus* hath reason to write that by the *Law Salick*, not only all accels *Liber 2. t. 5.* to the whole Crown is barred by Women, but even to parts of the Crownalfo, as Dukedoms, Counties and other Fees, because they are of the same Nature with the stock, from which they proceed. Of the same Nature they are indeed, but what this Nature is this Discourse hath made very evident.

142. But the Reader must know, that they which are for this Succession cannot agree amongst themselves, some affirming, that the *Law Salic* only concerns the Crown, others the Crown, and the other *Feuda* or *Fees* we have lately mentioned, and others that it neither concerns the Crown, nor any *Fees* neither, but the *Exclusion* of Females they lay upon an Inviolable Custome, which hath the form of Law, *Vide Historia Francorum Gallicarum et Reformationis Matrimonii.*

Vide *Hatomam*  
*Franco Gallia*  
*& Respons.*  
*Mathuretti.*

## **CHAP. I.** *Contemporary with the Constantinopolitan Roman Empire*

as doth *Hofoman*, whose Foundation how weak it is, we may perceive by those Examples he never sufficiently considered. It's not in vain to take notice of what Chifflet prescribes upon us, that by the Ambiguity of the Word *France*, the Modern French have endeavoured to impose upon the World in this particular. For there being three several Countries which have born this Name, the one beyond the Rhine, called by St. Jerome the Region of the *Franks*, and by others *Antiqua Francia*, the Habitation of the *Aesinarii*, and two more on this side that River, the one Oriental, the Inhabitants whereof were the *Salii* called *Austria*, *Assaria*, *Francia Orientalis*, *Lotabarancia* and *Media*, *Pars Francie*; and the other *Occidentalis*, *Nova*, *Latina*, *Romania* and *Nensiria*, the Inhabitants whereof were called *Romaniani*, from the Bastard *Roman Tongue*, the Modern French Writers have applied to themselves or the Western *Franks* indistinctly whatever was written concerning the other; making the inconfederate World believe the new Kingdom was the very same with the old. An advantage and Encouragement to this, they had from this following Accident, that the Name of *France* only remained with the Western or their Country, where it had fixed before the days of *Sigibert*; whereas in the days of *Charles* the Great, under the Name of the Kingdom of the *Franks*, besides the three *Frances* lately mentioned, all *Germany* was included. But as the *Franks* were *Germans* Originally, so their Tongue prevailing against the Bastard Latinne abolished the Name of *Franks* in the two Countries first mentioned, and by the Occidental *France*, the Bastard Latinne being adopted into the Name of *French* carried away that Name, and blinded those that were not well skilled in *Antiquity*, as if that had been the only true *French Tongue*, and such as spoke it were *French* alone. But most true is that saying of *Paulus Aemilius*, that the *Germani* may with more Right Challenge the Glory of the ancient Kings, Dukes and Emperours of the *Franks* to themselves as descended from them, for the Oriental *Franks* are still amongst them, and the Occidental or *Western*, are only their Progeny.

143. From all that has been said upon this Argument, whether or no we have reason to be of the same Opinion with *Du Haillan*, their own Historiographer, a Councillour or Secretary to King *Henry* the third, let the Modern French be Judges. Concerning the *Law Salick* he hath this Expression, that it was actuated by *Pharamond* who tho', that they might make themselves Kings, defred to found their Right of Convenience upon a very ancient Law, by this Antiquity to give it more Lustre and Authority. He demands, why *Pharamond* should be thought to have made this Law for this Modern Crown of *France*, who never entered *Gaul* which now bears that Name, to which he neither had Right, nor the least pretension, never passed the *Rhine*, but always contained himself in his Province of *Francia*. By that Article of Succession, so far is it, that any thing should be meant of the Succession of Kingdoms; that it speaks not of *Fiefs*, but only of those Tenures they call *Allodia*. In another place, he tells his Reader plainly, that the more severe Confusers of their History, affirm that the *Law Salick* was not framed by *Pharamond*, but invented by *Philip the Long*, to deprive his Niece the Daughter of *Louis Huitin* of the Inheritance of the kingdom, which to obtain he must strengthen that his *A&T* by the precept and Observation of some Law or other. Nay he says plainly, that although this Law be one of the bravest that ever was made in any Kingdom, yet it hath no power in *France*, but by Force or strong hand, on which most Laws in all Dominions are founded. Of the same Opinion was *Scipio Duplex* one of his Successours, both in the place of Councillour and Historiographer, a Man who by his Writings and Collections, hath very well deserved of that Nation. He counts it grols Ignorance in those that imagine the *Salick Law* was made in favour of Males, to exclude the Females from the Succession to the Crown, forsooth as in the whole Book there is not one Law, nor Title, nor Article which makes mention of it, as neither of any Right of the Kingdom or Dominion of it; but only of the Rights of Subjects, and Punishments ordained for Crimes: Nay the Prologue most manifestly declares, that these Laws were made for no other purpose, than to provide for the Government of Subjects their Peace and quiet.

144. That there was such a Law as the *Law Salick*, before Philip the Long, we must confess, but that this Law concerned any place, but *Austrasia* or the *East Franks*, we may with good reason utterly deny, as that it any way respected the Crown, or had any thing to doe with the Succession. As for *Chiffletius* he makes this use of all that has been said: This *Weftern or Modern French* use this *Salick Law* like a Ball, they strike it out of the *Tennis Court*, and again bring it in again, they

Sect. 4. they please, to delude posterity. For the first nine Ages after it was made, they never took notice of it (in this sense he means), in the fourteenth Age they defended it tooth and nail against Edward the third, King of England: Again in the fifteenth they forgot the same Law, in favour of the two Henrys the fifth and sixth Kings also of England: In the sixteenth Francis the first renounced its Decrees and Abdications, by the Treaties of Madrid, Cambray and Creps, which Renunciation of his, afterward Henry the second tacitly confirmed by another Treaty at Cambray, and Henry the fourth by that of Verain. Then presently again, though thus over and over rejected, they reduce it into play again, giving it the Epithets of Eternal and Immutable, though it doth not at all concern them, but as Du Haillan witnesseth, is made use of by force and violence. Then follows something where-with we shall not meddle as unconcerned, is either of the Parties, whether French or Spanish. Thus tedious, we have been to give the Reader satisfaction concerning that Law, which has made such a noise in the World, and about which our Forefathers spent so much blood and treasure.

45. The Law Salick consists of seventy and one Chapters. To it are added the Agreement or Treaty of Peace, betwixt the Kings Childebert and Clohair, as also an Edict or Decree of Clohair, together with certain Capitula or Chapters of Charles and Lodowick Emperors. There were other Laws of the Alemans, Bajovarii atlas Bajovarii  
what was in Praga.

Other Laws in  
use amongst the  
French.

and Ripuarii, composed by order of Theoderick King of the Franks, wanting in the Laws of the Franks, Alemans and Bajovarii he added, what was amis or favoured of Heathenism, he repealed, and what he by reason of the long riveted Use and Custome, could not amend, afterward Childebert attempted, and Clotaire fully performed. All these King Dagobert by affinitie of the Illustrious men Claudius, Judomagus and Agilulfus revived, renewed, put into better Form, and delivered in Writing to every Nation. Of the Laws of the Ripuarii, here is not any mention, but Learned men believe them to be of the same Original. These Ris. Hoc confit ex  
Frederico in  
Chron. ad D.  
Civ. & Regia.  
ad Ann. 870.  
881. Ripuarii or Ribuarii (not Riparii) inhabited the Region Riparia, lying upon the River Rura, whence the City of Raremund took its Name, which flows betwixt the Meuse and the Rhine. That they took their Name a Ripa, from the Banks of the Rivers, some have been of Opinion; but then they should have been rather called Riparii, which they never are in ancient Authors, and whereas the first Syllable in Ripa is long, and also in Riparia, in the Word Riparia we read it short. Of these Laws of the Ripuarii are extant, eighty nine Chapters. There are other Laws or Capitula, of Charles the Great, and other Christian Princes collected by Ansgarius the Abbat, and Benedictus Levita in seven Books, certain new Capitula of Lothair, and Charles the Bald being added. All these Laws first by Tilius, and then by Francis and Peter Pitton, being published apart were afterward Collected into one Body, together with the Laws of the Visigoths, Burgundians, Saxons, Lombards, Anglii and Werini and other Nations, by Frederick Lindebergius, and are now every where extant.

46. Amongst them all this is observable, that what Tacitus tells us of the ancient Germans, counting the time not by Days but by Nights, as our Saxon Ancestours used, and we at this day say Seven-night and a Fortnight, not a seventh day and a Fourteenth day, is by these ancient Writers practised. The same was in use in the time of Charles the Great, as appears by his Capitulary; where the Reader meets with the word Adolum, he must by it understand an Inheritance, which a Man might give or sell away as his own. In the punishment of Crimes they followed the same Course as our Saxon Ancestours, not to punish a Man with Death for Theft, and other Faults as at this day practised. To forsake the Prince or run away from their Colours, was reckoned amongst Capital offences, which were Crimes most infamous amongst the Germans, in the days of Tacitus. The Nation of the Germans being known to be given to drink, it was severely prohibited that none should invite their Fellow Souldier, or other to that diversion: If any were found Drunk, he was to drink Water till he acknowledged his Fault. Dice were likewise prohibited, Familiarity used also by the old Germans. Beggars there were none suffered, each Town being to maintain their Poor, or set them on work. Schools in all Cities were opened for Instruction of Youth. Usury was unlawfull as in the times whereof Tacitus wrote. Adultery was punished both by Geling and Whipping. The ancient Franks used, the way of Tryal by cold and hot Water, and by Red hot Irons, as did the English Saxons and the Danes, a Custome of old much impugned by Religious men. They were wont also to decide their Controversies by Duels, as Agathias informs us; amongst the Lombards, Noble men

Artic. 5.  
Artic. 15.  
Artic. 22.  
Artic. 1.  
Artic. 1.

men used this way, and Slaves hot Water to purge their Innocency. Sect. 1. Such were the Laws of the Franks in General, besides which we must not omit to tell the Reader, that the Law of Feis or Fees in these times whereof we Write, seem to have been introduced, if not settled and perfectly formed amongst them, for we read in *Gregory Turonensis* and *Aimoinus*, of Grounds assigned to Dukes and Great men, and the later expressly writes, that *Codonius* did deliver a place called *Milidunum Castrum* to one *Aurelian*, together with the Dukedom of the whole Region *Jure Beneficii*. Hence hear we so often of the *Ledes* or *Ludes*, which the Age following called *Vassi*, and thence *Vassals* came to be so named. Some contend, that from these our Franks the Tenures of Fees received their first Rite and Original; but this is a Paradox, and the General apprehension being that they came from the *Lombards*, concerning both the Original and Nature of these *Fees*, the Reader is to look for Satisfaction out of that part of our History, which respects *Italy* and the Kingdom of that People, who have dwelt too long upon this Subject; but that great part which this Nation hath acted, and still continues to act upon the Stage of the World, may excuse us: And here we dismiss the History of the Franks for this Period.

Lub. 4. c. 39.  
Lub. 5. c. 14.

Actibus in libro  
act. Titulus Ori-  
gine Federa-  
pro militis Gal-

## CHAP. II.

### The Dominion of the Visigoths in Spain and Gall, Contemporary with the Constantinopolitan Roman Empire.

#### S E C T. I.

From the beginning of this Dominion to the Death of King Eurick.

The space of fifty seven Years.

1. **T**HE Roman Provinces every where being wasted, and the Empire going to Ruine, as we formerly shewed, on all sides and Quarters, one Marcus was by the legionary Soldiers saluted Emperor here in Britain, and presently again by the same light Humour removed out of the way, Gratian being substituted in his Room, who was also slain within four Months after his Election, and Constantine advanced to the Purple. Constantine being in much Favour with the People, rather for a Vide Orifum, Fancy and Inclination they had to his Name, than that his Actions much deserved, a great part of Gall and also of Spain was at his Devotion; the minds of the Provincials being much of late exasperated, by the heavy and daily increasing Tributes and Impositions laid upon them by the Emperors. In Spain yet there were two Kinsmen of Honorius, by Name Didymus and Verinianus, who adhered to their Allegiance, and gathering together an Army confoundedly, and as they could prepared to give stop to Constantine, who was reported to have a Design to pass the Pyreneans out of Gall, but were by his Son Constanus defeated and slain. The Army of this Constantine confounded for the most part of those Nations, which having broken out of Germany into Gall, from the League and Agreement they had made with Honorius, were called Honoriani. By permission of Constantine, they over-ran and spoiled Spain, as far as to Palentia, and when he returned back to his Father, were appointed to Watch and Guard the Straits of the Mountains, to the great Indignation of the Spaniards, who grudged exceedingly that Strangers should be thus trusted before themselves, whose Fidelity to the Roman Name and Interest, was sufficiently known, and from inward Grudges they proceeded to contumelious Words and to Threats, that Spain would shortly provide it self of new Masters.

2. But new Masters were shortly provided to their hands. For the Honoriaci we lately mentioned, whom Nature it self obliged to be kind and friendly to Vandalis,

Lege Galleri-Lin-  
derius.  
Alio Germe-  
nico vocabulo sic  
dictum quod fami-  
lia velut Con-  
mentaria fuit et  
composita est  
etiam a patribus  
et a matribus a  
familia: Ein  
Antid.

Id statim His-  
toria appellatur.  
Hoc enim fuit  
titulus ex exerci-  
cione et offer-  
tatione.

**Sect. 4.** *Vandals, Alans, Suevi, and Silingi*, not long before let by *Stilico* into *Gall*, privily made an Alliance with them; and opening this passage which hitherto had been shut against them, brought them into *Spain*. The cause of these Nations, their changing their Habitations, was the great Fear they were in of the *Goths*, who by Virtue of the Agreement made with *Honorius* being to settle in *Gall*, they suspected their sufficiency to Grapple with them, and make good their Ground. Their Irruption into *Spain* was attended, as is usual, with the greatest Calamities. With all Barbarity and Cruelty, they invaded the Fortunes and Estates, both of *Spaniards*, and *Romans* without any difference, the Towns they plundered and demolished, and depopulated all the Country. Hence infused a Famine, and that so great, that one Man was constrained to feed upon another, and Wild beasts on him. Famine by reason of such unnatural Feeding, seldom goes without a Plague, which was now so grievous, that innumerable multitudes were destroyed, yet not at all pitied but envied by the Survivers, who were to conflict with many Miseries worse than Death it self. *Spain* therefore being left in a manner destitute of Inhabitants, the barbarous Invaders with all Freedom, might chuse out places to themselves, wherein to fix. To the *Suevi*, and part of the *Vandals*, *Galecia* fell, being then much larger than afterward, for it comprehended within its bounds all the old *Castile*. *Lusitania* with the Province of *Carthagena*, fell to the share of the *Alans*, the *Carpetani* and *Celtiberians* excepted, who continued in their Fidelity to the *Romans*. To the *Vandals* and *Silingi*, *Bætica* was assigned. The King of the *Suevi* was *Hermenrick*, the King of the *Alans*, *Ataco*, and *Gunderick* of the *Vandals* and *Silingi*. This Partition being made, they concluded a Peace with the *Romans*, the ancient Traffick returned, and the Cities began to be inhabited as formerly. For the *Spaniards* partly out of Novelty, partly provoked by the Burthenes, laid on them by the *Romans*, preferred their new Slavery before their old; although some refused earnestly to submit to the Barbarian Yoke, especially in *Galecia* where the *Suevi* had to doe. This Irruption happened A.D. 409. or thereabouts in the fifteenth Year of *Honorius*, and the second of *Theodosius* Emperours, the same time that *Alericus* besieged *Rome*, *Honorius* the eighth time, and *Theodosius* the third time being Confuls.

Who is Stab'd

## **CHAP. I.** *Contemporary with the Conft. Roman Empire.*

Sigeric  
Walja

473

*Sigisbert* set up  
for Kings  
  
But made away,  
Walria next chose  
her.  
  
who destroys  
the Alans.

4. Into the place of *Armanus*, was *Bago*, *Prætorianus*,  
died both in Peace and War, and of beautiful Personage, only a little lame, his Thigh *Sepe-trick*, *wid*,  
having been bruised by a fall from his Horse. However his former demeanour *ris pallens*, Rich  
might win upon the Soldiery when King, they now interpret all things in the in victories.  
  
He was blamed as *lazy*, at least as too much inclined to Rest and Ease,  
and as guilty of the same Crimes they imposed on him the same Punishment, making him away, when he had not reigned one full year. The next they made Choice of was for their turn, as unquiet and busie as any one living, his Name *Walria*. At his very beginning he attempted an expedition into *Africk*, some *Wal-ria*, *bene-fact*, thought out of Desperation, the *Romans* by *Constantius* pressing him hard on one side, and the Barbarians, which had already seated themselves in *Spain* on the other. Others ascribe it to his desire of Conquest; but however it was, his Fleet gathered together in the straits of *Gibraltar*, was broken so, and shattered by a Tempest, that he was forced to retreat into *Spain*, and there made a Peace and Alliance with *Constantius* upon these Terms: "That *Placidia* the Wife of *Athaulfus*, "promised to *Constantius* by the Emperour her Brother should be restored; that "the *Goths* should prosecute with War these Barbarous Nations that had seized on "Spain, and what Places and Territories they could recover out of their hands, "should fall to and be annexed to the Roman Empire; they retaining what they "had already got in *Gall* and *Spain*. In prosecution of this League *Walria* made an Expedition against the *Alans* in *Cæliberia*, who now apirced after the Empire of whole *Spain*, and killing *Attace* their King, with many of his Followers in Battel, forced such as remained alive to forlake *Lusitania* (now *Portugal*) and to betake themselves into *Galatia*, where being mingled amongst the *Suevi*, they lost both their Name and Nation. But see the vicissitude of succses, and of Humane Affairs! The *Alans* had not long before domineered over the Neighbouring Nations, con- \**Ab Alanis Alan* straining the *Vandals* and *Silingi* to forlake *Betica*, and to flee for Refuge into *Ga- quer patrimi- latia*, to the *Suevi*, that joining their Forces with them, by their Assitance they *injicit* *patr* *D* might recover their former Seats. With this succses they were to puffed up, that our *Alani* set upon the *Romans*, and recovered several Cities out of their hands. But now are they funk and buried in Oblivion by the means of *Walria*. Only *Anangua*, a Town situate not far from *Lisbon* (formerly called *Jerabrica*) and *Ala- que patrimi- nia*, a Village in the Mountains of *Hispalis* or *Sevil*, are by some thought to have *injicit* *patr* *A* taken their Names from them.

5. The design of *Walia* was not completed with the Conquest of the *Alans*; from them he converted his Victorious Arms against the *Silingi*, a sort of *Vandals* inhabiting *Bætica*, whom in like manner he subdued, and by their Example the other *Vandals* and the *Suevi* were persuaded to trounce and give good words to the *Romans*, the Hirelings of whom the *Goths* only seemed to be in perfection of the Quarrel. *Walia* in reward for his good service had the second *Aquitain* bestowed on him, or rather reoffred by the Emperour, together with some Neighbouring Cities, viz. of *Novempopulania*, even all as far as from *Tolouse* to the Ocean. Here he reigned in quiet, but would not suffer the *Vandals* in *Spain* to enjoy their rest, but so ferreted them from one Reception to another, that finding this Country too hot for them, they passed over into *Africk*, glad to accept of a slender Invitation where making great devastations, they settled themselves for some years, till at length, as we shall see at large, they made Shipwreck of all their Fortunes. *Walia* died at *Tolouse*, the Royal Seat of the *Goths*, but at what time, or after how many years we cannot certainly tell the Reader. *Idfore* ascribes but three to his Reign, though *John Valesius* pretendeth to have discovered an Errour in the Text of *Idfore*, as also in *Sigebert*, where instead of two ought to be read two and twenty; for so many doth he affirm that *Walia* Reigned, strengthening himself as he alighted with the *Teffimones* of *Profer* and *Orofus*, whom he would draw in as Patrons of his Opinion. Others give ten years to his Reign, to obscure are the Testimonies we have of these Ancient Times, that whereas also some place the attempt of *Walia* to invade *Africk* at the beginning of his Reign; Others fix it at the end thereof, affirming that his Hatred against the *Goths* was not terminated with the bounds of *Spain*, but that had he not been prevented by death, it would also have purfled them into that part of the World.

\* In His Chron.

*Theodoric suc-  
ceeds.* 6. To *Walia* succeeded *Theodored*, as some call him, or *Theodorick* as others, to  
others known also by divers Names. His Predecessour had been so true to the Ro-  
mans

who besieges  
Attila.

And *Narbon* but  
is forced by *Attila*,  
the Roman  
General to quit  
them.

*mans*, that according to Agreement, he had put the Places Conquered by him into their hands, and therefore in *Spain*, where the *Suevi* now carried all before them, the Dominion of the *Goths* was included within narrow bounds, where now inhabit the *Catalauni*. But in *Gall* he became very formidable, taking now more delight to enlarge his Territories on this side the *Alps*, where breaking the League with the *Romans*, he laid siege to *Arles*, one of the most noble Cities of the Country, which

with all industry and resolution he attacked, but was by *Attilus* the Patriarch forced to raise up and withdraw his Army. After this he attempted *Narbon* but with the same success, *Attilus* still attending his motions and frustrating his designs. He had better success against *Littorius*, a Roman Captain, who taking to his assistance the *Huns*, with all Animosity made War upon the *Goths*.

As he passed through the Country of the *Arverni*, *Avitius* met him, put his Forces to flight, and killed an Hunnish Trooper in a Duell, as *Sidonius* tells us large in the Panegyric he wrote to him. By this Defeat *Littorius* was not disengaged, but consulting the *Aruspices*, he ventured to give Battle to *Theodorick* at *Toulouse*, and that with such

*Theodorick*, *Proper*, *Aquitanus*, *Idacius*, *Sigebert*, and *Rodericus Tolentanus*. Only *Jornandes* relates that they

came off on equal terms, and the Controversie was taken up by agreement, making no mention of the Case of *Littorius*, which considering he was a *Goth*, and a

Friend to such, is very strange.

It appears from *Savilian* that *Theodorick* before the Battel had used all means for a Reconciliation, having sent several Bishops to *Littorius* to persuade him, and bring him unto terms. Moved now by the same Reasons, he made use of his late

Victory to obtain an Honourable Peace, which was immediately clapt up betwixt the *Goths* and the *Romans*. This Peace was prudently concluded for the benefit and advantage of the *Goths*, though this their Society with the *Romans*, proved fatal to their King himself.

Within three or four years *Attila* with an innumerable multitude of *Huns* breaks into *Gall*, where he takes and burns the Towns, spoils the Country, and kills the Bishops as well as other Lay-Perfons at his pleasure.

*Avitius* hereupon is by *Valentinian* dispatched on an Embassy to *Theodorick* to lay open the common danger, wherein all those that had any shares in *Gall* were involved.

*Anianus* the Bishop of *Orcleane*, being besieged in his City, betakes himself

to him, and to *Attilus*, desiring that by a speedy succour they would prevent the

ruine of the place. *Theodorick* then leaving four of his Sons at home, viz. *Fred-*

*rick*, *Turic*, *Rotemir* and *Himmerit*, takes his two eldest *Thorismund* and *Theodo-*

*rick* along with him, and joins his Forces with those of *Attilus*, and *Meronius* King

of the *Franks*. *Attila* is obliged to raise his Siege, and into the *Catalaunian*

Fields they all draw off to dispute the Quarrel, where, as we have already hinted,

*Theodorick* was wounded with a Dart, and falling from his Horse, was by the strokes

of his Heels dispatched, after he had Reigned two and twenty years, leaving be-

hind him six Vigorous and Courageous Sons, befores two Daughters, one Married

to *Himmerick* the Son of *Generick*, King of the *Vandals*, who out of Jealousie

that she had a design to poison him, cut off her Nose, and sent her thus deformed back

to her Father, as *Jornandes* tells us. Another Married into *Spain*, to *Reccarius* King

An Invasion of  
the *Huns*.

*Theodorick* kill'd.

*Thorismund* suc-  
ceeds.

*Friedrich*, Rich-  
in Person, & Durable.

*Rotemir*, Prince of  
Quiet, *Him-rit*, Having Dif-  
ferent Horse.

*Him*, *Home*, *Re-*

*Generick*, *Theodo-*

*Ric*, a Rider, and a

Knight in *Gall*. Our Ri-  
chter not much al-  
tered from it.

*Thorismund* Fe-  
rros ore, *Amund*,

*Mouth*, *Secundi-*

*cibum*; *Edmund*,

*Peace of the*

*Mouths* *Jornandes* c. 4.4.

Ep. 12. lib. 7.

*in* *Spain*, *where* *Attila* *was* *born*.

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Sect. I.  
Maries his Daughter to Reciarrius King of the Suevi.  
it from St. Istidore, after he had Reigned about eight Years. His Son Reciarrius succeeded him, the first Christian King of this Nation, who having obtained in Marriage the Daughter of Theodored, or Theodorick King of the Goths was thereby much elevated in his Hopes and Expectations. Some have delivered it for a Truth, that he was present at the Battel fought with Attila, following wherein the Example of his Father-in-Law. It's certain that he fell upon the Vascons, who lived under the Roman Obedience in that part of Spain, where now Navarre is situated, and afterward going to visit Theodored procured from him such assistance, that invading the Tarracenensis Province subject to the Romans, he took the City Cesar Augusta; he harassed the Province of Carthage, which his Father had refused to the Emperour, and afterward returned home being Master of Bætica, Lusitania and Gætæcia, and aliping to the Dominion of the other parts of Spain.

12. But as the Alliance of Theodored, gave him opportunity and advantage to raise such Hopes of Dominion, and Sovereignty to himself, so by a Change of Fortune came they to be blasted and overthrown by Theodored his means, not the Father but the Son, one who would not account himself obliged to stand to the same Terms of the Alliance. Avitius, as we said, had for the Assistance afforded him in obtaining the Imperial Dignity, passed over to him, whatsoever of Spain could be recovered from the Suevi. He resolved no link of Marriage or Alliance should divert his Inclinations to enlarge his Dominion; but some specious pretext must be found for making a War. Considering the Temper of Reciarrius, he takes this Course. "He admonishes him by a solemn Embassy, not to transcede the bounds of Modesty, not by injuring and oppressing his Neighbours, to provoke the Indignation and Hatred of other Nations. He tells him, that Kingdoms and Empires are best founded upon Equity and Justice, that by Ambition and Cruelty they fall and dwindle to nothing, and in Conclusion, that if he did not desist from offering violence to the Subjects of the Roman Empire, he must not be wanting to that Duty which he ought it, being so exceedingly obliged by those great and many Favours he had received from those which now fate at the Helm thereof.

13. The Device took according to his Wishes, for Reciarrius received the Message <sup>Rec. Aet. domine</sup> with great Stomach and scorn, returning for Anfwer, "that shortly he would be at Tolone and make Tryal whether the Nation of the Goths, or that of the Suevi was more valiant, and decide the whole matter by dint of Sword. Theodored hearing this resoled to prevent him, and joyning to his own Forces the Auxiliaries of the Burgundians and Franks passed the Pyrænæus. He marched on to the River Urbicus, which flows by the City Eliberia and Asturica, twelve miles from which in the Borders of Galicia, he gave Battel to Reciarrius, whom after a vast slaughter made of his Men, he compelled to run for his Life, and not daring to truft to any place in Spain, to take Ship for Africk. The winds were so contrary, and his approaching Fate so preſsing, that he was driven into the Port of Cale, where the River Durius falls into the Ocean (called by Writers the City Portugal, or Portugal) and there being taken, was put to Death by Command of Theodored. The Conqueror after this Victory took the City Bracara suppoſed by some to have been the royal Seat of the Suevi: He subdued all Galicia, and extending his Victorious Arms into Lusitania departed back into Gall, leaving one Aciulphus Governor of his new Conquests in Galicia, who being no Goth (as Jornandes is concerned to tell us) but descended of the Bloud of the Warsi, and so neither regarding Faith, nor Liberty, preſently began to usurp and set up for himself, drawing the Suevi into the Conspiracy. Theodored was now ſufficiently bufied in Gall, where falling out with Majorianus the Succellour of his Friend Avitius, he waſted the Roman Territories as far as the Rhône, and taking the City of Lyon plundered and much defaced it with Fire. But he ſent two Captains Nepotianus and Nericus into Galicia, againſt the Uſurper, having ordered Cœrila into the Province of Bætica.

14. To Cœrila, who in a ſudden, and when they leaſt imagined ſuch athing fell upon them, the Inhabitants of Bætica preſently ſent Mefſengers giving up themſelves to the Dominion and Authority of the Goths. They deny that they had conſented to the Practices of the reſt of the Suevi, that they had conſpired againſt the Romans; they offer to give Hoſtages and affiſh with Proviſions the Gothick Army. So was Bætica reduced without any Effusion of Bloud, while in Galicia there was muſch opposition: But at length Aciulphus was defeated in Battel, and being taken was put to Death. The Suevi thought now it was high time to ſeek the third, which they procured by the Interceſſion of certain Religious Perſons, and

He beats Reciarrius out of Spain.

Subdues Galicia.

The Governor whereof he ſets free.

But at length is ſubdued by Theodored the third.

*Ex Jornand. qd  
Hilario qd iamen  
fuge Maritima  
non ministris.  
Ad locum Portu-  
tum captiuit, ac  
in marginem veri  
margine vero in  
marginem aperte  
Grotius. Forum  
Cale.*

*Aciulphus, Sili-*

*an*

and not onely that but which was ſomething ſtrange, Licence and Authority to make choice of a King or Regulus to govern the remainders of their Nation. Coming to the Elecſion they could not agree amongſt themſelves. Some choſe Franta, for their Prince, but another Faction would have Mafdra or Maldræ. But within two years or thereabout Mafdra was slain by his own People, and had for Succellour Remifmund (ſome call him Rechimund) his Son, who entring into League with Franta (yet ſome ſay Franta died before Mafdra) with joint Forces invaded Lusitania now again, it's uncertain how, reduced to the obedience of the Romans. <sup>Vide Joan. Vito-  
sum Hilf. Ciron.  
ad Ann. 458.</sup> Franta dying not long after, Framarius was choſen in his Room, betwixt whom and Remifmund fell out great Contentions about the Sovereignty. But Framarius dying, he then with eafe obtained the Monarchy, and with great Forces invading Lusitania, took Conimbrica by Treachery, and had Olifpo (Lisbon) delivered up into his Hands.

15. He now conteyned the Power of the Romans in Spain, but that of the Goths he dreaded from late experience. He ſent to Theodored, deferring to enter into a flicht Alliance with him, profefſing all Friendſhip and obfervance, as a tye and Link of which he defired his Daughter in Marriage. Theodored ſhewed no Averſenes to a Compliante, but ſent him his Daughter under Conduſt of Salinus one of the chief of his Nobility, who at his return found the Affairs of the Goths, in a quite diſtinct poſture from what they were at his departure: Theodored having taken advantage at the Stirr and Diſturbances, which were ever and anon arifing amongst the Romans, whose Power was now almoſt diſwinded to nothing in the West, reduced Narbon under his obedience, having by great Promiſes prevailed with Ravennus the Gouvernor to yield it up. But as his matters proſpered in this manner, his Dominiſions being inlarged in Gall, and the greatest Potentates in Spain, <sup>In ejus nomine  
varient Scripto-  
res Jornandi &  
Eusebii & Eutocii,  
Sigeberi &  
alii Euricis,  
Sidonii & Gre-  
gorii Tarensi  
Euricis. Ewa-  
rict. Legibus  
palat.</sup> Courting him, Juſtice though it came ſomething late, yet paid him home at laſt, for the violence and Treachery he had ued toward his Brother, being muſtered in like manner by his other Brother Euric after he had Reigned thirteen Years. Euric eaſily made himſelf Maſter of the Kingdom, who conſidering that Remiſ-  
mund King of the Suevi, might be induc'd by his Wife, and the flatteries of his proliſh Fortune, to attempt a revenge of his Father-in-Laws Death, thought it beſt to be before-hand with him. Being Ambitious alſo and Haughty, he burnt with deſire of expelling the Suevi out of Lusitania, and by a clear removal of the Romans, to become Maſter of all Spain.

16. Spain was at this time cantoned under three ſeveral Nations. Gallicia with part of Lusitania obeyed the Suevi. Bætica and the Caralani were ſubject already to the Goths; and the Carthaginian Tract with the Carpani, and almoſt all the reſt of Spain continued ſtill in obedience to the Romans. Euric having firſt made an Alliance with Leo the Emperour, who Reigned in the Eaſt, with a great Power of his Goths invaded the farther Spain, where he over-ran Lusitania without any conſiderable oppoſition, by his Lieutenants took Pompeiana and Cesar Augusta, then in the hands of the Romans, and in his retreat after a long Siege subdued the City Tarragona, which he leuelled with the Ground. So were the Romans driven quite out of Spain, and their Empire there utterly overthrown and removed after well nigh seven hundred years Continuance, all this Country now remaining to the Goths, except Gallicia which as yet acknowledged the Suevi for Lords. Euric his Appetite was the moſt Whetted by this Succell, and having done ſo much in Spain, was unquiet to think that his Neighbours in Gall ſhould not at all feel and acknowledge the effects of his Valour, but the facility of the Enterprize added to his Impatiene, the Western parts of the Roman Empire being now all full of Confuſion, while each barbarous Nation caught what it could, and being intent upon what it had fix'd its Eyes, neglected what lay at a farther diſtance. The Roman power now expiring, Arvandus and Seronatus, who commanded the Forces in Gall, understanding his Strength, to curry Favour with him, invited him to feiſe the adjoining Provinces, while he might ſo eaſily accomplish what he ſhould but undertake. The Treafon of these two Minifters was diſcovered and puniſhed; that of Seronatus by Death, and that of Arvandus by exile, as it had deserved; but a greater Inſtrument was now alſo at work, which moved with far more Intercept and Succell.

17. This was Genseric the Vandal King in Africk, who, that he might keep what he had got in that Country indeavour'd to make work enough for the Romans on this ſide of the Sea. He propounded great matters, not onely to Euric and his Western Goths, but to the Offrogoths alſo, the Captain whereof Vandemir having

*Qui ad Aruan-  
dus et Ardauberio  
et Ardigis et  
Et Sigiberto  
Serundus.*

*Rem ſecunda narra-  
tio Sidonius, l. 1.  
ep. 7.*

having had ill success in Italy came into Gall, and there joyned with Eurick, who was now waling the Countrey far and wide with Fire and Sword. *Epiphanius* the Bishop of *Pavia*, in vain requesting him to hold his hand. The *Cadurci*, *Lemovices* and *Gabellitani* were forced to submit unto the *Goths*, and notwithstanding the aid which *Riothimus* the Regulus of the *Aremoricanae Britains* brought to the *Roman* at the Sollicitation of *Athennius* their Emperour, yet he still proceeded in his Conquests. *Arvernum* (now *Clarmont*, not far from that Hill on which stood *Gergonia*) was delivered up after a tedious and fruitles Siege, the chief City of *Aquitain*, which had been the Rampart and Fence against his Fury : He had before Conquered the belt part of *Gallia Narbonensis*, having made himself Master of *Arles* and *Marseilles*, the two most noble Cities, and now by Virtus of the Agreement made betwixt him and *Nepos*, all that lay betwixt the two Rivers, *Rhodanus* and *Ligeris* he was to enjoy. Writers observing that with this River he bounded *Aquitain*. Over the *Arverni* he made one *Vitorius* Goverour by *Gregory Turoensis* called a Duke, and by *Sidonius* mentioned with the Title of Count. His principal Councillour and Minister of State was *Leo* born in the Province of *Narbona*, a Man very learned amongst Barbarians, and celebrated by *Sidonius* for his Eloquence, and his excellent Skill both in Poetry and the Civil Law. As for Eurick, he died when he had Reigned seventeen Years, being the first King who gave written Laws to the *Goths*, (so as his Name may seem given to him in a way of Prophecy) who were formerly governed by Custome only. In his Reign the *Theodosian Roman Code* was diminished in Reputation, and the Laws called *Leges Theodoricianæ*, were advanced and obtruded upon the Provincials, *Senatus* the Roman Goverour conniving at it, or rather furthering the design, as *Sidonius* complains of him. These *Gothick Laws* were called *Theodoricianæ* from the *Theodoricks*, Kings of that Nation, not that they were Authours of them, for Eurick published them, as *Sidonius* knew well enough, but by a *Paronomasia* he terms them *Theodoricianæ*; because the other were called *Theodosiane*. Being now first published by Eurick, they were some Years after enlarged and amended by *Lenegild*, as we shall farther hint in due time and place.

## S E C T. II.

*From the Death of Eurick to that of Roderick, and the  
Ruine of the Kingdom of the Goths in Spain and Gall.*

*The space of two hundred and forty years.*

*Alarick*  
King of the  
Goths.

E the People, about the time that *Theodorick the Ostrogoth* had made himself Master of *Italy*. This Prince having obtained the Dominion of that Country, was not wanting to himself by fit means and methods to secure his Interest. Considering that the *Franks*, *Burgundians*, and his Kinsmen the *Vigigoths* were all powerful Nations, who now had cantonised *Gall* amongst them, he endeavoured by Alliance and Affinity to unite their minds, and prevent those Troubles, which he knew the fierceness of their Spirits, as yet half Barbarous, might else raise in the Western parts. Therefore did he marry the Daughter of *Clodonius* King of the *Franks*, who was now made a Christian, and of two Daughters which he himself had by a Concubine, the one he gave in Marriage to *Alaric*, and the other to *Gundibald the Burgundian*. But the ties were too weak, to bound and restrain the Appetite of the *Franks*, whose King impatient of Rest, gladly caught hold of the advantage which the difference of Religion afforded. The Provincials, or the People which were subject to the *Goths*, being of the Orthodox party, were indeed much irritated by the *Arian* Zeal of their Kings; *Euric* especially, which Transported him so far, as to raise a very great Persecution. *Pagans* they desired to submit to, rather than *Heretics*, knowing that that Idolatry and Superstition were now become out of Fashion, the Derision of the World, and therefore there could

## CHAP. II. *Contemporary with the Const. Roman Empire. Alaric.*

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could no inconvenience arise from thence, which in any Probability could be lasting. The fury of *Eurik* his Persecution drove many, especially Religious Persons from their Habitations, who flying for refuge into those parts of *Gall*, that were subject to the *Franks*, carried the heat of Indignation along with them, which kindled the Desires of that People, and caused the Ambition of *Clodoveus* to break out at length into a mighty flame; *Alaricus* though otherwise an accomplished Prince, fought not how to extinguish the Flame by withdrawing the matter that gave the first occasion, as he might have done, but suffered the great discontents about Religion to continue, either acted by an erroneous Conscience, or being confident of his own strength, and glad to meet any occasion of Quarrelling with *Clodoveus* in the half way.

3. *Codomæus* purusing his good Fortune took in *Bourdeaux*, after which the *Vefates*, *Cadurci*, *Rurheni* and *Arverni*, yielded themselves to his Son *Theodorick*. Gregor. Turon.  
In the beginning of Spring he besieged *Toulouse*, which he took, and therein the Treasures of the *Gothic* Kings, which done, he removed to *Engolefme*, and having reduced the other Towns, and put sufficient Garrisons therein, returned to *Tours* to perform his Devotions at the Tomb of *St. Martin*. So do the Historians of the *Franks*, and generally all Latine Writers relate the Story. *Procopius* makes the *Franks* of the *Cafe* to be a little different, writing, that the *Franks* whom he calls *Germans*, invading the Territories of the *Goths*, took up their Station about *Carcasnon*. *Alarick* expecting succours from *Theodorick* his Father-in-Law kept himself at a distance, till his Men ready to Mutiny upbraided him with Laziness: Whereupon he gave Battel to the *Franks*, and therein perished with most of his followers. The *Franks* elevated with their good Success besieged the strong City of *Carcasnon*, where they heard the Spoils of the Temple of *Jerusalem* lay, which *Alarick* the elder had transported from *Rome* into *Gall*. But *Theodorick* drawing toward the Siege with great Forces, they broke up their Camp, and departing seized on that part of *Gall*, which reacheth from the River *Rhône* to the Ocean. Then *Theodorick* despairing to regain that which they had got into their hands, satisfied himself with keeping that part of *Gallia Narbonensis*, which still remained to the *Goths*. But such was the end of *Alarick*, who did not end his Life by the Halter before the Gates of *Toulouse*, as one ridiculous has left written; for all ancient Authours agree, that he died in Battel, and *Gregory Turonensis* with others, by the hand of *Codomæus* particularly. He Reigned three and twenty years, and in his last but one, perceiving that the new *Gothick* Ado Viennensis  
Fidularius, Si-  
gericus, Abba-  
Urgengofus, o-  
der Frisingensis,  
alii.  
Perrus Valliffer-  
sus Hift. Al-  
bia cap. i.

Law

Sect. 2. Laws suited not the Humour of the Provincials, who had been accustomed to the Roman, caused the Code of *Theodosius* to be abbreviated by some prudent and learned Men, and then to be published by *Aimoinus* his Chancellour in a full Assembly of the Bishops and Nobility at *Aduris* a City of *Novempopulania*.

### **Gesichter**

But flying his  
Kingdom,

## Dyes with Grief.

Amalaric

Who Marries:  
Daughter of  
*Claudomus* the  
French King.

But using her  
ill,

Laws suited not the Humour of the Provincials, who had been accustomed to the Roman, caused the Code of *Theodosius* to be abbreviated by some prudent and learned Men, and then to be published by *Aimotius* his Chancellour in a full Assembly of the Bishops and Nobility at *Aduris* City of *Novepopulania*.

4 Alaric left a Son of five years old, begotten on his Wife that died a little before him, called *Amalarick*, and another named *Gesaleich* which he had by a Concubine. The Nobility despising *Amalarick*, by reason of his Age, made *Gesaleich* King. This could not but be highly displeasing to *Theodorick the Ostrogoth*, who to vindicate the cause of his Nephew, sent eighty thousand stout Men into *Gall* under the Conduct of *Illa*, the Count of the *Cepide*, who had orders also to repreh<sup>e</sup>s the Infolence of the *Franks*. *Gesaleich* hearing of so great an Army, and having lately lost *Narbon*, which *Gundibald* the King of the *Burgundians* intent upon Booty at this time of Extremity had taken from him, fled Cowardly into *Spain* to *Barcelona*, where he could dare to be Cruel to those that were under his Power, though he durst not look an Enemy in the Face; for with his own hands he murdered *Goeric* in the Court. *Illa* marched straight for *Gall*, where he gave Battel to the *Franks*, and by assistance of the *Vifgoths*, killed twenty thousand of them, whereby *Provence* fell as a reward to the *Ostrogoths*, and to the *Vifgoths* *Aquitain* was recovered. He took in *Narbon*, and was now ready to march into *Spain*, when *Gesaleich* hearing the News, and despairing of the Fidelity of his Soldiers, whom he had disengaged by his Cruelty, passed over the Straits into *Africk* to *Ibrahimund*, the *Vandal* King, who kindly entertained him, though he had married the Sister of *Theodorick*, either pitying the Man's distressed condition, or thinking it seafarable to give a Check to the Power of the *Ostrogoth*, which was now grown so high as to threaten all the Neighbour Nations: He assisted him with Money, wherewith repassing into *Gall* after a Years hiding himself, he hired Souldiers and re-entered *Spain*, where he was overthrown in Battel by *Illa* twelve miles from *Barcelona*. Escaping himself he fled back into *Gall*, and there died of Grief at some place situate upon the River *Drentius*, in the fourth Year after he had been declared King.

had been declared King.

5. So he died, but who succeeded him is not fully certain : Writers differing in their Opinions. Most hold that *Theodorick* the *Ostrogoth* was now King of the *Vigilobs* in Spain, into which Country some say, that he passed. Indeed the Synods which at this time were held in Spain, have his Name before them, and tell us of the very Years of his Reign. But others think, rather that *Amalarick* King, and that his Grandfather governed only as his Guardian, who having all the Power in his hands, thence he was also presumed to have the Title. To speak indifferently, this is more probable of the two ; and as for the expedition of *Theodorick* into Spain, we can look at it no otherwise than as a mere Fable, for who can be so prejudiced, as to imagine that so remarkable a thing should be passed over in silence by *Cassidorus* and other eminent Writers, who have transmitted the particular Acts of this King to posterity ? This is an Invention of Spanish Authors, some of whom tell you other fine tales hereon depending ; as that *Theodorick* at Toledo married a Wife of the ancient Spanish Race, by the intercacies whereof being overcome, he restored to the ancient Spaniards their Liberty ; and that of this Marriage was born *Severianus*, the Father of *Leander* and *Iffore*, a Story as unconfident with the Course of time as repugnant to truth it self. It's more certain, that *Theudas* or *Thendius* Armour-bearer formerly to *Theodorick*, was by him made Gouvernor of Spain, and Proteictour of *Amalarick* in his Nomage ; who when he came to the Government himself, it seems made use of such a Deputy, one *Stephen* being said to be Prefect or Gouvernor of Spain, and in the third year of his Command, to have been discarded in a Council. *Amalarick* married *Clilde* or *Crotilde*, the Daughter of *Clodanens* King of the Franks, and by this Alliance a firm Peace seemed to be made, which he himself through his Fury and Indiscretion caused to be broken.

through his Fury and Indiscretion caused to be broken.  
6. His Wife being a Catholick, and he himself of the *Arian* perswasion, he could not at all bear with her Faith, but treated her with all Indignities imaginable. As he went to Church, he caused stith to be cast upon her, and at length so cruelly beat her, that the Bloud gushed out in abundance, wherewith he stained an Handkerchief and sent it to her Brother *Childberit*, desiring the mighty by some means be delivered from the misery she underwent. *Childberit* being naturally full of Activity and Courage, made no small hasto her deliverance; which her Husband understanding prepared no Arms and Souldiers for resistence, but Ships for his Transportation,

Hinc alii Garicium, alii  
Selycum, alii  
Salicum, Pratinus Gaselicum  
appellar. A  
trick, In co  
pollens. Ge  
trick, Socialia

He is killed by  
the Franks.

*The undis chosen*  
King.

Is invaded by  
the Franks.

*Theudis* mu  
thered.

Theudisclus.

**Who is my  
shepherd?**

<sup>9</sup>, *Annotationes lib.*  
1. *Alcobaciensis*  
*ne pud Vaseum*  
*le A. D. 530.*

e. Gregor. Tiron  
lib. 3. c. 9.

CHAP. I. *Contemporary with the Conft. Roman Empire.* Theudis. 481

sportation, and was ready to go aboard, when he remembered he had left many precious Stones in his Closet of such value with him, that he could as easily part with his Life as loose them. Returning into the Town to fetch them, before he could get back, the Army of the *Franks* was at the Gates, by which forced to return, he would have taken Sanctuary in a Church of the Orthodox Christians, but in his way one of *Childerbert*'s Soul'diers, killed him with a Lance : He Reigned five years by himself, twenty in all if his Reign be computed from the Death of *Gesaleich*. His Wife *Clotilde* died before she reached *Parù*, and there she was buried near to the Monument of her Father.

7. *Amalarick* dying without issue, the Royal Race of the *Viggoths* failed. Being then elsewhere to provide themselves, the choice fell upon *Theudis*, he that had been Guardian to *Amalarick*, though an *Ostrogoth* by descent, for his great Skill and Dexterity in Government. From *Procopius* it should seem that he Usurped, while *Theodorick King of Italy* was yet alive, and that this King to provide for the Affairs of *Amalarick* his Nephew, indeavoured by all means to get out of *Spain*; but to no purpose. For during his Government he had provided himself sufficiently, both of Wealth and Interest; and that especially, by a Marriage with one of the Noblest and Richest Ladies of the *Spanish* Nation. But the Kings of the *Franks* thought themselves not yet satisfied, for the Injury offered to their Sister. The year following, *Childebert* and *Cloatir* invade *Spain*, and wasting all the *Taracanian Province*, lay Siege to the City of *Cesar Augusta*, which the Devotion of the Inhabitants merely preserved from Ruine, for therewith *Childebert* was affected, that he is said thereupon to have raised his Siege. But in their retreat they were badly rewarded for their kindness, being in the Straits of the Mountains set upon by *Theudis*, who Commanded a party of *Goths* for *Theudis* their King, a Prince so slenderly provided, that he durst not engage on even Terms. They lost many of their Men, and were forc'd with Gold to purchase the safety of the rest. This War was followed by a great Plague, which for two years so raged, that in *Spain* an innumerable multitude of poor Mortals perished.

8. *Iboudis*, either to redeem his Credit, which seemed much impaired with the late Invasion, or to assist the *Vandals* in *Africk*, who seemed now to go down the wind, paffed over the Straits, and there laid Siege to *Septa*, a City facing *Spain* as standing over against it upon the Water. His Siege he long continued, and was in good hope of carrying the Place, till refusing to use any Acte of Hostility on a Lords Day, the besieged took their opportunity, and making a Sally with such execution, that they killed all that then were in the Camp; *Theudis* himself with a small part of the Army, by benefit of his Ships escaped: This happened at such time, as *Belisarius* warred in *Africk* against *Geimer*, who though as yet not reduced to great straits, fent shortly after *Theudis* to defire Assiftence. By reafon of contrary Winds, or ſome other Accident; the Ambaſſadours failed very slowly, and made little Progreſs in their Voyage, fo that e'er they could have Audience ſome other Ships were arrived, and brought Newes of the taking of *Carthage*, and the Deſtruction of the *Vandal* Kingdom there. When they came to make the demands, *Theudis* asked in what Condition their Maſters Affairs now stood, to whom they replied, that they were in a very good poſture. Whereupon he told them, that they ſhould return into *Africk*, and there they ſhould have a pertinent Anſwer. Being entertained by the King at a Feaſt, where all both eat and drank plentifully, they imputed the ſtrangeness of his Anſwer to the excefſ of Wine, and the next Morning demanded another Audience, which granted, they heard but the fame Words repeated, and thereupon ſupecting the matter, found their ſuſpicion not to have been ill founded at their return. Not long after, *Theudis* after he had Reigned seventeen Years and about four Months, was slain by one that Counterfeited madneſs for that purpoſe. Before he expired, he Commanded the Murtherer ſhould not be puniſhed, calling to mind that he himſelf had kill'd his Captain, to whom he had when a young Man ſworn Fidelity.

9. He being dead, *Theudifelus* his General was chosen King of the *Visigoths*, a *Thiudifolus* five  
Man that had got much Honour in the War against the *Franks*, and of good  
Esteem otherwife, as being the Nephew of *Totila*, King of the *Ostrogoths* in Italy *post*  
by his Sister. His good beginnings were within a little time quite blemished by his  
Prodigious Lust which hurried him into Cruel and Treacherous Acts, procuring  
for feigned Crimes and otherwife, several of the Nobility to be made away, that  
with Freedom he might enjoy their Wives. This caused those that apprehended  
them selves in danger, and had otherwife reason to be concerned, to enter into a Con-  
spiracy

**Sect. 2.**spiracy for taking away his Life, which was done at *Hispalis* or *Sevil*, in the midst of his Cups and Jollity, after he had Reigned a year or seven months, though others extend it beyond a year and an half continuall. Into his place was elected *Agila*, who all his whole Reign contended with adverse Fortune. At his first beginning the Inhabitants of *Corduba* denied obedience, which obliged him to lay Siege to their City, but they illfued out upon him, and quite defeated him, killing his Son upon the place. As the merits of Men are measured merely by Success, he began presently to be despifed, which encouraged one *Athanagild* to rebell, who to strengthen himself sent to *Justinian* the Emperour, desiring aid for to accomplish his revolt, and promising to reduce a good part of *Spain* to the obedience of the Roman Empire. *Liberius* a Patrician was accordingly ordered to march out of *Spain*, who about *Sevil* gave Battel to *Agila*, where the King being overthrown fled to *Emerita* and there was slain by the Nobility, after he had Reigned some fay five Years and six Months, others five and three Months, and *Sigebert* with lefs Probability nine Years. *Athanagild* succeeded in the Kingdom, but had work enough to find him doing all his Life, made by the Army of *Justinian*, which he had called in to his assistance. For now having obtained what he designed, he refolved to forgo his Promise, and indeed he muſt either break it, or loſe that which was the end he propoſed; the *Gothick* Nobility being highly concerned, that the *Romans* had once again got footing in *Spain*, of which a very conſiderable part by Virtue of the League with him, and by force of Arms they had recovered, their Dominions being terminated by both the Seas. He had by his Wife *Galvinda* two Daughters, *Galvinda* married to *Chilperick* King of *Soissons*, and *Brunichild* the famed Wife of *Sigebert* his Brother, King of the *Mediomatrices* or *Austraha*, of which we hear enough in another place. He died at length at *Toledo*, after he had Reigned some fy fourteen, others fifteen Years with six Months. In the Kingdom of *Portugal*, fifteen miles from the City *Guimaraes*, (by the Ancients called *Idania*) is a Village yet extant, that bears his Name, posibily built in his time, where are to be ſeen Ruines of buildings, which perfectly ſhew they were of *Gothick* work.

**10.** After the death of *Athanagild*, followed an Interregnum for six Months, though in *Lucas Tudentis*, we ſee ſeven Years and as many Months, which place is doubtles corrupted. The ſtate of the Kingdom could very ill bear the want of a Gouverneur for ſo many days, but fo long the Factions of the Nobility continued. At length they agreed to promote *Lirva* (fo he is called in ancient Coins) *Lirva, Lin.* who then at *Narbo* Commanded those parts of *Gall*, which ſtill remained ſubject to the Western Goths. Having been accuſtomed to thēſe parts for ſeven Years, he had no inclination to move into *Spain*, and therefore in the ſecond Year of his Reign he made *Leunigild* his Brother Partner with him in the Kingdom, committing to his Care and Government the other Provinces that were ſubject to the *Goths*. This *Leunigild* by *Theodosia* his former Wife, the Daughter of *Severianus* Gouverneur of the *Carthaginian* Province, had two Sons, *Ermenigild* and *Reccarde*, but ſhe being dead about the time that his Brother was made King, he had married *Galvinda* the Wife of *Athanagild* his Predeceſſor. Being a man of great Courage and Conduſt, and ſeing what danger lay from the *Romans*, who had got to much of the Country into their Power, he could not forbear but preſently led againſt them; and in the Region of the *Baſetani* gave them Battel, with much Succeſs. \**Qui fita Sabaria plane mi- cimis. fater Mariana; et Se- basitanus et Se- verianus, et Theodo- sia, et Galvinda, fiti hi intelligenti- locum videtur Jacobus Valera, Iohannes Abba.*

Who drives the Romans out of Spain.

*Lirva* dies.

*Leunigild* makes War upon *Cantabria*.

Then *Aquitain*.

*A geld, liber, fa- miliis, non fol- vent, non fave- gunt, non ma- nus, nemus.*

*Athenagild, com- minus tributus.*

But is slain by *Athanagild*, who ſucceeds him.

And dies.

*Lirva* King.

*Leunigild* his Partner.

*Leunigild* makes War upon *Cantabria*.

Then *Aquitain*.

in

in ſucceeding times, as well in the Monuments of *Spain*, as in the Acts of ſuch Councils as were held about the time of *Charles the Great* in *Gall*, Lords and Princes are termed *Seniores*, which cuſtome being derived into the Baſtard Latine Tongues of *Spain*, *Gall* and *Italy*, thence the Titles of *Senor, Signor* and *Signore* in thoſe Modern Languages received their Original. The fame year that *Lirva* died, *Miro* or *Ariamyrus* ſucceeded his Father *Theodomir* in his Reign over the *Suevi*, who died two years before. We have heard nothing of a long time of theſe Kings ſince *Remifmund*, of whoſe Succelfours either as to their Names or Actions we know little or nothing, thoſe Monuments which ſhould have transmitted them to us having perished.

**12.** But *Ifidore* puts us off with this scantling account, after he had told us ſome small matters concerning *Remifmund*, and how the Heretice of the *Arians* was propagated amongst the *Suevi* by one *Ajax*, that many Kings of the *Suevi* afterwards remaining in the profeſſion of that Heretice, at length *Theodomir* came to be King, who by the affiſſe of *Martin* a famous Bishop, reſtored the Catholick Religion. After *Theodomir* reigned *Miro*, who reigned thirteen years, and in his ſecond made War, as the Copy now hath it, upon the *Roman Rocones*. Another Author tells *Jaunes Abba, Lucas Tudentis.* us it was againſt the *Aragones*, and a third calls them *Vascones*, with more reaſon *Lucas Tudentis.* the fame with thoſe that now inhabit part of *Navare*. *Leunigild* being returned out of *Aquitain* into *Spain*, began every day more and more to grude and diſclaim, that the *Suevi* or any others beſides himſelf ſhould have any thing of that Country. He could not forbear attempting ſomething upon their Borders, which *Miro* ſensible of, and knowing his own strength, took the beſt courſe to ſend a ſubmiſſive Message, but he could not prevail for any thing more than a Truce. Then turned he his Arms upon the *Roman Forces*, which *Justin* the Emperour had ſent to protec the Limits of *Spain*. Their cheſt residence was upon the Mountains called *Oroſpeda*, which riſing at the roots of the Hill *Camis*, run through *Molina Coucha* to *Segura*, and the Borders of *Granado* as far as the Straits of *Gibraltar*. Truſting to the Steepnes and Cragginess of the place, they refuled to ſubmit, but he reduced all the Forts and Caſtles, and the whole Province under his Dominion, whereby it came to paſt that the *Romans* were in a manner driven out of *Spain*, little now being left them but a small tract of Ground upon the Mediterranean Sea.

**13.** In this matter being in ſo hopefull a poſture, in reference to Foreign Poten- tates, he was the more concerned to think how they stood at Home in relation to his own Family, for whether it or ſome that never had taken any care and pains, ſhould reap the fruit of his Labours was utterly uncertain, Kings being wont to be choſen by the uſtrages of the Nobility, and no way of Succession at all Eſtabliſhed.

To prevent this, he declares his two Sons *Ermenigild* and *Reccarde* his Partners in the Kingdom, the former being to reign at *Sevil*, as ſome, or as others *Par.* *Leunigild makes Ermenigild and Reccarde Partners with him in the Kingdom.* call him *Emperour*, and the latter at the confluence of the two Rivers *Tago* and *Guadiala* near *Paterniana* or *Paſtana*, *Leunigild* building a City which after him he called *Reccopolis* (vulgarily *Ripoli*) as ſome imagine, in *Celibia*. He himſelf pla- ced the Seat of his Kingdom at *Toledo*, whereupon it began to be called the Royal City, and to be the Seat of the Kingdom, as formerly had been *Hispalis* or *Sevil*, *Ermenigild* Maried *Ingundis* the Daughter of *Sigebert* King of the *Mediomatrices* or *Brunichild*, a device as twas thought very proper for ſtrengthening his intereſts, for ſhe being the Grand-daughter of *Athanagild* and *Galvinda* hereby the Blood and power of both theſe Royal Families were conjoined. The Maid being brought to her Grandmother, she foode her up with extraordinary flatteries, to win her to imbrace *Arianism*; but when this would not doe, treated her with as great indignities, not only with words, but blows, and once tumbled her down into a Fifth pond, to the great danger of her life; which notwithstanding ſhe not only kept her Religion, but is thought to have brought *Ermenigild*, now her Husband, to the imbracement of the truth, to which the long diſtance of King *Leunigild* gave a good opportunity, who had now taken a Journey to the *Carpentani* in the hitherland, whereon *Ringundis* the daughter of *Chilperick* and *Fredegund* was coming to be married, according to Covenant, to *Reccarde* the other Son. But having reaſh *Toſole*, the heare of her Father's death, procured, as was thought, by *Landrey*, and ſo returned again to her own Country; which known, *Reccarde* married one *Bada*, the Genealogy of which Woman cannot be drawn by any mortal hand.

*Ermenigild con- verted to the Faith.*

*Ermenigild* mar- iatis tributus. Reccarde, alter can ratione. To wiked real his ear. i. To Evil Council. *Reccarde* erit. *St. Ringundis* Pro- fessa. *Reccarde* datus interpretatur tur Gratina, ergo aeterni patrum ho- modo. *Riffrer- del vel Riffrer- de, polens Confita- rium, et Rifer- del, et Rifer- del ad hoc Reccarde.*

Sect. 2.  
Is persecuted by his Father with War.

14. But the Grandmother so plied *Lennigild* with Solicitations and Arguments drawn from Piety and Religion, that he must needs chaffise his Son with War, if otherwise he could not reduce him. "He sends a Menacing Letter, accusing him of ingratitude and disobedience, arguing him of folly for renouncing such a Faith as the *Goths* had hitherto professed with great prosperity and success; and tells him, that if now he did not comply, he must expect no paternal compassion for the time to come. The Son returns a modest, but resolute Answer, "That there was one higher than him, whom he must needs obey, if their Commands were contrary, and praying him to do nothing whereof he might have occasion to repent him all his life, and which would bring a perpetual Infamy upon their family. But the Father not remaining satisfied with his Son's answer, they both provide for War. The Son gets the *Romans* on his side, but they presently again for money renounce the Alliance made with him, and promise their affilience to the Father. They spent three years in seeking Friends and making Alliances, till at length *Lennigild* in an Hostile manner invades *Betica*, and lays Siege to *Hispalis*, for Starving of which he confuted how he might divert the Course of the River *Betis* upon which it stands, and fortified a place four miles off, where the Walls of the *Johannes Abbat.* Ancient City *Italica* formerly stood, where now is to be seen a Monastery of St. *Idore*, the *Moor*, it's probable, after the times of the *Goths* having destroyed the City. *Miro*, King of the *Suevi*, though of the contrary persuasion as to Religion, joyned with *Lennigild*, and was (as a punishment for so great a crime as some believed) taken a. *Turmenus extem*  
*partis dam in*  
*partia defens.*  
*rum, federe possa*  
*cam Lennigild.* way by Death in the time of the Siege. *Eburick*, or *Eborick* his Son, succeeded him in the Kingdom of *Gallicia*, whom not long after *Audeca*, a wealthy man, deprived of his Kingdom, and thrust into a Monastery, having married *Sifegaria*, the Relique of *Miro*. But see the justice that attended the Usurper. *Lennigild* within a year or two disdaining that the Son of his Friend and Ally should be so spoiled of his Inheritance, invaded *Gallicia*, took *Audeca* alive, and causing him to be shaven, put him also into a Monastery, and made him receive Orders. He seized on all the treasure, and reduced *Gallicia* into the form of a Province; the Kingdom of the *Suevi* being thus overthrown after it had continued one hundred and seventy four (some say seventy seven) years.

The Kingdom  
of the *Suevi* o-  
verthrown.

*Ermigild*, slain

15. But to return to *Hispalis*, the drawing of the River away from it brought it into extreme necessity, which *Hermengild* not able any longer to struggle with, secretly stole away to the *Romans*, not knowing they had dealt so perfidiously with him already as to join with his Father. *Lennigild* quickly got the Town into his possession, and not long after his Son into his hands. Some think he was betrayed by the Inhabitants of *Corduba*, whether he had retired upon notice how matters stood betwixt his Father and the *Romans*. Others say it was at a place called *Offatum*, which being strong, he seized with three hundred stout men, hoping to make some opposition, but the Town was taken, and he fled into a Church for Sanctuary, whence being by the kind words of his Father drawn out, he was afterward put to death, one *Sabert* being Executioner, when he refused to receive the Communion at the hands of an *Arian* Bishop. But Authors differ about the place of his death, some affirming he was made away by *Sabert* at *Tarracona*, and that before that he had been banished to *Valentia*. Others, that he was Martyred at *Sevil*, where they shewed a Tower near to the Gate of *Cordova*, wherein they say he was kept Prisoner, horrible for straitness and darkness, and they honour him as a great Saint, celebrating his Festival on the thirteenth of April, by virtue of a Bull of *Sixtus Quintus*, *lui* *Lennigild*'s Wife full of tears and sorrow, with her young Son, fled into *Africke*; the *Roman* Captains, to whose Custody she was committed, purposing to convey her to *Mauricius* the Emperour as some notable booby taken in War.

16. *Childebert* his Brother, and *Guntran* her Uncle, Kings of the *Franks*, were ready to plead her Cause by dint of Sword, when *Reccarede* the younger Son of *Lennigild* diverted them from *Spain* by making an Inroad into their Territories in *Gall*, where he took a strong Castle called *Ugerman* in those belonging to *Arles*, and wasted the Countrey in a dreadful manner. This brought both Parties to listen after an Accommodation, when other things happened which incensed the *Franks* to an higher degree of Indignation. Some of their Ships as they were Trading to *Gallicia*, were intercepted by those of the *Goths*, and as well the Men as the Vessels and Goods belonging to them were made prize. This made the two Kings give deaf Ears to what was pleaded by *Lennigild* his Ambassador; and *Mariana* tells us he has an Author which affirms that *Reccarede*, now again from *Narbon*, made an Invasion into the *French* Dominions, waging many fruitfull and pleasant places of *Gall*.

*James Abbot.*  
*Gregor. Tarren.*  
*8. c. 1.*  
*Barthol. Gra-*  
*serius Diddi-*  
*th. 3. c. 31.*

*Lennigild* dies.

*Gall*. It's certain that *Childebert* was so moved as to enter into a League and Alliance with *Mauricius* the Emperour, whose friendship he had formerly despised for driving the *Lombards* and *Goths* out of *Italy* and *Spain*. And being, it seems, obliged first to begin with *Italy*, he sent thither a considerable Army, which was defeated with so much los, that *Childebert* was much cooled in his design of making the same Attempts upon the *Goths*, especially when he heard that the, for whose sake he had imbraced the quarrel, was dead, either in *Africke* or *Sicily*, and perceived that the Emperour would lend his Name and Reputation, but not his helping hand to any enterprise considerable. Her Son we are told, was carried to *Constantinople*, where what became of him, is utterly unknown, but probably he had the happiness not to stay long behind his Mother. Much about the same time died also *Lennigild* in the eighteenth year after he had began to reign with his Brother. He had the happiness before his death to reduce and take Prisoner *Malarick* or *Amalarick*, who had the confidence to Usurp in *Gallicia*, and set up again the Kingdom of the *Suevi*. He was cruel in his disposition, having, besides his Son, put several other Noble men to death. He first of all those *Gothick* Kings filled his Treasury with the Goods of the Church, and the Estates of private men as well as Enemies. He first used a Throne and Royal Robes, whereas those before him sat and were *Iffidore* *Lucca* habited like the Nobility. The Laws made by *Eurick*, he mended, taking away and adding as to him seemed most convenient.

17. *Reccardus*, or *Ricared*, his Father, set himself to reform Religion, abolishing *Arianism*, and establishing the Catholick Faith, and that with as little noise and trouble as could be expected in a matter of such concernment. For establishing a firm and lasting Peace to his Dominions, he desired to be friends with the Kings of the *Franks*, and as a more powerful way to effect it, his Wife *Bada* being dead, he desired in Marriage *Clodofinda*, the other Sister of *Childebert*, King of *Austrasia*, utterly denying that he was of Council with his Father, or had any hand in the misfortunes of his Brother, his Wife and Son. The thing could not presently be accomplished; for *Guntran* the Uncle had not yet digested the affront offered to his Family, but would by Arms be revenged, fending *Defiderius* with considerable Forces to waste the Territories of the *Gothick Gall*, where the *Goths* at first had the worst, and shew up themselves within the City *Carcasson*, but afterward took their opportunity, and made such a fall upon the triumphing and secure besiegers, that they slew their Captain, and killing most of them, the rest secured themselves by shamefull flight. This Defeat did but more exasperate the spirit of *Guntran*, who to recover his credit, the year following sent no fewer than fifty thousand men under Command of *Bolo* into the *Gothick* Borders. News being brought into *Spain* that such a storm was approaching, *Claudius* the Governor of *Luftania* descended of *Roman* Blood, was sent away to protect the Borders, who finding the *Franks* near *Carcasson*, the happy place of their late defeat, reinflored there again to fall upon them, and with the like success. For he defeated them in Battle, killed many in the fight, and not a few in the pursuit, took their Camp with all their Baggage, and obtained such a victory, that if *Idore* be not partial, a more eminent one never had happened in *Spain*, the glory whereof was increased by the smallness of the number of those that fell on the *Gothick* side. For you must know this defeat of threescore thousand *Franks* was effected by the Valour of three hundred *Goths*, so powerfull was the Tongue, sharp the Sword, and prevalent the Example of *Claudius* their Captain.

18. *Ricared* having the good fortune to be Victour both in the field against his publicke Enemies, and at home against such Conspirators, as out of hatred to his Religion had contrived his destruction, obtained so much repute in the World, that at length his suit was admitted, and *Anthara* the *Lombard* being put off, to whom he had been as good as promised, *Clodofinda* was sent to him, and a strict Alliance and League was made betwixt the Nations. What time the Marriage was Consummated, Authors do not agree amongst themselves; but evident enough it is, that toward the latter end of his Reign the League was made betwixt the *Franks* and him. This farther added to his Glory, That the *Romans* which still remained in *Spain*, were by his endeavours reduced to an inconfederable Number and Power. By the same good fortune he reduced the *Vascons* to obedience, when they had entertained Councils of dangerous consequence. He was a Man of great goodness as well as felicity, being singularly good nat'rd, and very pious, to which being added excellent wit, and great endowments both of body and mind; he left a great mis of him behind him, dying at *Toledo* after he had reigned fifteen years, one month

*Ricard* dies.

Sect. 2.

month and ten days. He had two Wives, as we have seen, *viz. Bada*, Daughter, *Iembili quidem*  
as they say, to *Arthur* our famed King of *Britain*, and the French Lady lately men  
*matria pregerit;*  
*fed virtutis in-*  
*min'd.* The eldest was *Lirva* (*Luba* or *Leiba*) whom some will have the Son of *Bada*,  
*Chron. ad*  
*Ad 399.*  
*tenita exatu-*  
*Geld-willa, Pe-*  
*camum expellans*  
*potius caput.*

*Lirva* the Sc-  
ond succeeds.But is slain by  
the treachery of  
*Wittmeric*.Who seizes on  
the Kingdom.Upon whose  
death *Gundemar*  
is elected King.Who reduces  
the *Vascons* to  
Obedience,  
And dyes.

19. *Lirva* his eldest Son succeeded him, and being very young (not twenty years old, some say hardly fifteen) was so obnoxious to the plots and devices of bad men, his Father's great Merits could not protect him, although he gave to all men very good hopes that he would not tread but in his steps. He was circumvented and slain by the treachery of one *Witterick*, accustomed to such Villanies, when he had scarcely reigned two years. Being a goodly person, and taken away in the flour of his youth, he was exceedingly lamented by his Subjects. In *Spain* there were *Aliis Vistanas,*  
*Beticana, Veteris*  
*& Hispanica.* In *Spain* there were not long since extant some Golden Coins stamped with his Image, and words which argued his eminent piety; in which Coins, left he bi thought with *Lirva* the First, his great Uncle, he has on his Head a Royal Crown, a thing not used by any of those *Gothick* Kings till the time of *Levengild*, as we before hinted. *Witte-* *With Rijck, For-*  
*rick* having seized on the Kingdom, held it for the space of six years and ten months, or thereabout, being a Soulard good enough, which he testified by the Wars he managed with the *Romans*, though the success he had against them was not answerable to that great Ambition he had to drive them quite out of *Spain*. He was moreover engaged against *Theodorick* King of *Burgundy*, to whom having married *Hermenberga* his Daughter, she was disgracefully sent back to him, for what reason, and upon what account, we consider in the History of that Kingdom. Whatever the Cause of the Separation was, it could not, in his opinion, take off the injustice of the Fact, and the affront was so intolerable, as nothing could expiate it but the Ruine of him that had given the offence. And he so plied his buffets, that he made a very promising League and Alliance betwixt himself *Agidulf* King of the *Lombards*, *Clotair* the invertebrate Enemy of *Theodorick* and *Theodebert* the King of *Austrasia* his Brother, for the Conquering of the Kingdom of *Burgundy*. But *Theodorick* had at this time the good fortune to draw off his Brother, and thereby it came to pass that this terrible Conjunction and Confederacy dwindled by degrees to nothing. This brought the *Usurper* into such disgrace with his People, that calling to mind his ill title, and the means he had used to advance himself, the Multitude rushed into his Court, and slew him as he sat at meat, having performed nothingutable to his pretences, nothing memorable, but that his Captains took *Segunia* from the *Romans*.

20. He being slain, one *Gundemar* obtained to be King, whether as a reward of what he had performed against *Witterick*, or by the suffrages of the Nobility, is uncertain; some do very probably conjecture, that it was not without the assistance of the *Franks*; for they owed malice to *Witterick*, and it appears that *Gundemar* paid them an Annual Tribute from some ancient Records which were extant but in the days of *Mariana*. We find farther, that the Ambassadors of *Gundemar*, though forced by the Law of Nations, yet were violated or abused by them; and although just occasion of War was thence afforded, yet he sent others who neither could get any Audience of the Kings. Herewith *Bulgaranus* the Count, who governed the *Gothick* *Gall* as Lieutenant to *Gundemar*, found himself so concerned as to stop the Ambassadors of *Theodorick*, and deny them access into *Spain*, and was seeming to be now coming on, to be before-hand with the *Franks*, he took by storm two Towns in *Gallicia Narbonensis*, which by virtue of an Agreement made by *Ricard*, were assigned to the use and service of *Brunichild* the Queen, who dying not long after, they never were re-demanded of the *Goths*. *Gundemar* in the mean time reduced the *Vascons* which had rebelled in *Spain*, and had good success against the Captains and Forces which were set to protect the limits of the *Roman Empire* in that Country. This having done, he fell sick and died at *Toledo*, having reigned no more than one year, ten months and thirteen days, leaving no issue behind him by his Wife *Hilduara*, at least that is known to us. He was an Excellent Prince and much bewailed, Fortune having but thrown him and his Virtues to the World, and then as envying his People so great an happiness, having again suddenly withdrawn him from their sight.

21. The

Sect. 2.  
*Sifebatus* chosen in his place. The grief that all good men conceived for the los of him was mitigated by the good hopes of the Vertues of his Successour, one *Sifebatus* upon that account chosen by the Suffrages of the Nobility. And their expectations he both confirmed, and increased by the Course of his Actions. The *Astures* and *Ruccones* who had rebelled, trusting to the places they inhabited, which were very difficult of Access, he speedily reduced to Obedience. The Remainders of the *Roman* Power being now driven up to the Straits of *Gibraltar*, and the Shore of the Ocean he prosecuted and lessened, giving them two notable defeats, and taking not a few Towns from them in *Betica* and *Lusitania*, part of which Province they still held, but were now reduced to such a low condition, that they were ready to pack up and to depart. The Glory of his Arms he increased by the Fame of his Clemency and good Nature; for such Prisoners as he took, he would often dismiss without Ransom, and pay the price of the Redemption of Soldiers out of his own Treasury. While he behaved himself in this manner, and discharged all Offices of a good and pious Prince, he was taken away by Death, after he had reigned eight years, six months and sixteen days; but how he came to his end, is utterly uncertain, some reported that he died of an *Hypercatharsis*, or too violent a purgation by Physick he took, others said that he was poisoned by his Physicians, as happens usually in the death of Princes, especially if their departure be sudden, or if they be loved and admired by the People.

22. There are two Laws of this *Sifebatus* mentioned in the twelfth Council of *Toledo*. "One prohibiting his Successours under an heavy Curse to suffer Christians to be a Slave to a Jew, or to serve him. The other depriving him of all Ensigns of Honour, who in time of War should either refuse to go out in Person, or forfeite his Colours, which as too severe, was mitigated by *Flavius Eringius*. To this same *Sifebatus* is also ascribed the beginning of Naval preparations, whereas the *Roman* Power in *Spain*, being even quite extinguished, there was means and opportunity enough to apply themselves to Sea matters. *Sifebatus* being dead, *Recared* his Son succeeded, an Infant, who bearing the Title of King but for three months, after which he died, or was deposed, thereupon it came to pass that by several Authors he is not put in the Catalogue of Kings. Both Father and Son being removed, one *Suinthila* who had Commanded the Army of *Sifebatus*, and by Arms obtained great esteem, was chosen King by the Nobility. Some write that he was the Son of *Recared* the First, and married *Theodora* the Daughter of *Sifebatus*. He was a man of great Courage, and indefatigable Industry; very prudent in Consultation, and of a mind to propense to all Acts of Munificence, that he was ordinarily called the *Father of the Poor*. In his time the *Vascons* forgetting the smart of that chaitifement he had formerly, when a Subject inflicted on them, again rebelled, and with Fire and Sword invaded the *Zaraconian* Province, but he marching against them, they were by his very presence affrighted into good manners, and submitting themselves as a punishment or expiation of their offence, he caused them to build a City called *Oligizus*, or *Oligizis*, as a Rod for their own back, to be a curb and a check to their Rebellious humour for the time to come.

23. *Suinthila* had farther the good fortune to make himself Monarch of all *Spain*, a thing which had not happened to any of the *Gothick* Kings. For now was the time of Dominion of the *Romans* in this Country expired, one of the Patriarchs or Governors being drawn off to the King's party, and the other overcome by force, after they had for seventy years held part of *Lusitania* and *Betica* with various fortune; and a wonder it is they should so long hold out and keep their possession of those parts lying upon both the Seas so long as they did; but as some very well conjecture, that which maintained their Power, was the supply they constantly had out of *Africa*, for which they lay so convenient; which when it came to be subdued by the *Saracens*, the Intercourse ceased, and consequently for want of maintenance their strength and interest quickly fell into irreparable decay. These things were atchieved by *Suinthila* within five years compass of his Reign, whereby having so well provided for his Kingdom, he thought he might now make provision also for his family. The Kingdom, as we have seen, was Elective, or in the disposal of the Nobility; but he to establish it in his own House, made *Rechimir* his Son his Fellow or Copartner in the Title and Government. This was plainly an alteration of the Political frame, which the *Goths* would not endure, but were so alienated in their minds and affections from him, that falling into most grievous disorders, they drew confusion upon themselves, and forced him to quit the Title.

24. As

He makes *Rechimir* his Son  
Partner in the  
Kingdom.

*Hunc fiducias Pa-*  
*ceps ait tres*  
*tantum meos*  
*reges reges*  
*Tolosam sit-*  
*tem, queque*  
*aliosque*

"In invictatem  
ali in M. die  
dico, ete sem  
que vole dictor  
Olli, dicit in Ca-  
teria veteri, que  
vernasca nomine  
Valladolidi num-  
eratur. Sub i-  
dicte illi est.

*Vid. Joann. Va-*  
*fai Chronic. ad*  
*Ann. 621.*

Se<sup>t</sup>. 2. 24. As there never wants some, who make their Markets out of publick Calamities, and raise themselves out of the Ruines of others, there was one Sifemand a very good Soulard, who took the opportunity to set up for himself. His Ambition carried him into France, where by reviling Suintibla, and urging the easiness of the Enterprize, he obtained Forces of Dagobert for outing him of his Power, under the Command of Abundantius and Venerandus. These Forces appearing before Cesar Augufa, the Nobility forsook Suintibla and his Son and received Sifemand for their Prince, which Renunciation was afterward confirmed by the Fathers of the fourth Council of Toledo, adding thereto an Excommunication and Deprivation of all his Estate, other than what it shoud please his Succellour, their most Pious Prince as they call him out of his Piety to bestow upon him and his. What ground there was for this heavy censure cannot be understood, for that he was a very good Prince at least at his beginning, we must believe from Ifdore. Indeed there are that lay Vice to his Charge, and it is not a thing strange to the Nature of man, to be puffed up and enervated by Prosperity. After his Success against the publick Enemies, some say, he gave up himself to be governed by Theodora his Wife, and Agilan his Brother, which procured him the Indignation and Hatred of his Subjects. The Fathers in Council assembled may a little be suspected of Partiality, not to say injustice, for cutting off from the Communion of their Body, a Prince who could not offend in seeking to maintain that power, to which he had been legally Elect<sup>d</sup>. But hence seems the mischief to have proceeded : He indeavour'd to settle it upon his own Family by the associating of his Son, without the Authority of the usual Election interposed. Ifdore here makes a stop of his History, as unwilling to relate the disgrace and Miseries of a King formerly very famous, and whom he had commended to Posterity for his Virtues, being also his Kinsman. He Reigned ten Years : His Son Rechinair dying much about the same time, or rather being depos'd with him, is not reckoned amongst the Kings (as neither Henry the Son of our Henry the second; because he died before his Father) but is confounded with him, as some of the Spanish Writers have observed.

And Sifnand  
claims the  
Kingdom.

25. *Sifnand* having obtained his Desires as to the Succession, was solicitous to keep what he had got how justly or unjustly forever; as knowing that some other might write against him after the Copy, which he himself had set. Sufficiently assured, that no pretence is so plausible and effectual as that of Religion, in the third Year of his Reign he summons the Bishops to meet in Council, making shew of Zeal for having the Ecclesiastical Discipline restored, which through the iniquity of the times had much gone to decay, but intending to procure the Acts of *Saintbila* to be condemned by the Fathers, and consequently bring those of his party to acquiesce in the Alteration lately made. Accordingly his Posture, Habit and Gestures were fitted, in mean Clothes, presenting himself to the Synod, where kneeling on his Knees with Tears which he had at Command, he defered their Prayers to Almighty God in his behalf. Here now amongst other things of Ecclesiastical Concernment, it was decreed, that none should be King, but he that was admitted by the free choice of the Nobility and Prelates, and *Saintbila*; as we hinted, his Wife, Sons and Brother were cursed after the Christian manner, for what they had impiously and Cruelly committed in the abuse of the Royal power. Another thing is said to have been done in this Synod, respecting the Civil as well as the Ecclesiastical state of the Kingdom, and that was the publishing of that Volume of *Gothick Laws*, which hath been wont to be called *Forum Judicum*. Many learned Men and very good Antiquaries have been of this opinion. But others chuse rather to ascribe the thing to *Egica*, one of the least of the *Gothick Kings*; forasmuch as many are therein extant, which have the Names of following Princes. As for *Sifnand* there is nothing now that is memorable of him; but that there's a difference about the length of his Reign, some counting it to have consisted of three Years, eleven Months and sixteen days; but others extend it to the space of five Years and more.

*Chinilla Elected in his stead.* 26. Into his Place according to the method prescribed by the Council, was one *Chinilla* elected, who thought it a very wise Course to follow his example, of summoning the Fathers together by their Reputation to gain farther strength unto his Title. The state of the Church being of Course in the first place provided for, the last in Execution, but the first and principal in his Intention and Design was accomplished as much as in them lay, the safety and Prosperity of his Person and Government. His election is confirmed, and Care is taken of his Sons, that after his Death they be no way injured nor molested. The Curse is renewed upon him, who

CHAP. II. *Contemporary with the Conf. Rom. Emp.* Chindasvintus. 489

who should arrive at the Sovereign power, by any other means than that of Election, which is also restrained to the ancient Nobility of the *Goths*: And it is made utterly unlawfull to attempt it, during the Life of the present King, as that which would open a Door to all sorts of Tumults, Seditions and Treasons. This Synod being held in the first Year of his Reign, consisted but of two and twenty Bishops, in such great hate he was to have his matters settled, and therefore in that following, he assembled another Council consisting of above fifty, called the sixth Council of *Toledo*, wherein the Decrees of the former Synod were confirmed. And by this Political course he attained his end, the People being kept in order by this shew and pretence of Religion. For nothing else is he memorable. He died after he had Reigned three Years eight Months and nine days.

*Ali Tulcam &  
Tulcam applic-  
lata.*

Then is *Tulga*  
clock King.  
*His Character,*  
  
And Death.

27. His empty place was soon filled by one *Tulga*, who was no whit unworthy  
of the place, nor of the Suffrages of those that elected him. He was a Man young  
in years, but old in prudence, Valour, and in all well grounded Principles of Virtue  
and Honour, furnished with all Abilities requisite to so high a Calling, which no  
way puffed him up, nor made him forget such as misery and want had plunged  
to the lowest condition of Mortals, whom by his extraordinary Clemency and Mu-  
nificence he raised and refreshed, esteeming his Royal Treasures to be in this way  
best employed. He was extraordinary belov'd by the People, and their love being  
so great, the greater was their sorrow that they could not any longer enjoy him,  
for he continued with them but two years and four months, dying then of sicknes  
at *Toledo*. So write and consent the *Spaniard* Writers generally, only *Sigebert* the  
Abbat hath published another Doctrine, as that he was a young man of a light and  
frivolous disposition, and by his Licentious Course of Life, so provoked his Sub-  
jects that they deplored and forced him to take Orders; but a certain Bishop who  
lived in those very times, who both heard and saw, and accordingly made Rela-  
tion as we have no reason otherwise to judge, is in this matter of Report to be  
preferred before a stranger, who either out of prejudice against the Nation, (to  
the *Spaniards* imagine) feigned this story, or received it from other hands, which  
ever it could reach the true History through the distance of place was quite altered,  
as in other Cafes was too usual.

as in other Cases is too true. 28. The Commonwealth upon his Decease, being toffed by the Waves of Tumult and Ambition, and ready to perish, one *Flavius Chindafintibus* by force of Arms made himself Master of the Helm, for it's safety and Preseruation as it happened. Having illegally and Tyrannically invaded the Kingdom, he governed it in a quite different manner, as one that defred to abolish the Memory of his coming in, by a constant Tenour of Justice and Moderation. He knew sufficiently how much the Countenance of a Synod would contribute to the Settlement of his Interest, and resolv'd as soon as things were ripe, as speedily as the Temper of the Nation would bear it, to call together such an assembly. But he durst not attempt it at first, he could not trust the Bishops, whom he knew much averse to what he had practised about the Kingdom, till by his Acts of kindness and good Government, he had taken off the edge of their prejudice, and had at least laid the Foundations of their good Opinion towards him. Having done this, in the sixth Year of his Reign, some say the fifth, he summoned the seventh Council to Toledo. He so effectually did his businels by this and other Expedients, that what had proved fatal not long since to one of his Predecessours, he durst Attempt with all Confidence and Alacrity. After he had governed alone for the space of six Years eight Months and twenty Days, as some compute, he declared *Flavius Recesfinthus* his *De tempore  
Imperii*

Makes his Son  
Partner with him in the King-  
dom.

Son his Associate in the Kingdom. After this he lived three Years four Months  
and eleven Days, which time is reckoned to his Sons Reign, (by reason that he  
governed all in the extreme Age or Dotage of his Father) and died at Toledo, *Antiquitus, uti es*  
some say of a natural Disease, others by Poison. His Body together with that of *Jan. Vespas. &*  
*Lucas Tadeus.* His Wife Ricberga was buried in the Monastery of St.Romain, upon the River Du-  
rius between Tauris and Iordesylla.

29. *Recessuimus* obtaining the Kingdom by Succession, was the more concerned to take Care how to keep it in the Possession of his Family. He used the same means his Predecessours had done, assembling the Bishops and Nobility for the Settlement both of Church and State. For the Reader must take Notice, that these Councils, though commonly they be esteemed merely Religious meetings, were indeed the *Comitia* or General assembly of the Nation, Lay-Persons meeting and Voting in them as well as Ecclesiastics, as in the first which this King called together commonly known by the Name of the Eighth Council of Toledo, we reade of  
P.M.  
fifteen

R. Eng.

**Sect. 2.** fifteen Counts and illustrious Persons, that joynd with the Bishops and Abbots. Whereas other Princes had usually got some Decrees in their own behalf for the enlarging or strengthening of their Authority, he to please the People and preserve his Title, which he was conscious was illegal, parted with something whereof his Father had stod possessed, a Regulation of Tributes, and Exactions being made for the ease of the Subject, who in times of disturbance had been oppressed, and not easd in time of Peace, Impositions once laid on being very seldom taken off in any Government. Two years after another meeting was held, called in Books the ninth Council of Toledo, upon the like occasion, and for the same reasons as the former, as also in the year that followed another meeting which bears the Name of the tenth. Not only did *Reccesuinthus* provide for making of new Laws, but revised the old ones, which had been depraved by the Injury of time, repealing many and adding more as appears from the Volume it self, wherein the Laws made by this Prince, exceed in number all the Sanctions of the other Kings. All these matters related to Peace, but he shewed himself as fit for Military Affairs. For he repre-  
Calendis Apri-  
bris ut fortis  
Rodrixi To-  
letanus.

And ninth at  
Toledo.

Subdues the  
Vascons.

And dyes.

Wamba chosen  
King.

But against his  
Will.

The Vascons re-  
new their Ho-  
stilities.

A Conspiracy  
in the Gobick  
Gall against  
him.

30. The Kingdom of the *Goths* which exceedingly flourished in his time, was by his Death reduced into a very tottering Condition, the effect of its Confusion for being not settled upon any Family, but still Elective as it seems they would have it, notwithstanding the late precedent of *Reccesuinthus*, the hopes and Ambitions of the severall Competitors drove all into Faction and Disturbance. To put an end to these mischiefs, the Nobility made choice of one *Wamba* or *Wamba*, a man very well accomplished for the place, but so prudent as to foresee the danger of it. He earnestly desired to be spared, and so long till a certain Nobleman drew his Sword and vowed if he would not be King, he should be no more a man : Yielding to the Threats rather than the Prayers and Desires of the Nobility, he yet refused to be Crowned before he came at Toledo, hoping in the mean time their minds might change, or to compose differences, that he might take the Diadem with universal assent and security. After he had taken the usual Oath to maintain the Laws and Liberties, and was anointed by *Quiricus* the Bishop of the place, a Vapour is reported to have risen from his Head, and a Bee to have flown up aloft, which passage might have more seemed fabulous, if *Julian* the Bishop of Toledo had not affirmed it in the Book he wrote of the War of *Narbon*. He was born in that part of *Lusitania*, which to the ancients was known by the Name of *Igeditavia*, where there's yet a Town extant and called *Idavria*, and a piece of Ground wherein is to be seen a Fountain incloed with square stone, which bears also the Name of *Wamba*; the Inhabitants believing, that the Ground was formerly in the Possession of this King. Some reported, that he was an Husband-man, and by extraordinary Designation and Revelation was drawn rather than led to be King, but this seems no other than a Fable, none of the ancient Writers making mention of any such matter, which being so remarkable, they would not have passed over in silence.

31. No sooner was *Wamba* fixed in his Seat, but News was brought him which shewed his apprehensions of trouble and danger not to have been vain or frivolous. The *Vascons* encouraged by the differences raised about the Succession renewed their Hostilities, which caused him to raise an Army with all speed, and suppress the mischief e'er it too far proceeded. As he employed himself herein on the Borders of *Cantabria*, a matter of more dangerous Consequence was brought to his Ear, that a great Conspiracy was made against him in the *Gobick Gall*, by such as envied him the Royalty. The Head of this Conspiracy was *Hilderick* the Count of *Nemanus*, who presuming upon the great distance of place, and his great power in these parts, drew in *Gumild* the Bishop of *Magalona* and *Remigius*, an Abbat, both his Neighbours. *Aregius* the Bishop of *Nemanus* refusing to joyn with them, was removed and banished into *Gall*, and *Remigius* put into his place. They turn now all things into Confusion : The Jews who had been banished they recall, conceiving they would not a little strengthen their Interest. *Wamba* as soon as he could conveniently sent one *Paul* against them, a *Grecian* as they say, both as to Birth and Fidelity, though a man of good Conduct, both in matters relating to Peace and War. He instead of extinguishing added Fuel to the Flame, entering speedily into Confederacy

Confederacy with the Rebellious *Goths*, and drawing to his party *Ramfodus* the **Sect. 2.** *Tarraconian Duke* and *Hildigis* called also *Gardinus*, a word denoting Magistracy and Power. By their Council and Assistence *Barcelona*, *Gerunda* and *Ausa* are seized in the entrance into *Spain*; and now they are for *Gall*, where they doubt not to be too strong for the King's Friends.

32. Being come to the City of *Narbon*, *Paul* calls both the Citizens and the Soul-diers together, to whom he accuses *Agobandus* the Bishop of the place, for having caused the Gates to be shut against him and his followers, as indeed at first he did, till satisfied more of his own inability to contend with them, than of the righteouſness and Justice of their Caufe, he commanded that they should be admitted. He indeavoured to prove it Lawfull, to renounce obedience unto *Wamba*; who he affirmed was not legally chosen, but only by the rash adventure of a few Persons, and at length came to the point, that they should make choice of another, whom being legally Elected, they might as legally and Cheapfully obey, and follow, to suppress the Faction of the Usurper *Wamba*. Heretofore *Ramfodus* not by chance, nor on a sudden, doubtless with a loud Voice and much Earneſtness affirmed, that a more worthy Person than *Paul* himself could not be found, which was received and approved by divers that were there set on purpose; the confuted multitude embrac'd it, and the Wiser sort in such Confusion and Danger thought it best for them to be silent. Then was *Paul* pronounced King, and the Crown set on his Head, which formerly *Recared* had dedicated to *Felix* the Martyr, for the Rabble that promoted him, spared nothing, either sacred or profane. *Hilderick* the first Author of the revolt was easily drawn in to own him, though he could have wifid himself the Man; and so all the Cities of the *Gobick Gall* readily submitted, as also did no small part of the *Tarraconian Spain*, drawn by the Authority of *Ramfodus*. *Paul* now thinking himself secure, and swelling with the Pride of his high preferment, wrote Letters to *Wamba* full of opprobrious Language; and from them and the great Faction which now prevailed, some very rationally think, that the Fable proceeded of his being an Husbandman, and taken from the Plow-tail to wear a Crown, whereas he was of the prime Nobility of the *Goths*, and of highest place and Esteem with the former Kings.

33. *Wamba* upon notice of the Treason of *Paul*, called the Nobility together to consult what was to be done. Some were for marching presently against the Rebels, to prevent the farther strengthening of themselves, urging that Expedition in War doth the greatest wonders. Others were for deferring the Expedition, till he could gather more strength by settling his Affairs, and increasing his Army, the weaknes whereof was evidently seen in this, that as yet the *Vascons* were not fully reduced to obedience. He made choice of the former Course at the safer, both in respect of the Enemy, who if let alone might grow too formidable, and the minds of his own Men who being now full of Anger and Desire of revenge, he thought it not fit to let them cool; but incense them farther as he did, by laying before them as well the Horridnes of the Rebellion it self, as the Miseries which their Friends underwent, that lived within the reach of the Usurper. By his words the Soldiery were so confirmed and animated to fight; that within seven days they quite subdued the *Vascons*, a fierce and warlike Nation, as a good beginning and Omen of future Victory. As such receiving it, with inctedible Alacrity and speed they marched through *Calagunia* and *Ocua*, into the Borders of *Catalau-  
nia*, where they were divided into three parts; whereof one had Orders to make for *Castrilobia*, the Metropolis of the *Ceretani*, another was sent against the *Anse-  
tani*, and a third was Commanded to waſte the Countrey lying by the Sea, the King himself marching after with a strong party, and executing Discipline feverely against such as ravished Virgins, and made Depredations contrary to Command.

34. Coming to *Barcelona*, he took it with much ease, and reserved the Authors of the Revolt to punishment. *Gerunda* was delivered up by *Amator* the Bishop, who had received Letters from *Paul*, bragging that he would speedily be with him, and advising him to receive and own him as King, who should first be there; which having read, *Wamba* not improperly said, *He has Propheſed concerning us and our coming*. Thence after two days, they entered and pallid the Strait of the Pyreneans without any Lett or Moleſtation, having taken by storm *Cancliberus*, *Vul-  
taria* and *Castrumliba*, the plunder of which was given to the Souldiers, beſides *Clauſara* a Town, as the Name declares, ſituate in the very Strait it ſelf, wherein were taken *Ramfodus*, *Ildigis* and others of the chief Conspirators. From *Sordonia Wittimir* fled, leaving it to the Conquerour, to bring News to *Paul*, who

Takes several  
Towns, and  
some of the  
Conspirators.

R I I 2

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who was all this while making Preparations at *Narbon*, and first thought to meet *Wamba* and give him Battel, but afterwards changing his Opinion, left that City to the Care of *Wittimir*, and betook himself to *Nemansus* there to receive the Succours he expected from the *Galls* and *Germans*. The King being descended into the plain, staid two days to Rendevous his men, who were to come several ways over the Mountains. Then did he dispatch away four of his best Captains to reduce *Narbon* with Competent Forces, furnishing out moreover a Navy to block it up by Sea. The Land Army got first thither, and having in vain solicited the Inhabitants to return to obedience, took by plain Force, and therein *Wittimir* who to their Summons had returned nothing but reviling words. The taking of this Town quite ruined the Faction, the People now beginning to reflect upon *Paul* and his Title, and to talk of the mild and peaceable Temper of *Wamba*. In the same Course of Victory were also taken by force *Magalona*, *Agatha* and *Biterrus*, and therein several of the principal Conspirators.

35. *Paul* still kept himself within *Nemansus*, a City in those times much flourishing with multitudes of Inhabitants, stately Buildings, and the strength of the Walls, as considerable as any other in *Gallic Norbonensis*; having many Monuments in it of the *Roman Empire*, and amongst the rest a spacious Theatre, which adjoining to the Wall served very well in the room of a Castle. Four Captains were sent before by *Wamba*, who being elevated with the late Success and good Soldiers, though not much skilled in what concerned Sieges, impatient of delay fell upon the Town as soon as they saw it, with the Force of thirty thousand Men, they brought along with them. No Courage, no Animosity suitable to their several Concernments was wanting to either party, Night only parting them for the present. But the besiegers retiring, those within thought themselves Victors, and one of them in the heat of the fight inflicting over the Kings Souldiers boasted, that shortly would arrive to their Relief, such multitudes of *Germans* and *Franks*, as would drive them up like Deer and cut their Throats. A small matter oftentimes in War administers occasion to some extraordinary Occurrence. The News hereof was sent to *Wamba* with Defre of speedy supplies, forasmuch as all hope of Victory was placed in expedition. He dispatches away ten thousand Men more, under the Command of *Wandemir*, who marching all Night reached the place the next day, before the Assault was renewed. At the sight of them *Paul* was quite out of heart, yet made a Speech to his men full of Words, signifying Confidence and resolution; and the storm was renewed with great fury, which pertinaciously continued till the day was far spent, and the besieged were quite tired out. Then did the besiegers scale the Walls, set fire to the Gates, and batten the Walls. At the entry, the Citizens and *Franks* imagining, that the Town was betrayed by such *Spaniards* as *Paul* had brought along with him, to gain pardon from the King, fell upon and killed many of them. Being therefore beaten down and slain before by the King's Souldiers, and behind by their late Friends within; this promiscuous slaughter afforded a miserable Spectacle, nothing being to be seen but Bodies welring in their Blood, to be heard, but the Groans of dying Men, the shrieks of Women, and the miserable crying of Children in all places.

36. *Paul* who had been the Caufe and Author of so great a Calamity, putting off his Robe retired with a select Company to the Theatre, where trufing to the strength of the place, he resolved to obtain honourable Terms, or to dye COURAGEOUSLY upon the spot. It's observed of him, that he put off the Royal Ensigns the very day of the Year, namely the first of September, whereon *Wamba* at the inftance of the Nobility had put them on. Part of the City being taken, the Officers would not proceed till the King came, that he might have the Honour of the Conquest. The Townsmen thought fit to send out *Arbegundas* their Bishop to mediate for their pardon, who meeting him four miles off from the City, on his bended Knees with Tears and Lamentations, indeavoured to mitigate his Anger, which in great meafeure he effected. For *Wamba* triumphantly entring the City, which now yielded wholly to him, *Paul* himself and above twenty other Officers, notwithstanding his former resolution submitted to his Mercy. He pardoned the multitude, and took three days time to confider how to punish *Paul*, and his chief Adherents, in the mean time taking Care for the cleaning of the City, and the repairing of the Fortifications on that side, that lay toward the *Franks*, who were reported to be on their way, with a deſign to have raised the Siege. Some of that Nation and of the *Saxons*, who had either remained there as Hostages, or had been drawn in to fide with the Rebels at the beginning, he

At last *Nemansus*, wherein  
the Usurper was.

The Usurper's Tryal.

he ſent away not empty handed. The three days being paſt, he mounts a Throne more elevated than uſual, and the Prisoners are brought before him. He firſt trod upon all their Necks, and then demands of *Paul*, whether by any Injury he had been provoked to contrive this wicked deſign againſt his King and Country. He denied he was at all injured, on the contrary affirmed he had received much kindneſs from the King. Then was his oath of Allegiance to *Wamba* recited, and the oath which he exacted from the People at his Uſurpation. Then was pronounced the Sentence againſt Rebels, according to the Laws of the Councils, viz. "Ignominious Death, with the Confiſcation of all their Estates, with this Promife, that in Case the King had pardoned them their Lives, yet they ſhould at leaſt be deprived of their fight. Yet did the King out of his innate Clemency and deſire to win the affection of the People, inflict no other Puniſhment upon them, than to cauſe their Hair to be cut off, which in thoſe times was taken for the chief Mark and token of Nobility.

37. All this while *Chilperick* King of the *Franks*, was reported to be at hand with a conſiderable Army. He thought fit therefore, to ſtay and expeſt him for ſome time; but having ſtaid four days to no purpoſe, he concluded he had done enough, both for the reaping the Fruit of the late Victory, and his own Reputation, and left by provoking the *Franks* he ſhould ſeem firſt himſelf to have broken the League, he reſolved to prepare for his removal out of *Gall*. But while this was in hand, New was brought him, that one *Lupus* a Captain of the *Franks* waited the Country about *Biterrus*, which obliged him to move towards him with his Army, although it did not much reſard his Journey. For the Rovers hearing of his coming in a confuſed manner fled to the Mountains, leaving their plunder behind them, ſo that the Gotrick Army had nothing to doe, but to kill and take pillaſe, wherewith enriched, it marched back to *Narbon* without having received any wound. Hence part of it was ſent to re-inforce the ſeveral Garrisons of the Country, and the reſt of it being commanded much for *Valou* in a Military Oration, was diſbanded at *Canaba*, a Town belonging to *Narbon*. The King returned into *Spain*, and in great Triumph entered *Toledo*, the ſixth month after he had thence departed, with mighty Honour for his late Achiements. The Rebels went before upon Camels, with their Heads and Beards ſhaven, in ragged Clothes: *Paul* in greater derifion wearing a Crown of black Leather. The King's Souldiers followed after very well clad, and carrying Joy and Triumph in their Countenances, the King himſelf bringing up the Rere, and by his reverend gray Hairs, and the Reputation of his late Actions increaſing the Majefty of his Royal Office. The whole City ran out of the Gates to meet him, and aſtoniſhed at the Spectacle followed him with their lucky Acclamaſion; and the Solemnytē ended by conducting the Criminals to perpetual Prifon.

Wamba returns  
Victoriously to  
*Teledo*, with his  
fools and Cap-  
tives, who are  
condemned to  
perpetual Im-  
prisonment.He fortifies  
the Town.

38. *Wamba* being now at reſt and ſecure as to Foreign matters, applied himſelf to the enriching and adorning his Kingdom, that it might reap the Fruits of that Peace which at preſent enjoyed. His Royal ſeat of *Teledo* he enlarged and compaſſed, *With a perpetual Wall*, as one terms it, reaching from the Suburbs of *St. Idore* to both the Bridges. For this City is more than three parts of it waſhed by the River, which betwixt exceeding high Banks runs headlong antogett the Rocks and Stones. The other part of it has a moſt difficult acceſs from the Plain, being before the time wherof we write, Fenced with a narrower Wall, the remains of which were to be ſeen in the time of *Mariana*. Now by the diligence of *Wamba*, were the Suburbs taken in, and to make it more ſure, a lower Wall was added to the former, Marbles which were taken out of the *Roman buildings*, being to be ſeen in it, wherein are ingraven Images repreſenting *Wheels* or *Roſes*, thought by the Vulgar to have been *Wamba* his Arms, but erroneouſly, forasmuch as they are placed in no Order at all, but confuſedly as they happened to be brought by hand. But in a certain Tower he cauſed ſome *Verſes* to be ingraved, as a Testimony of his publick Spirit, and as his Monument to posterity; and on the tops of Towers erected ſtatues to ſome of the Saints, of white Marble, to which as *Istelaries* or Patrons, by other *Verſes*, he recommended the City, which *Verſes* being obliterated, and the ſtatues decayed and fallen down by the force of that, which brings to a Period all ſublunary things, *Philip the Second King of Spain*, in the laſt Age commanded to be repaired.

39. *Wamba* his delight in things of this Nature, was at laſt interrupted by a report of a mighty Fleet of *Saracens*, coming out of *Afric*: For this People having in a manner Conquered all that Country, with no fewer than two hundred

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\* Erect fact  
ore Dei Rex in  
templo. *Wamba*, fa  
cilem prestat  
dens genit. Ho  
norem.  
† *Vix Domini  
Sandi, quarecum  
projicitur, fulge  
Hinc sicut  
et plenum fulge  
freak short.*

**Sect. 2.** hundred and seventy Ships infested the opposite Coasts of *Spain*, against which *Wamba* making as early opposition as he might, rigged up his own Fleet, and manned it out with so resolute Soldiers and Seamen, that they quite defeated the *Saracens*, and either took or burnt all their Ships. Some, and not without reason, suspect, that by the ambitious practices of Count *Ernigius* this Fleet was brought against *Spain*, to make way for his promotion, by the destruction of *Wamba*. In the Reign of *Cindaswinth* one *Ardanatus* being banished by the Emperor his Master, came out of *Greece* into *Spain*, and committed himself into the hands of the King, who kindly entertained him, and gave him to Wife his own Kinswoman. Of this Marriage was born *Ernigius* (or *Eringius* as some call him) who being brought up at Court, could not content himself with the Title of Count, but aspir'd after the Regal Diadem; of compassing which, he was not without advantages, being in great favour with the Nobility, which he both got and preserved by his affable carriage and humour, well accommodated to the temper and disposition of the times. Yet knowing he could not accomplish his desires so long as *Wamba* lived, nor yet after his death, if the Nobility should be allowed a free choice, because *Theodefred*, the Brother of *Reccesuinth* was still living, who had at the last Assembly been only omitted for his tender Age, he resolved in some extraordinary manner to attempt it. The bigness of the *Saracen* Navy having miscarried, he procured poison to be given to the King, who falling thereby into great torments and dangers, when he now seemed ready to give up the ghost, had his Hair cut off, and put on the habit of a Monk by the perfusion of *Ernigius*, who when his head was ligh and intoxicated by the force of the poison, easily \* procured him to nominate him his Successour, which was done by a Writing sealed with the King's Seal. *Ernigius* persuaded him to take the Habit, hoping by that means to unking him, though he should recover. And he was not mistaken in his Apprehensions, for *Wamba* the next day coming to himself, yet resolved to accept of the Religious kind of life, either through his greatness of mind or despairing to restell himself; *Ernigius* having in this time, in a manner, seized on the Sovereignty. Therefore did he betake himself to a Monastery in a Village called *Pampliga*, where he most devoutly spent the remaining part of his life, viz. seven years and three months or as others say above. He reigned eight years, one month and fourteen days.

**40.** *Flavio Ernigius* thus by indirect means obtained the Kingdom of the *Goths*, and knowing that things ill got seldom prosper, set himself with the greater care and industry to the preservation of it. He remembered that in such cases as his, and at a dead lift Religious Pretences had done wonders, and therefore he will be as zealous as any of his Predecessours, the Cause of Religion and Privileges of the Church are now much in his mouth, as most dear unto him, for which purpose he must also call the Fathers together. The Fathers loved to meet one another often, and being easily made to believe that *Wamba* resigned his Crown to *Ernigius*, confirmed out of gratitude and prudence the possession of it to him, for they wisely concluded that it was good sleeping in a whole skin; and why should not they submit to Providence, and own him that was in possession? To this they were more induced, or as we may say, hired by a privilege granted by this Usurper from the Crown, that whereas heretofore it belonged to the King alone to make Bishops, he granted it to the *Archbishop* of Toledo. Scarcely were two years passed and gone when he calls them together the second time to make farther provision for his good Government. In this Meeting of Ecclesiasticks and Seculars, which is called the *Thirteenth Council of Toledo*, an Act of Oblivion passeth for such as had taken part with *Paul* the Usurper, and because little money was stirring, and too heavy burthens lay on the People, certain Impositions are taken away, and the Arrears forgiven. For now (as in all such cases of Usurpation, Usurpers ever making best Laws) not the King, but *Ernigius* was concerned, the Controversie was not whether the Privileges of the Crown were maintained, but whether the House and Family of him that wore it was to be preferred. Whereas men of mean Parentage, had by indirect practices crept into places of Dignity and Honour, and the Blood of the ancient Nobility of the *Goths* was even quite imbibed by promiscuous and unequal Marriages, care is taken for prevention hereof for the time to come. To these was another Law added in favour of *Linibigotona* the Queen and her Children, to protect their Persons and their Estates; that they might not feel the effects of that Popular Scorn and Indignation which they had too good ground to fear, might fall upon them after his death.

He calls the  
nobility,

And thirteenth  
Council of Tol-  
do.

Cap. 5.

41. All

**And fourteenth  
Council of Tol-  
do.** 41. All this Provision yet did not satisfy the mind of *Ernigius*, but the following year he must Summon another Assembly, which is called the Fourteenth Council of *Toledo*, a good occasion being presented of confirming the Acts of the Sixth General Council held at *Constantinople*. Besides the trade of Councils whereby he knew that he obliged the Ecclesiasticks (the best part of the State) more than by any course he could take, he resolved to provide farther for his Family by an Alliance with the Family of *Wamba*, Marrying his Daughter *Cixilo* to *Egica*, the Kinsman of in him by his family, the injured and deceased King. He took an Oath of him, that in case of his death he should by all means possible procure the quiet and safety of the Queen his Mother-in-law and her Children, not suffering any one to invade the Rights or Estates of the Orphans. His Family being settled, as well as in prudence he could devise, he let himself to the amendment of the Laws, repealing several made by *Wamba* as too severe, especially that concerning the Raiving of Soldiers. And so at length he died of Sickness at *Toledo* on the thirteenth day of *November*, being *Friday*, A.D. 687, after he had reigned seven years and five and twenty days, notwithstanding all his endeavours bearing the Title of Famous, rather than Honest (or of Good Report) to posterity, although the Commandment of Clemency and Liberality much practised by him are wont to cover very great faults. In his days *Spain* was sorely vexed with Famine, which gave him a very fit occasion to be Popular for his liberality. The Walls and Bridge of *Emerita* were Magnificently repaired.

**And as much as  
in him lay pro-  
tection.** 42. The day preceding his Death he declared *Egica* his Successour, absolving the Nobility from the Oaths they had taken in his own behalf. *Egica* being anointed and confirmed in his seat, could not persuade himself that his Predeceſſour and Father-in-law had by his late Acts of kindness to him in particular made amends for the grand injury offered to his Family; but thinking it most just and auspicious to begin with revenging its Caufe, put away *Cixilo* his Wife, though he had a Son already by her named *Witiza*. Some have believed that *Wamba*, being yet living, persuaded him to do the thing, having some sparks of Malice and Revenge yet covered under his Religious Zeal. Some of the Nobility also, by the means of whom *Wamba* had been so handled at his Imprisonment, were punished as they had deserved. Except this leachery of Revenge be accounted a stain in his Escutcheon, *Egica* may pass for one of the best, wifeliest and most moderate Princes, being a Peron very well accomplished both for the Arts of Peace and War. He was not wanting to himself in that secret of his Predeceſſours of Cajolling the Churchmen, but Summoned the Fifteenth Council of *Toledo*. Here he propounded a great Café of Conscience, and pray'd he might be effectually revol'd. He had taken an Oath to proteſt the Wife and Children of *Ernigius* in their Lives and Fortunes; but so the cafe stood, that much of their Estates had been unjustly got; whether then might be no dispence with his Oath in relievng such as had been unjustly opprefſed? To this it was gravely anſwered, That the ties of his Oath ought not to be ſo ſacred as to hinder the execution of Justice; he being doubtleſs left Judge to determine matters of Fact and Right in things respecting Perfons he fo greatly hated.

**The Archbiſhop  
whereto con-  
ſpires againſt  
him.** 43. Against him conſpired *Sibert*, the Archbiſhop of *Toledo*, a man of an haughty and alſiping humour, nothing beſtting the Place of Dignity which he bore in the Church. To his Ambition was not wanting the neceſſary Concomitants, viz. Diligeſce and Courage, which he employed to ſuch purpoſe, that the Kingdom being by reaſon of the diſference about Succession full of diſcontents and factions, he drew into the Conſpiracy both a great Number of the Nobility and others. He drew to his Afſiſſe the *Franks* alſo, with whom the Loyal *Goths* fought three Battels, and every time came off loſs, though by the injury of time we are ſo deprived of the Account of the Number of the slain, and the particular Accidents on both ſides. This we know, that the External diſſemps *Egica* removed, by applying an eſſeſtual remedy to the inward diſtempers. *Sibert* had not caſſed his Brethren the Biſhops, either out of his pride dīſdaining to ſlopp to his Inferiors, or because they emulated and ſcōred his towering Imaginations. The King therefore calls them together the ſecond time to that Asſembly which bears the Name of the Sixteenth Council of *Toledo*, by the Decree of which *Sibert* is depoſed, banished his Country, deprived of all his Estate, and ſo excommunicate as not to be Absolved, except in articulo mortis, according to the Proviſion of the Ancient Canons. For greater ſecurity of the King and his Successours, it is farther ordaineſ, "That what Religious Perfons forever, of any Religion, Order or De- gree, ſhould be guilty of ſuch a crime, ſhould be ſubject to the fame penalties. In

But in the six-  
teenth Council  
summoned by  
*Egica*, he is pa-  
nished accord-  
ingly.

**Sect. 2.**

**Sect. 2.** In this Synod the Gothic Laws were more diligently revised than formerly, and Prayers were ordered to be made every day in all Churches for the King's Person and Isle, which we may perhaps exemplify in a more proper place.

He calls it the  
fourteenth Council  
of Toledo.  
  
And makes his  
Son Witiza Part  
ner in the King-  
dom.  
  
His character.

44. The year following was held at *Toledo* the fourteenth Council, wherein the Jews being laid to have conspired with their Brethren of *Africk* for the destruction of the Kingdom of the *Goths*, were condemned to perpetual slavery, and their Children, when seven years old, ordered to be taken from them, and brought up in the Christian Religion. Provision was made for *Cixila*, though put from her Husband, as indeed care had formerly been taken for all Queen-Mothers, that after the death of their Husbands they might enter into a Monastery. *Egica* having reigned ten years by himself, took his and her Son *Witiza* to be his Partner in the Kingdom; but left a continual society should beget unkindness and differences betwixt them, sent him to govern the Kingdom of the *Suevi in Gallicia*. In Spain were extant not long since Coins stamped with both their Names, and in that Country in a pleasant Valley near to the City *Tuda*, abounding with Oranges and Lemons, was lately to be seen the Ruins of his House of Pleasure, that City being appointed the seat of his Kingdom by his Father. To this place was Banished *Fafila*, the Duke of *Castabria*, the Son of *Chindafinibus*, for fear of Commotions upon his Account. *Witiza* was no sooner come, but he fell into a liking of his Wife, as she also did of him, and amid their impure embraces it's resolved that *Fafila* dye, which he did by a blow on the Head given him by *Witiza*, near the River *Orbis*, in a Town called then *Duodecim Manus*, now *Palamium*. This *Fafila* was Father to *Pelagius*, the Reforser of *Spain*, as we shall see anon.

*Egica* dying, *Witiza* his Son succeeds.

His character.

He allows Poly-  
gamy.

45. Five years after his being made King of *Gallicia*, *Witiza* succeeded his decaed Father in the entire Kingdom of *Spain* and the *Gothick Gall*. At the beginning of his Reign he notably covered his vicious inclinations, and dissembled that Humour which in time came to rage in him. He recalled such as had been banished, and restored them to their former Interests: He commanded the Records of Offences committed in turbulent times to be burnt, that no memory might remain of them, that no Infamy or other punishment might follow them. But by his following Actions he endeavoured to render all Acts of Sobriety and Clemency ridiculous, fully giving himself up to the Power and Sovereignty of those temptations, which accompany a youthfull Age, backed with Supreme power and affluence of all things. He delivered up himself, as all such doe in this case, into the hands of Parasites, by whom being encouraged, nay thrust forward into all sorts of Lusts, he left nothing of extravagancy unpractised, and openly shewed that a fear of his Father, and not dictates of his own Conscience had kept him from running hitherto into all excesses of Riot. He took many Wives, and more Concubines; and to propagate the mischief, made a Law, "That it should not only be lawfull for the Common people and Nobility to do the like, but for Churchmen also; which liberty, suiting with the corrupt inclinations of man's nature, was taken by many. As in his Father's time he had begun to root out the Race and posterity of *Chindafinibus*, so now he thought he had much more reason to accomplish it, because that those who could not like his courses, cast their eyes upon those Princes as the only surviving hope of the *Gothick Nation*.

46. *Fafila* or *Favila* he slew, as was lately mentioned. There was another Brother of *Chindafinibus* yet living, the Brother of King *Reccesuinth*, viz. *Theodefred* the Duke of *Corduba*, where he lived a retired life, in a Palace there built by himself, on purpose to shun the Envy and Jealousie of the Court. This *Theodefred* he procured to be deprived of his sight, and would so have treated his Son *Roderick*, as also his Nephew *Pelagius*, the Son of *Favila*, but that they happily escaped the Tyrant's hands. Knowing the People to be much incensed by his lewd practices, to render their Anger and Indignation vain, he refolved to disarm them, and therefore under a pretence of Peace caufed the Walls of all the Cities of *Spain* to be razed except those of *Toledo*, *Leon* and *Astorga*, which he either thought he might trust, or rather feared to provoke them. *Roderick* the Archibishop of *Toledo* adds, that he took from his Subjects the use of Arms, that they might be in no capacity to resist him, but another ascribes this Practice to *Roderick* his Successour. To these crimes he added the Restitution of the Jews, who had been so solemnly banished, giving them greater Privileges than ever, and violated those of the Church, thrusting *Sindered* Archibishop of *Toledo* out of his Chair, and putting in by force *Oppas*, whom most make his Brother, and some his Son. To his life such an end hapened as was most just and agreeable, though as to the manner of it, Authors do not

**Sect. 2.**  
*Roderick Tela-*  
*tinus.*  
  
not agree. Some tell the Story how *Roderick*, the Son of *Theodefred*, flying from that mischiefe which had overtaken his Father, went to the *Romans*, and from them obtained forces for the suppression of the Tyrant. Whom having defeated and taken in battell, he used in the same manner his Father had been serv'd, putting out his Eyes, and confining him to *Corduba*. And there have not been wanting who ascribe this Act of Revenge to *Cofa*, the Brother of *Roderick*, whom they affirm to have reigned five years, whereas neither the Account of time suffers any such thing, neither have *Idefonsus Pacensis*, *Lucas Tudentis*, *Rodericus Tletonianus*, or King *Alfonius* the Tenth, the best Writers of the *Spaniæ History*, placed *Cofa* in the Catalogue of Gothic Kings, nay so much as made any mention of him. Those Writers who for Number and Diligence exceed others, affirm that *Witiza* died of Sicknes at *Toledo* in the tenth year of his Reign, leaving two Sons, *Eba* and *Sisebut*, the Tide of whom while most maintained, and others oppofed, it imvolv'd the State in great Calamities.

*Dies.*

47. Yet had these Calamities an higher rise than from the Titles of these Ambitious Princes. The fate of the *Gothick Monarchy* now preffed heavy upon it, and this fate was inforced by that which caught and precedeth the Ruine of all States and Empires. When Kingdoms once come to an height by the force of Arms and prudent Conduct, ease and wealth beget lust and luxury, which at length wholly enervate the minds of Princes and Peoples, and procure the overthrow of that Dominion which their Ancestours with so great expence of bloud and treasure had raised. Such was the condition of the *Goths of Spain* at this time. Their minds and bodies were both enervated and out of order; for all their time they spent in drinking, eating or whoring, the Prince had no care of the State, the Nobility thought they might justly follow his example, and the Common sort could not but write after such Copies. Hence lay they exposed to all sorts of Seditions, like drunken men, fit to quarrel with one another, but not able to grapple with any bye-stander or looker-on; so that Empire and Dominion which had been obtained by their Forefathers, who had made all Countries where they came to tremble before them, now became the bait of Foreigners, and an easie prey to those that would but adventure for them. Yet *Roderick*, who by the Suffrages of the Nobility, as many believe, had ascended the Throne, gave not any great occasion at first to caufe the most considerate sort of men to despair upon his account; for he was endowed with many notable qualities both of mind and body. He was a man fit for busines. Of an able head to contrive, and a resolute heart to execute, aspiring after the greatest things, and excelling in Acts of Magnificence and Liberality. He had a body fit for such a soul, moft able to encounter all difficulties attending labour, hunger and thirst, heat and cold in their extremity. But the Vertues were equalled by as great Vices, which appeared upon his preferment to the Crown. He never forgot any Injury, was moft Intemperate in his use of Women, and as if the Crown had infected his head with the disease of his Predeceſſour, became fo indiscreet in the management of publick busines, that he resembled *Witiza* more than his Father, or any other of his Ancestours.

48. Having, as he thought, settled his Affairs, he applied his mind to the enlarging and beautifying of the Palace in which his Father had lived near to *Corduba*. On his Cousin *Pelagius* he had pity, as involved formerly with him in the same calamity, and recalling him from Banishment, made him Captain of his Guard, an office at this time of greatest Dignity and Honour next the King. But the hatred he had of a long time conceived against *Witiza*, he could not now conceal nor forbear to turn it upon his Sons, but put all the affronts and disgraces he could possibly upon them, which not able to bear, and suspecting they would at length end in extremity, they thought it safest for them to quit *Spain*, and passed over into that part of *Africa Tingitana*, which then was subject to Count *Julian*. This *Julian* by *Regnila* the Count, the Deputy, as is believed of Count *Julian*. This *Julian* married the Sister of *Witiza*; and after the death of *Favila* and the flight of his Son *Pelagius*, who had executed the place, was made by him *Protopatarius* or Captain of the Guard. Now he was Governor or Lieutenant of that part of *Spain* which lies next to the *Herculean Straits*, from which there is shortest passage into *Africk*, and was possessed of many Towns therabout, so that for Wealth and Power he gave place to no Gothic Subject, and became formidable even to the King himself. The Sons of *Witiza* being so greatly provoked in their passage, began to entertain secret intelligence with him and others, for changing the face of Affairs, and outing *Roderick* of his Government, *Oppa* the Archibishop their Uncle

*Ita fuit  
contra  
Iudeos  
qui  
in  
Gothos  
erant  
et  
contra  
Romanos  
qui  
in  
Gothos  
erant.*

*Opam alii appel-  
lant.*

Sect. 2. cle being conscious, who by his birth and his present great Wealth and Authority could doe much; and their party was increased by many of the Nobility and others, who either desired to be revenged for former injuries, or gaped after Innovation upon the Hope of future profits and advantages.

49. Roderick lying under their disadvantages, and threatened by the danger of such an Alliance and Conjunction, though he could not be so forthil as to be utterly ignorant of his Estate, yet neglected them when he might have suppressed the danger in the beginning. But he was so far from healing the wound by any proper and effectual applications that he widened, and by a fatal Act of lust and violence made it deadly and incurable, provoking his Enemies to put in practice that horrid piece of revenge which hitherto in their minds they had but devised. It was the custome of Spain in those times that the Children of Noblemen were brought up at Court. Their Sons waited on the King at home, and followed him in his Wars, by which means were bred many eminent Captains. Their Daughters in like manner served the Queen, learnt to Sing and Dance, till being fit for Marriage, they were bestowed according to the quality and discretion of their Parents. Amongst them Maids was *Cava*, the Daughter of Count *Julian*, a Virgin of extraordinary Beauty, who, upon <sup>as</sup> sometime as she was playing with her equals, chancing to uncover her Body farther <sup>than</sup> usual, the King then looking out of a Window, desperately fell in Love with her. Nothing else doth he now meditate, on nothing else he looks, and each look doth not alloy, but increaseth his grief, sending fresh darts of lust and fury unto his heart. At length he gets an opportunity, and enjoys her by force, when neither intreaties nor commands, promises nor threats could procure a compliance.

Roderick ravishes the daughter of Count Julian.

Who studying  
revenge.

50. The Maid boiling with the Rage of hatred and revenge, as much as ever he did with that brutish lust, writes to her Father, who was then sent upon some extraordinary Errand into *Africk*, in modest expressions telling him what had happened, and by as pathetic as she could, exciting him to revenge. This was no hard matter to doe, considering how he and his Relations stood formerly affected. He returns speedily into *Spain*, and being an extraordinary Artific in Disimulation, gets him to Court, where he betrays not the least signe of sorrow or regret, but gives his Attendance with as much diligence, and as smooth a countenance as ever; and is admitted to all secret Councils as formerly, somthing out of respect to his own Merits, but much more out of Love unto his own fair Daughter. He takes his time, and infinites to the King, that forasmuch as *Spain* was now in perfect peace, and the *Franks* and *Mors* did often molest the Countries bordering upon them, he would feld all his Horfes and Arms into *Gall* and *Africk*, where they might doe service against the Foreign Enemy, rather than lyde idle and rusting at home. Having perciuaded *Roderick* to doe it, and see the thing performed, he then pretends that his Wife, left by him in *Africk* was there sick, and that nothing but the sight of her Daughter, whom he dearly loved, could recover her. With much adoe he obtained leave for her to crost the Sea, and they took Ship at *Malaca*, where there is an Haven bearing the name of *Cava*, which Tradition will have to have been so called from this Lady. In the mean time *Roderick*, as some were written, by his Coverousines and Curiosity makes preparations for the merriing and hastening of his intended ruine, by opening a certain Palace in *Toledo*, which was made up fawt with the strongest Locks and Irons that could be deviced, because at the opening thereof the Defraction of *Spain* was portended to follow. He could not be brought from believing that vast Treasures by the provident care of the former Kings were there deposited, and his curiositie to fee could not be overcome by the prayers and intreaties of all sorts and conditions of men, who out of Religious respect abhorred the thought of opening the Palace. But no treasure was found therein, only a Chest with a Cloth, whereon were painted the strange and uncouth faces and habits of men, with an Inscription, whereby was signified, that *Spain* should be shortly after conquered by thole to whom such visages and garments then belonged. Both the habits and faces seemed to be those of *Mors*, whereupon the King and Nobles were fully perciuaded, that the mischief threatened was to come from *Africk*, and he too late repented of his unlucky curiositie. Some much contend for the verity of this Story, others contenter it. A third, some say the wifte sort few shew an indifferency both as to the one and the other part.

**Conspires with  
the Moors for  
the Invasion of  
Spain.**

the *Miramamolin* or chief Prince of the whole Nation of the *Saracens*. He tells him a long Story of the unfeaturable Tyranny of *Roderick*, instances in the Sons of *Witiza*, who were in a destitute condition through his ill usage, forced out of their Native Country. He lays open to him the whole State of *Spain*, with the easiness of obtaining it, by which a way would be opened for the Conquest of all *Europe*, to which it stood hitherto as a firm Rampart; in conclusion, he offers if he might have, though a small yet speedy assistance to bring this about, having very many of the Nobility at his Beck, and being Governor on both sides the Straits over which the Forces must be conveyed. The Barbarian was not displeased to hear of Conquering *Spain*, he only doubted of the means to compass it, having the fidelity of a Christian in suspicion. Communicating the Design with the *Miramamolin*, he thought it not amiss to try *Julian* first with an inconsiderable Force, and either supply him with more, or rest there as he should fee occasion, the rather because he had work enough for his men in that large Province. He sent him an hundred Horse and four hundred Foot, which wasting and plundering the borders of the Continent and the Islands, when he saw that the thing succeeded according to his wish, at the farther Instance of *Julian*, and under Conduct of one *Tariff*, surnamed *Abenzarea*, who had but one eye, he Shipped away twelve thousand more in Vessels belonging to Merchants, the better to prevent discovery.

land into the *Vales* of *Algarve*.  
52. With these the said *Tariff* or *Tarac*, the Son of *Atodalla*, feized on the Hill *Calpe*; and hence the City *Heraclæa* standing upon it, received the Name of *Gebalifarri* (now *Gebraltrar*) from *Tariff* and *Gebal*, which in the Arabian Tongue signifieth an Hill; and a Neighbouring Town came to be known by that of *Tariffa*, whereas it was in ancient times called *Tartessus*. *Roderick* understanding the Moors were come over, thought seasonably to suppress them by sending away *Santius* with an Army. But such an Army it was, as from it one might ominously pre-fage what would be the issue of the quarrel. It consisted of the Refuse and Dregs of the People suddenly huddled together, having neither bodies nor minds fit for such a busines, impatient of heat, dust and bad weather, nor at all disciplin'd, wretched Souliders, and fully as wretched Arms and Horfes. This rascally Company coming to face the enemy, in all skirmishes came off still with the worst, and in a total engagement was at length quite baffled and defeated, having lost their leader. \*The Barbarians elevated by the success, quickly wasted *Bætica* and *Lusitania*, taking many Towns, and amongst the rest *Hispalis* or *Sevil*, which by the wife foresight of King *Witzica* had been deprived of its Walls and Fortifications. Having done so great things, *Tariff* and *Julian* return into *Africk*, where they require of *Muza* a greater supply of men, that they might give battel, and in one fight decide the Controversie with *Roderick*. Leaving Count *Reginald* as an Hoffage, they obtain far greater supplies than they had got before, while *Roderick* in the mean time inflamed with the injury and disgrace, prepares warmly to receive them. He Summons in all able to bear Arms, under heavy penalties, the fear of which drew together more than an hundred thousand men, with which multitude meanly armed, and as ill provided of courage and skill, he marched into *Bætica*, and finding the Enemy at a place called *Cæstrianum*, he fate down on the Plain by the River *Letes*.

53. Seven days they spent in Skirmishes, whether to try the Manhood and Resolution of their Souldiers, &c they would venture for the main chance, or because each side watched for some fit advantage. The *Goths*, though necessity put some vigour into them, being to fight for their lives and liberties, yet were again dejected by sad thoughts prelaging the ruin and overthrow of their Kingdom. On the eighth day, which happened to be the Lord's day, the ninth of the Arabian month *Xavel*, the eleventh of November being the Feast of *St. Martin*, in the year of our Lord seven hundred and fourteen, they came to a total Engagement. The King feated in an Ivory Chariot, and cloathed with a Robe of Cloth of Gold, as the custome of the *Goths* was, before they came to join battel, made an Oration to his Souldiers, wherein he used arguments taken from Religion, and the ancient Valour of their Ancestours to make them valiant. *Tariff* was not wanting on the other side by those drawn from Necessity (the Enemy being before them, and the Sea at their backs) and the despicable condition of their oppellors to quicken the appetites of his men after wealth and honour. The *Goths* with Trumpets, the *Moors* with Brazen (or Kettle) Drums begin the fight, which lasts long, and continues dubious all the while. At last when he sees it convenient, *Oppa* revolts according to agreement, and carries all his men over to the Enemy, at which sight the *Goths* were so amazed, A. D. 714  
*S. C. C.* that

**Sect. 2.** that though they now seemed to have drawn fortune to their party, they cast away both their courage and weapons, and being slaughtered on all sides, ran away as fast as they could. The King having discharged the office both of an able Commander, and a valiant Soldier, when he saw all desperate, removed himself out of his Chariot, and mounting an Horse called *Orelia*, got out of the danger, as some say, though his Robe, Crown, and Shoes adorned with Gems being found by the River *Lethe*, others conclude more probably, that he was either drowned or killed in the battel, none knowing ever what became of him. Yet in a City of *Portugal*, called *Viseum*, was long after found a Stone with this Inscription : *Here lies Roderick the last King His jact Rode of the Goths. Curled be the Impius fury of Julian because perniciious, and his Indig- rius, ultimus nation because extravagant. He was mad with fury, fierce with rage, forgot his Alle- Rex Galatiorum, giance, was unmindful of Religion, a Contemner of Divinity, Cruel against himself, a Impius Julian, Murtherer of his Lord, an Enemy of his own Domesticks, a Destroyer of his own Coun- quis pernici- try, Guilty in reference to all. Let his Memory wax bitter in every man's mouth, and Vide fab. Valcam ad A.D. 714.*

54. And well he deserved such a Curse, who to his own particular revenge could once have such a thought as to sacrifice the entire interest of his Countrey. By this one battel were such a multitude of *Goths* destroyed, that Authours are at a los, and can give in no certain account of their Number. It's certain that this one battel stripped *Spain* of all its Ornaments ; that here the Name of the *Goths* was extinct, their Glory in War, the Renown they had got in former Ages quite defaced, and more than this, all hope for the future quite cut off, and that Dominion of theirs subverted, which had now stood for above three hundred years together. Unpeakeable are the miseries which befell the poor Provincials, more miserable than other Conquered People in this respect, that their new Masters were *Moors*, whose Souls, by reason of their *Mahometan* blasphemies, were as ugly and frightfull to them as were their Bodies. But the *Moors*, though with the los of no fewer than sixteen thousand Men, are Conquerours, and now they are so prudent as to enforce the prosecution and improvement of their victory ; such of the *Goths* as escaped from the battel, betook themselves to *Astiga*, a City not far distant, strong in its Walls, and the number of its Inhabitants. The Citizens full of sorrow and desperation, in a confused manner issue forth with them, refolviing to give the Infidels battel, and if possible (who could know but it might be so ?) redeem the liberty of their whole Nation. But the succses did not answr their zeal ; they were defeated as before, and those that escaped, dispersed themselves into such places as they could most conveniently reach, not flaying to see the destruction of their City, which followed its falling into the Enemies hand. Now by the advice of *Jultan* were the Forces of the *Moors* divided into two Parties, whereof one was committed to the Conduct of *Magnodus* a Duke, a Renegado that had abjured the Christian Religion, and the other to *Tariff*, the Captain that first brought them over. *Magnodus* marched to *Corduba*, and easily took it, the Inhabitants being fled to *Toledo*, for a Shepherd conducted his men to a part of the Wall standing near the Bridge, which was not hard to be passed over in the silence of the night, when they had once killed the Sentinels. The Gouverour fortifid himself in the Church of St. George, and held it out three months ; after which flying away, he fell into the hands of the *Moors*, but his men fought it out to the last, refusing to yield.

55. *Tariff* in the mean time wastes all the rest of *Baticea* with Fire and Sword. *Mentesa* he took by storm, and levelled it with the ground. Into *Malaca*, *Eliberis* and *Granata* he put Garrifons. The Gouverour of *Murcia* (then called *Oreola*) was worsted by the *Moors*, but being a very expert Soldier, put all the Women in the Town into Man's Apparel, and placed them on the Walls in such Numbers, that the Enemy thinking him yet very strong, gave him very honourable Conditions. The *Jews* now being confused amongst the *Moors*, had *Corduba* and *Granata* assigned them to inhabit, the Christian Inhabitants being driven into other places. *Toledo*, a City placed in the middle of *Spain*, and by situation impregnable, the seat of the *Gothick* Kingdom was after a Siege of several months taken, but the manner is not agreed on. Some say it was betrayed by the *Jews*, others that it was yielded up on very good conditions, as that such as would continue there might live after their own Religion and Laws, and such as would not, might take what they had along with them. The rest of the Cities, few excepted, specially underwent the like fate with these already mentioned, which done, the Conquerours placed Garrifons where they thought convenient, for bridling the Natives, fastning the new yoke to their Necks, which will they nill they, they must now endure. *Tariff* having

having done his work, brings his victorious Army, glutted with bloud, and even satiated and burthened with wealth, back to *Toledo*, there to pause a little, and consider whether they were not in a dream all this while, for they could scarcely believe that condition to be substantial and real at which they had arrived. Thus was *Spain* in a manner subdued about a year after the Arrival of the *Moors*, and at the same time we find that *Narbon* in the *Gothick Gall* was reduced also by that People.

**Sect. 3.**

### S E C T. III.

*The Dominion of the Saracens, Arabians or Moors in Spain, Contemporary with the Constantinopolitan Roman Empire.*

*From the Conquest of Spain by Tariff the Captain of Ultit Miramamolin, to the Reign of Abdeirakman the Second.*

*The space of One hundred and seven Years.*

*Spain in con-  
fusion.*

1. **T**HE Conquest of *Spain* was so sudden and surprizing, that those whom the Arms of the victorious *Saracens* had not as yet reached, were as men out of their wits, and so besotted with fear, that they knew not how to consult for the good of their Countrey being dispersed abroad, and no one body uniting so as to make any considerable opposition. Particular Towns concerned only for their own safety, chose them Gouverours, for quicker dispatch and more effectual execution committing all things concerning both Peace and War into their hands. These Gouverours being thus absolute within themselves, and acknowledging no Superior abroad, are upon this account termed Kings by some *Hiftal-*

*Meca with a  
strong Army  
causes Spain.*

*Takes Adonia.  
And Carmona.*

*Ratis the Arabian will have these things to have happened after that Meca and Tariff met together at Toledo ; and whereas the other writes that Julian did his busines by counterfeiting a flight of his Soldiers, he saith it was done by men in the shew and countenance of Merchants.*

2. The News of the Conquest flying over into *Africk* was very welcome, but yet not received with such joy by the Gouverours as the greatness of the Enterprize, and the consequence of the thing might seem to have required. *Meca* was glad that so Noble a Province was subdued, especially with so little charge and trouble, and that the Empire of the *Moors* was now propagated into *Europe*, an happiness they had had much more caute to wish, than to expect or hope for. He lik'd well of the thing, but disliked the man. It vexed him above measure that *Tariff* should be the instrument, that he himself should not have had the fortune to carry away the honour and profit of such an undertaking. Disturbed by the Passions of *Covetoufnes*, Ambition and Envy, he paffes over into *Spain* with a fresh Army of *Moors*, confuting, say some, of twelve thousand. Being arrived, he confuted how to carry on the War. Some were for joining with *Tariff*, and finishing with his victorious Forces the remainder, but the fugitive Christians clost with *Meca*, and periuaded him with his own strength to let upon the work. Count *Julian* now it seems being little in favour with *Tariff*, the reward at last of all Traitors and Betrayers of their Countrey being to be scorned and vilified as execrable Creatures by such as set them first on work. On *Adonia* he first made trial of his men, who took it by storm after great los and labour. From thence they removed to *Carmona*, once the strongest Town of all *Baticea*, where toiling a long time to no purpose, *Julian* the Count, who was already too much engaged not to proceed, counterfeited himself a Fugitive ; and being received into the Town, upon that account betrayed it to the Barbarian. This is the account that *Roderick* the Archibishop gives of this Siege. *Ratis the Arabian* will have these things to have happened after that *Meca* and *Tariff* met together at *Toledo* ; and whereas the other writes that *Julian* did his busines by counterfeiting a flight of his Soldiers, he saith it was done by men in the shew and countenance of Merchants.

3. *Hispalus*



Sect. 3. it's uncertain upon what occasion, whether sent for, or of his own accord to wait for a convenient opportunity, of doing something worthy of himself, and the Race of which he was descended: Here as he continued all their Eyes were upon him, and as it happens to a multitude all are ready to Talk, but to be up and be doing they are slow enough. They still stay, and would find some fit and convenient occasion. But while they attend a loitering Convenience, a certain Accident fell out, which put them upon a kind of necessity of Action.

8. *Pelagius* had a Sister more than ordinarily handsome, and of such Deportment as was very Charming; with her *Numysa* (or *Numatia*) a Christian by profession, but Confederate with the *Moors*, and for that reason made by them Governor of the Countrey about *Gegia*, fell in Love, but in respect of the meanness of his Birth and his Humour, which was displeasing to *Pelagius*, he was in no hope of obtaining her for his Wife as he desired. He takes therefore occasion to send her Brother out of the way on a message to *Tariff*, or some say *Maza*, who was not yet returned into *Africk*. He being gone, he married and enjoyed her, which gave not so great content to him, but it as much tormented *Pelagius*, who yet resolved to play the part of a Wife man, and conceal his Indignation, till he could find some opportunity effectually to shew it. At length he conveys away his Sister on a sudden, and carries her to the Borders of the *Astures*, where he knew the People to be of a most propense Inclination to him and his Family. *Numysa* presently took the Alarm, and being the more concerned, because of the los of his Wife, gives speedy notice of it to *Tariff*, who dispatches away some Soldiers from *Corduba*, to suppress the Designs and indeavours of *Pelagius*, before they should come to any Maturity. And very near they were to supressing them, by surprizing his Person altogether as yet unprovided for so great expedition they made. He had only so much timely notice as to make his Escape, but they followed him so close, that he was glad to take the River *Pionia*, over which his Horse having carried him safe to Land, the Pursuers thought him not so great a prize, as to purchase with to manifest a danger of their Lives, and so he got safe to the Valley of *Canica*, which at this day bears the Name of *Canga*. Here he found in little time a great number which gave their Names for the recovery of their Liberty, of which they depaired not by the means of such a General. He advised them that they would Act strenuously and betimes, e'er the Dominion of the *Saracens* shoud by continuance be confirmed, it being as yet tottering by reason of the newness of it. For their Comfort the Garrisons they had put into the Cities were but very slender, all the lately conquered People, where e'er they should come were their Friends; and the Forces of the Enemy were dispersed, most of them being gone over the Mountains into *Gall*. He put them in mind of the Valour and Glory of their Ancestours, and that Death it self was by much to be preferred before the Calamities, which they and theirs now underwent.

Under the Conduct of Pelagius they unite in Order to the recovery of their former State.

And chose Pe-  
lagus for King.

Who is encouraged by Alchama a Captain of the Moors.

9. Though their apprehensions of danger were great, his words did much erect their minds, and he prevailed with them to enter into a Military oath, to undertake and prosecute the War against the *Moors*. By the universal Consent and Suffrages, both of Nobility and People, he was chosen Captain General, and King of *Spain*, in the seven hundred and sixteenth year of our Lord, to which some add two years more or thereabout; so great a matter it is to take hold of opportunity, and not to be wanting to ones self. When all things seemed now to be desperate and beyond humane possibility, to repair the defolate Estate of the late Conquered *Goths*, the Foundation of a lasting Kingdom is laid, by which the *Moors* are in time though long before, again oured of their Possession. *Pelagius* knowing that from the first beginnings and Attempts, men ordinarily take their Grounds for fear or hope, spared no pains to preferre the Majestie of that Title, which he had received. He made many Inroads into the Countrey of the *Moors*, plundering and killing them; as he could conveniently. On the contrary he fortified all the Towns belonging to his new Dominions, relieved such as were in distress, and every way to his power provided for the Ease and Convenience of all his Subjects, sparing no pains; for he had a Body fitted for Labour, his Countenance being martial; rather than beautiful, and all his Limbs every way proportionable. By this time the News of his Motions had arrived at the Ears of *Alchama* a notable Captain of the *Moors*, who came over at first with *Tariff*, and during the War gave many proofs of his Courage and Dexterity in Martial matters. He hastes to supress him, e'er he should complete his numbers, with a very good Army, consisting of both *Moors* and *Christians*; *Oppas* the Bishop of *Toledo* coming along with him, who all the

the way indeavoured by fair words to preferre the Provincials in their Duty and Allegiance toward the Infidels.

10. The noise of *Alchama* his coming grievously disordered *Pelagius* his Army, the *Goths* having again lost that Chearfulness and Alacrity, which their own Medications, and the words of their King seemed lately to have wrought in them, and behaving themselves no otherwise than Slaves, afraid to look their Lords and Masters in the Face. He perceiving their Temper, thought it not fit to expose such a Company of men naked in Body, and unprovided of Courage to certain Ruine, by a formal Engagement, but chose out a thousand stout Soldiers from amongst them, wherewith he possessed himself of a spacious Cave in the Mountain *Asenadat* this day called the Cave of St. Mary of *Comadong*) which he furnished with all things necessary for a Siege, in Case he shoud be discovered, intending thence to make Sallies, and doe what mischief he could by sudden and unexpected Assaults. But he was quickly discovered and pursued to the place of his Retirement, where *Oppas* was first ordered to set upon him with an Oration, for they thought it better to reduce them by fair words, than ingage a desperate sort of People in the Straits. He fought to perfide him to yield, by reasons drawn from the present potent "Fate of the *Goths*", which however it had formerly raised them to a great height, "was now ingaged to tumble them down as low; and if when all was well with them, and the whole strength of the Kingdom wasentire, they could not then make good their Party, how shoud he think to doe it at such a miserable Ebb of Fortune. He speake Contemptibly of their number, and affirmed the Enemy to be "sixty thousand strong. Told him, that Almighty God for the sins of their Nation blinded their minds, not yet satisfied with the Effusion of Blood, which "the late past Actions, and now this rash adventure of theirs sufficiently declared. And he ended with an Exhortation to quit this their stubborn resolution, and prefer Death to Life, or Slavery before Liberty, and the confluence of Honours, Riches, and all other good things, which in the Name of his new Masters he "promised them, if so be they would lay down their Arms, quicke the Mourtaneous places of refuge, and submit to the Conquerours, which doing, they "should therin follow the Judgment, Example and Desire of all *Spain*.

11. " *Pelagius* answered him as he deserved, that the displeasure and Vengeance "of the Almighty was to be feared by him, his Brother *Witiza*, and his Children, "although at present their matters seemed to prosper according to their Wishes. "That by their wickednes the Divine Majesty was provoked, all things sacred "through the whole Province contaminated, and the Laws Sacrofanc'd for their "Antiquity broken and refind. That from these beginnings of *Vilany*, they "came at last to that fury and unheard-of Madnes, as to draw the *Moors* a fierce "and cruel Nation into *Spain*, whence their Nation had received so many overthrows "and such Effusion of Christian Bloud had followed; for which Vilanies if Almighty "God take care of humane Affairs, you must be grievously punished, both alive "and dead, especially thyself, who forgetting the place thou bearest, hast "been the most principal Authour of all these mischiefs, and now by an impudent "Speech, dareft advise us to receive the Yoke upon our Shoulders more grievous "than any Calamity, viz. to undergo again thos Calamities and Hardships, of "which we have had so late experience. These are the wonderfull rewards, these "the Honour to which even now thou invited'st our Soldiers. Know, *Oppas*, we "neither think, that Almighty God hath turned his Ear from, nor is his mind "averse, to us, so as to trust to thy Promises; but we hope he will turn the sharpnes of Punishment into Mercy, as he is continually wont. But in Case we are "not yet sufficiently punished, and he will not deliver us, who pray unto him "and are destitute of defence, we are resolv'd to change these Calamities for "Death, and a most grievous slavery (so we hope) for endles Felicity.

12. When fair words cannot persuade them to yield, rough Deeds and Blows must beat them out of the Hole, wherein so much, though with so little cause, they now confid. Such were the thoughts and resolution of *Alchama*, who Commanded all sorts of Batteries to be made against the mouth of the Cave, but God Almighty whom *Oppas* had injured, by making his Providence as it were serve his ends of Revenge and Malice, so wrought, it's said, for the besieged, that the Stones and Darts shot against them, recoiled upon the heads of the Shooters, and being first preserved in a miraculous manner, in as miraculos a way, they afterward quite defeated their Enemies, of whom very few escaped alive, twenty thousand being killed in the fight and pursuite, and the rest drowned in the River *Dena*, into which

Alchama and his  
10000 destroy'd.

*Sect. 3.* part of the Mountain *Ausena* fell, on which they stood. *Alchama* was slain in the Battel, and *Oppas* was taken Prisoner, and put to such Death, doubtless, as he had deserved, for henceforth we hear nothing of him. *Namufa* confounded at the report of so unexpected a defeat fled from *Gegio*, the Inhabitants he knew to bear him no Good Will, and coming to a Village called *Oalacie*, was there knocked on the Head by the People. About the same time, *Maza* a way of Retaliation was accused to the *Miramamolin*, and being constrained to give an Account of all the Money spent and received in the Spanish War, was made to pay back great Sums he had hoarded up, and died of Grief. *Abdalafis* his Son having governed Spain three years, incurred the heavy displeasure of his Countrymen, for the many Rapes he had committed upon the Wives and Daughters of the Nobility, and was slain in the entry of one of their *Molques*, it's thought by the means and procurement of *Egionia* his Wile enraged at his new Loves so far as to perjuade him to take the Ensigns of Royalty, and pull him on to those Courses, she certainly knew would procure his Ruine. But the Authour of the murther was *Arub* his Kinsman, who governed Spain, for one Month, and, as *Roderick* the Archbisshop writes, built *Carabina*, a Town of good note in *Celisleria*.

*Ulit dies, Zuleiman succeeds as Miramamolin.*

*13.* Not long before this died *Olit* the *Miramamolin*, or chief Prince of the Saracens, and was succeeded by *Zuleiman* his Brother, who sent one *Alabor* into Spain to succeed *Abdalafis*. This *Alabor* was a man exceeding cruel, both to Moors and Christians. The Citizens of *Corduba* he oued of almost all their Estates, and made Inquisition after such as he had defiled themselves with the spoils of a Conquered Nation. From *Sevil* he translatled the Royal seat of the Moors to *Corduba*. The Sons of *Julian* and *Witiza* he suspecketed (or pretended so) of having betrayed the Army at the late defeat received in *Asturia*, and having first spoiled them of their Estates, when they had nothing left them to live on, put them to death, and so completed the revenge of that execrable Treason of betraying Spain into the hands of these wicked Infidels. For *Julian* had received his reward before this time, as is most probable, because he is now no where mentioned, although the manner of his death is not certainly known. But a report hath gone without any considerable Authour, that his Wife was by the Barbarians stoned to death, that his Son was cast headlong from a Tower near to *Oeca*, on the Coast of Africk, and that he himself was committed to perpetual Prison, in a Tower of *Loarres* near to the same place by Command of the Moors, where without the Church of the Castle is shewn his Tomb made of stone. *Roderick* the Archbisshop, and *Lucas Indensis* write that he was slain, and all his Wealth confiscated. And indeed when men consider of so great and dreadfull Vilanies as he committed (and he committed such in betraying Spain, as the Consequence thereof cannot for the weight of it be consider'd sufficiently) they are apt to conclude, without this reflexion, that God's Judgments and ways are Inscrutablen, nay they are unwilling to think, that the Authors came to any peaceable or timely ends.

*Pelagius grows strong in Africca, and other places, in Spain.*

*14.* But to return, and visit *Pelagius*; we find his Interest exceedingly strengthened by the late defeat given to the Moors. For his Authority and Government was not only confirmed in *Asturia*, but multitudes now flocking in to him, who before stood aloof off, expecting the event, with considerable Forces he descended into the Plain, where he plundered and burnt all Towns belonging to the Moors, the Perfons of whom he never spared as they came in his way, and took by Force the City *Legio* (afterward *Leon*) standing at the bottom of those Mountains, which part *Galicia* from the *Astures*. Some are of opinion, that at this time he took the Title of King of *Leon*. But others deny it with greater reason and Testimony of Antiquity, which confirms this truth to us, that *Pelagius* and his Successours were Kings of *Ovetum* only. The Sepulchres of the Kings yet extant at *Ovetum*, and other places in *Asturia* before the time of *Hordonius* the Second, who first called himself King of *Leon* favour this Assertion. That opinion is more worthy of Credit, which will have *Pelagius* now after the taking of *Legio* or *Leon*, to have changed the former Badges or Arms of the *Gothick* Kings, *For a Lyon Rampant Gules in a Field argent* (as we foreooth must blazon, because our Masters the French doe so) which still continues to be the Coat Armour of that Kingdom, and forasmuch as the City, and that *Amall* are both in the Spanish Tongue exprefsed by one Name of *Leon*, the understanding of Arms but Ignorance in matters of Antiquity, have given occasion to grofs mistakes. Within a while after the Conquest *Legio*, besides *Asturia*, *Manflia*, *Tineus* and other Towns in *Galicia* and *Asturia*, were taken from the Moors; *Pelagius* made himself Master also of *Gegio* a City very strong both

both by Art and Nature. Thence some suspect that he and his Successours might be called Kings of *Gegio*, and to might come the mistake of *Legio*, it being very easie to fall into such an error in ignorant times; the Alteration being but of one letter.

*Zuleiman dying Homar and Ixit succeed.*

*15.* Much about this time died *Zuleiman* the *Miramamolin* of the Saracens, having adopted two his Nephews by his Brother *Olit*, viz. *Homar* and *Ixit*. These two were to enjoy the vast Empire of these *Arabians* in *Afa*, *Africk* and *Spain* by equal Right, a thing new and of dangerous Consequence: But it happened well for them, that all danger of Envy and Emulation was prevented by the death of *Homar*, who within a short time followed his Uncle. *Ixit* being Monarch, sent *Homar*, who was the Son of *Melic*, and others *Abraham* and *Azam*, and the Chronicle of King *Alphonbus* mentions him by the Name of *Zama* or *Zamam*. This Moor whatsover was his Name, was a man of great understanding in all things, relating to Peace and War, and being as covetous as any of the rest, laid greater burthenes than ever upon the conquered Cities; nay, if *Rajes* his own Countryman told true, from the *Moors* themselves he exacted the fifth part of all their Goods, under pretence of relieving the poor, but indeed that he might bring them so low, that they might not be able to rife, or doe any thing effectual against him. Being furnished with Treasure, he passed the *Pyrenean* Hills, and having re-inforced *Narbon* with a strong Garrison, laid Siege to *Toulouse* to his Ruine as it proved. For *Eudo* the Duke of *Aquitain* coming upon him, railed the Siege, and killed him with most of his men after he had governed about two years. I hope that survived made choice of one *Abderrahman* to command them, till such time as a new Governor should be ordered them out of *Africk*, which was done as soon as the News of the defeat and Death of the former arrived. Now this new Officer some call *Aza* and *Adba*, and the Chronicle of King *Alphonbus* makes *Zama* the same with him; so that some account these men the same, although one died at *Dertosa*, and other was slain in Battel, as it's said, and some make them several, though both they write were sent by *Ixit* the *Miramamolin*. There is so great Confusion of Names in Authours, relating *Alli Rid.* these Moorish matters, that as *John Valesius* a very diligent and judicious Writer observes, very difficultly can any thing certain be discovered. One grand reason he thinks is, that at the same time there were many Moorish Governors in *Spain*, over which yet one had the Command and over-fight, who had his Seat at *Corduba*, as far as can be gathered from ancient Monuments.

*16.* What we have written concerning him that was killed at the Siege of *Toulouse*, is reported of this new Governor, whom they will have by a Conspiracy of his own men killed at *Dertosa*. He opprest with new and unheard-of Taxes, both Moors and Christians. Caufed a Bridge to be made at *Corduba*, and having made War upon that part of *Spain*, lying near the Mountain *Cauua*, took by force and raced *Turiola*, and was afterward killed after he had ruled *Spain* two years and six months. He left for his Successours, as *Roderick* the Archbisshop tells us, *Ambura*, *Odra* and *Jabea*, so that some think *Spain* was now divided into three parts, or else they must have governed but few months a-piece, but here is such multiplicity and Confusion of Names, as was said, that nothing certain can be picht on. It's more certain, that about this time, *Ixit* the *Miramamolin* dying left *Ifcam* his Brother with *Abderrahman* to succeed.

*Ifcam dying, Ifcam his Brother succeeds.*

*A.D. 724. Imperi Arabum, Scriptores ap. Abderrahman Gal-*

On this Condition he should adopt *Abulisi* his Son for his Heir, which he performed. When *Ifcam* came to be Sovereign, he made *Odalya*, *Hismen*, *Autuma*, *Ablytan* and *Mahomed* his Deputies in *Spain*, the several Governements of whom if they succeeded one another, must have been but of small continuance. For in the seven hundred and thirty first year of our Lord *Abderrahman* was Governor, perhaps the same we not long since mentioned. This man was an excellent Soulelier, but fierce of Nature, and cruel, severe in his place, as well to his own Nation, at this time exceeding vicious, as to the poor distressed Christians. This severity, or rather Tyranical Carriage, procured him many Enemies of both sorts, and amongst the rest, one *Muries* a Commander of the Moors, of great Interest and Courage, found himself so far concerned as to rife against him, drawing into his Alliance the *Gothick Gall*, which truted to the distance of place, the *Corretani* in *Spain*, and *Eudo* the Duke of *Aquitain*.

*17.* This *Eudo* seems to have been a man of great Wifedom and Courage, as any of his time, only one thing he is blamed for, nor as he was a man, but a Christian. To strengthen his interest, he married his Daughter to this *Muries* a *Mahometan*, but the devict proffered as it had defervred. For *Abderrahman* having notice of *Muries* his

Sect. 3.

his purpose, and how the Gothic Gall stood affected, hasted with a competent force to the Borders of Spain, and shut up his Enemy in the City Ceretania, whence not able to escape, nor deliver himself by strong hand, he ended his own Life himself; that it might not be at the Mercy of the Conquerour, which done, the Town yielded, and his head was sent into Africk to the Emperour of the Moors, together with his beautiful Wife now in the flower of her Age, an acceptable present to the Miramolin. Abderrahman elevated with his Success invaded Gall, and proceeded by the Mediterranean Sea, as far as the River Rhone, and laid Siege to Arles the principal City of those parts. Eudo with as great a force as he could compass, came to raise the Siege, but was defeated with so great los as seldom we have read of, manifested by those great heaps of bones which long time were seen before that City. Then turning toward the left, he carried his Victorious Arms through a great part of Gall, and came into Aquitain to be revenged upon, or to brave Eudo his great Enemy at his own Doors.

Gall and Aquitain invaded by the Governor of Spain.

18. Palling the Garonne, he came before Burdigala or Bourdeaux, which having taken, he used with no more Mercy than Angry Conquerours are wont to doe: Not far off he was again encountered by Eudo, as well upon the common Account of Christianity as his private Quarrel, but with the same Success as formerly. Then were over-run these several People the Engolmenses, Petragoris, Sandones and Piidones, and all Christendom self lay at the stake; for who could be imagined to be of sufficient power to oppose and repulse those who had subdued no less than Asfa, and Africk, and the Empire of the once formidable Goths? Many Nations trembled afar off, and some seemed already conquered by the mere fame of their Actions. But there was one Charles Surnamed Martell in France, the Master of the Palace, a subject in Name, but Sovereign in effect, him God Almighty reserved as a Scourge for these Victorious Infidels. Moved by the common danger, but sollicitous for his own House, which being next Neighbour was now almost on fire, he resolved to extinguish this dreadful flame, for which purpose he gathered an Army as strong as he could, out of France, Germany and Austrasia, many of their own accord, giving in their Names to obviate that mischief, by which else they were sure to perish. With these he marched to Tours, where he passed the River Loire, that having it on his back he might not be incompanied by the numerous forces of the Enemy.

Carrying all before him.

Is at length encountered by Charles King of the Franks.

19. The Infidels excelled in numbers, the Christians in their cause and Military Skill. Eudo now like a good Christian forgot the Injuries he said he received from Charles, and preferring the publick Good before his private Respects joyned with him, and gave him great Assitance in the Battel, though as to the thing that moved him to doe it Authors differ. The French Writers tell us, that by the Invitation of Eudo himself, the Moors came into Gall, and that when the Infidels had invaded his Dukedom, and so perfidiously broken the League they had made with him, out of revenge he changed his mind. Herein the ancient Historians of Spain are silent, but the later take Eudo's part, though they will certainly affirm nothing, charitably believing that though his Principality was in Cantabria, and he held but Aquitain in way of Dower, yet because he had lately fought no less than two Bloody Battels against the Moors (to which we shall add that he was engaged with Muries his Son-in-Law against Abderrahman) he did not invite them into Gall, nor changed his mind upon account of the Breach of any League he made with them. However it was, his coming was seasonable. The Moors were no fewer than four hundred thousand, many having brought with them their whole Families allured by the report of the Pleasants and Fertility of Gall, there to inhabit. The Armies being joyned, the Victory for a long time remained doubtful, but at length the multitudes of the Mahometans gave way to the Valour of the Christians, who got the day.

Who defeats the Mahometans.

20. Of the Infidels were slain no fewer than three hundred and sevety five thousand, and Abderrahman amongst the rest, which added to the joy conceived for the victory. And well might the joy be great, considering the effects and fruits of it; no les than the prefaration of the Christian Name and Interest, and an evident proof that this People of the Moors, how terrible soever they had hitherto been, might be overcome. The number of the slain on the Christian side amounted to a thousand and five hundred, a los greater, in respect that those that were slain were of the best Families, and most valiant Perfons, in respect of the quality, rather than the quantity of the men. Amongst those that did worthily, none surpassed Eudo, by confession of Charles Martell himself, and by his coming in and fal-

Killing their Leader among the rest.

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## CHAP. II. Contemporary with the Conf. Roman Empire. Ifcam.

509

Abdellmelic Governor of Spain.

ling upon the Rere in the heat of the Fight the victory principally was obtained. But such was the succes of the Christians against the Mahometans, in the seven hundred and thirty fourth year of our Lord, and the one and twentieth after the los of Spain. Into the Office of Abderrahman was preferred one Abdellmelic who governed Spain four years, and was famous for nothing but the vertues proper to those of his place, viz. Cruelty and Covetousnes; and herein he had the advantage of the rest, that whereas his Predecessours had pilled and rifled a State that was already down, and at the lowest ebb of fortune, he by his Rapines checked it now when it was about to revive and make some progres towards its former flourishing condition. He was commanded to make some attempt upon Gall, which as he was about to doe, he lost many men at the Straits of the Pyrenæan Hills, and remembering the fate of his Predeceſſor, fairly retreated.

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A. D. 734.

21. About the same time (some say the seven hundred thirty fifth, others the thirty seventh of our Lord) died Pelagius the new titular King of Spain at Canica, and was buried at a Monastery near at hand of his own building; where his Wife Ganicia, by name also was interred. His Son Favila succeeded him without any opposition, for his Father's sake, not his own merits. He reigned but two years, and during those most unlike his father. He preferred his own pleasure before the Publick profit, spending his time in a mock war against wild Beasts when he shoud have been exercized in a serious hostility against the Enemies of his Country, and in such a sort of battel died, not by the hand of a noble Gallant enemy, but by the teeth of a Savage wild boar which he too hotly and rashly pursued. He being dead without issue, according to the last will of Pelagius, Alfonus and Ormisinda were declared Kings with universal content and applause of the People. Alfonus was the Son of Peter Duke of Calabria, sprung from the Noble blood of King Ricared. He had commanded Forces during the Reigns of Egica and Witiza when young, and of late brought a stout band of Cantabrians, and joyning himself with Pelagius had done excellent service against the Saracens, whereupon he gave him his Daughter Ormisinda to Wife, and from this marriage have the Kings of Spain proceeded in an unquestionable line; Son from Father, as writes Mariana. He was a man of excellent Parts most fit for government, a great States-man, and an excellent Soldier, well arm'd against adversity, but to be admired for his rare felicity and success in all his undertakings, and very religious, whereupon he had the firname of Catolick, a Title formerly given to Ricared his Anceſſor for his renouncing the Arian Tenets, by the Synod then held in his City of Toledo.

Alfonus Toto:  
tus, & alii.

22. About this time died Eudo the Duke of Aquitain, whose Dominions in Gall Sons Aznar, Hunbold and Vaifer or Gaifer, sensible of the injury, and as Heirs to the Original of their Father's Courage as well as his Territories, presently take Arms. Aznar makes an Expedition in those parts of Spain which border upon the Vascos, where Aragon.

he takes the City Jaua, with many other Towns from the Moors, and gives Origin to the People and Kingdom of Aragon, which some derive from the River Aragoe, which running through these Countries, joins it self with Ega, though others will have it framed of Taracon, whence the Taraconian Province was so called. Hunbold and Gaifer pass the Rhone, and with great Terror invade Gall, sparing nothing that Fire or Sword could destroy, not fucking Babes, nor such as Age had placed more than half in the Grave already. The Allobroges they harassed most cruelly, and Vienna being with much adoe kept from them, they pierced into the more inward Parts of Gall. Not content with what they could doe themselves, they join with Mauritius, the Count of Marcellis, and all three to do mischief to Martell, once again call in the Moors, who were ready enough to come uncalled; the last knock that they got not having so smarred, but that their longing after so pleafant a Country made them quickly forget the pain. By this time one Aucapa had succeeded Abdellmelic in the Government of the Moorish Spain, after he was accused of ill administration, and in Bonds constrained to plead his Caule by a certain Noble man of that Nation, and a man most zealous of their superstitution. Aucapa, by the affiance of Mauritius, took the City Avinon, and miserably wasted all the Countrey about it, which happened five years after the Defeat at Tours, in the first of the Reign of King Alfonus. The Countrey was indeed very much wasted and distressed by the Conjunction of these Great ones; but by the extraordinary Valour and Conduct of Martell, all was again recovered; Avinon and Narbon both recovered, and scarcely any thing left either to the Moors or Goths in Gall.

Aucapa Governor of the Moorish Spain.

23. In

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23. In *Africk*, at this time, were as great Disorders carried on with more tumult and pertinacious wilfulness. One *Belgus Alcembixius*, a Duke of great Interest amongst the *Moors*, raised a Rebellion against *Iscam* the *Miramamolin*, for what reason we know not; but probably whatever was pretended, moved by the common motive of Ambition. Many battels were fought, wherein he being often Victour, crossed over into *Spain*, which then was again governed by *Abdelmelic*, whom his Adversary *Acapa* upon his death-bed had ordered to be let out of prison. *Belgus* not farry *Acapa* upon his death-bed had ordered to be let out of prison. *Belgus* not long after his Inlargement arriving in *Spain*, had sent before him *Abderrahman* with a strong band of men, who drove him into *Corduba*, and there taking him alive, miserably tortured him to death to satiate his malitious mind. In the same year, which was the forty third, or the eighth Age, died *Iscam* the *Miramamolin*, after he had reigned nineteen years, a Prince renowned for the valnies of his Empire, and his great success, but so excessive covetous, that he omitted no way of scraping wealth together, excelling in riches all his Predecessours. For this reason he was hated by several of the Provinces, that they refused to pay him obedience for the space of four years, during which time, notwithstanding all the force he used, he could not reduce them into order. But to see the extent of his Dominions, we shall present the Reader with an Account of the Provinces subject to him and the *Mahometan* superstition, as we have it from *Rodericus Ximenius* the Archibishop of *Toledo*, who wrote the History of those *Arabians*. He begins with *Iconia*, the Metropolis whereof was *Iconium*; then follow *Lytria*, whose Metropolis was *Lytria*; *Alapia*, that had a Metropolis of its own name; *Chaldea*, whose Metropolis was once *Babylon*, but then destroyed; *Assyria*, the Metropolis being *Ninive* of old; *Media*, the Metropolis of which was *Ecbatane*; *Hyrcania*, whose Metropolis was *Atthiolas*; *Persia*, its Metropolis being *Susa*; *Melopotamia*, the Metropolis of which was *Aram* or *Carra*; *Syria* the upper, with its Metropolis *Damascus*; *Cœlo Syria* or *Phoenicia* with *Tyre*; *Syria* the Inferior with *Antioch*; *Judea* with *Jerusalem*; *Ægypt* with *Alexandria*; *Arabia* the Greater with *Baldac* its Metropolis; *Æthiopia* with *Nadaver*; *Africk* with *Carthage*; *Spain* with *Toledo*. All these Provinces paid with Nadaver; *Africk* with *Carthage*; *Spain* with *Toledo*. All these Provinces paid the *Seçt* and *Sword* of *Mahomet* subdue. Sometimes also *Sicily*, whose Metropolis was *Panormus*; and *Calabria*, whose ancient Metropolis was *Rhegium*, part of *Apulia*; *Gallia Gotica*, whose Metropolis was *Narbon*; and the *Vascones*, the Metropolis of which were *Auxia* and *Bourdeaux*. So vast was grown the Empire and Rule of those Sons of *Ishmael*, the History of which it's a great pity, we have little farther than as it concerns Christian Affairs.

*Abulit* succeeds. 24. To *Iscam* succeeded *Abulit*, surnamed the *Fair*, the Son of *Iair*, with greater applause than success, as the Sequel shewed. In *Africk* he was sorely put to it by the Arms of *Belgus*, and in *Spain* by *Doran*, one of the Complices of that Rebel. Against *Doran* was sent *Albulcator*, in the beginning of the Reign of *Abulit*, who much appeased the Country, fending the greatest part of the Mutineers into *Africk*, under pretence of supplying the force of that Province. But within a short time the *Moors* rose up against him, and he was slain by the means and procurement of one *Zimael*; which done, they advanced one *Roba* the chief Favourer and Assistant of *Zimael* into his place, who lived not long to enjoy his Usurped power, being slain by the contrary Faction slain with a greater Number of his followers. About the same time dies *Abulit* the *Miramamolin*, or Sovereign of the *Arabians* in their Hundred, and twenty seventh year, according to *Roderick* the Archibishop, which fell into the seven hundred and forty fourth year of our Lord, and was succeeded by *A. D. 744.* *Ibrahim* his Brother with as bad success. For *Maroan*, another *Arabian* of the *Hamedian* family confpired against him and murdered him in his Palace, when he had reigned little more than one year. In his time *Toba* governed *Spain*, but dying within a year, all the Senate of the Palace of the *Arabians* (as our Authour words it) made choice of one *Juzeph* (or *Tuceph*) to succeed him. He was a very old man, and as it is familiar to old age, was highly covetous; but what is not familiar, was also infamous for lust, whereby he obliterated the glory of his former Actions; and was to contemptible, that the *Spaniard* *Moors* role in Rebellion against him. During his Reign were seen at *Corduba* three Suns, a sight which mightily disturbed the ignorant people, which under foot not the Philolophy of a thick and opaque Cloud, and shapes of men were seen carrying Forks in their hands. This might portend the Invasion of *Angli*, by the depredations of whom the Borders of *Spain* were afflicted with a dreadfull Famine, as also the Tumults and Wars which shortly after beset the *Moors* in *Africk*.

*Belgus Abi.  
Roderico Tid.  
Hist. Arabum  
cap. 12.**Roderico Tolera.  
n. Toba, alii  
Toba.**Al. Toba &  
Toba.**Al. Juzeph, Ju-  
zeph Arabius,  
quem nos juzeph  
plum appellamus.**Roderico Tid.  
Hist. Arabum  
cc. 27, 28.*

## CHAP II Contemporary with the Conq. Roman Empire. Abdalla.

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Sect. 3. 25. For *Abdalla* descended of the most Noble Family of the *Alavescins*, looking but is slain by upon *Maroan* no otherwife than as an Usurper, conspired against him, which he underlaiding, with the publick treasures fled from his Palace into *Libya*, there to prepare himself for War. *Abdalla* fearing nothing, by perfusion of the Nobility was Inagurated, and sent his Uncle *Zali* with an infinite number of *Arabians* and *Perfians* against *Maroan*, who pursued him from place to place, for he had to ill treated the *Saracens* in his Government, that no where could he find any shelter. At length passing the *Nile*, in a place by them called *Azan* or *Azimum*, they came to an Engagement with missile weapons, which lasted for two days, and on the third was *Maroan* slain, with many of his followers. Now *Roderick* the Archibishop tells us, that from *Mahomet*, till these times, the *Arabians* on both sides the Seas were governed by one Sovereign Prince, whom he calls their *Amiramomen*, and that those that were descended from the family of *Benelabec*, deposed or drove from the Sovereignty such as drew their Pedigree from that of *Abenhamay*, and endeavoured utterly to destroy them. These Families of *Hamay* and *Alabeci* came of the two Daughters of *Mahomet*, whence arose the emulation and discord betwixt them. Others reported that *Mahomet* had but one Daughter called *Fatima*, which married *Alabriatelep*, the Scribe or Secretary of *Mahomet*, who reigned the fourth in order from him four years and eight days; and it's said, that from him and *Fatima* proceeded these two Potent and Contending Families.

26. But, in the mean while, *Alfonsus* (that we may see how the lately revived Kingdom of the *Goths* prospers) made good use of the differences and confusions amongst the *Moors*, enlarging his Kingdom by Arms, which hitherto had been very narrow. He had the better opportunity to doe it, because the Christians which inhabited amongst the *Saracens* were to weary of their new Lords, that esteeming death better than that unpropitable bondage they underwent, they thought fit to venture and try whether they could both prevent the one and shake off the other, by betaking themselves to him, and fighting under so hopeful and encouraging a General. In *Gallicia*, *Lucas*, *Tuda* and *Asturia* were recovered; in *Lusitania*, *Portus Cale* (which standing upon the mouth of the River *Duris*, afterward changed the Name of *Lusitania* into *Portugal*) *Pax Julia*, *Bracara*, *Viseum*, *Flavia*, *Blerifa* and *Sentica*, which two last Cities are now known by the Names of *Ledejma* and *Zamora*. Besides these he reduced *Septimanie*, *Domina*, *Miranda*, *Segobia*, *Abula* and *Seputeda* standing at the foot of the Hill *Oropeda*, and upon the bank of the River *Durato*, a Town strong by its natural site, formerly called *Segobriga*, being a *Municipium* of good esteem. Carried by the same course of victory into remote Parts, he conquered some Towns amongst the *Vandalis*. Amongst the *Vascos*, *Pampolo*, and in *Cantabria* that part which is now called *Alava*, although the various fortune of War in following times carried back again most of these Cities to the *Moors*, by reason of erecting of their Kingdom of *Corduba*, begun in those times to the great damage of Christianity, and afterward to its greater detriment carried on and enlarged. Thus much did *Alfonsus* doe for the recovery of the ancient Possessions of the Christians; but some would have him doe more than he did, writing that by force of his Arms all *Cantabria* was conquered and recovered from the *Moors*; wherefore it may evidently appear from more ancient Monuments, that the *Moors* never came beyond the place commonly called the *Rock with the Hole* by the *Cantabrians*. At length he died in the seventy fourth year of his *A. D. 757.* Age, and the nineteenth of his Reign, in the seven hundred and fifty seventh year of our Lord, and was buried where he died, viz. at *Canica*. By his Wife *Ormifinda* he had four Sons, *Froila*, *Bimaran*, *Aurelius* and *Uenda*; and one by a Concubine named *Mauregatus*. He had a Brother, *Froila* by name, happy and famous for nothing so much as that he was Father to *Aurelius* and *Veremund*.

27. To *Alfonsus* succeeded his Son *Froila*, according to his Birth-right, and the defires of the People, a Prince whom one can hardly call either Good or Bad, so mixt, it's said, was his Government, and his Actions different. By nature he was fierce, rigid in his manners, and by his flatterers put upon such courses as they called wholeomely severe, but others could not but mark them with the name of Cruel. Amongst his good deeds he is commended for founding the Noble City *Onutum* in *Asturia*, the prafe of which some erroneously ascribe unto his Father. The liberty of Marriage brought in by *Witiza*, he took away, for which some think him worse spoken of than he did deserve. For in Military matters, though he did not equal, yet he seems to have imitated his Father. In the seconf year of his reign, *Juzeph* the *Moorish* Governor having invaded the borders of *Gallicia* with a

Then Ibrahim,  
who is murthered  
by *Maroan*  
the usurper.Defeats *Juzeph*  
the *Moorish* Go-  
vernor.

vast

Sect. 3. vast Army, he met and gave him battel and defeated him, fifty thousand men perishing in the place; no Age knew a greater victory, nor more seafonable for the Interest of Christianity. This overthrow was not more seafonable for the Christians, than convenient for the design of *Abderrahman*, who being of the family of *Huney*, and forely perfecuted by *Abdalla*, him that had lately brought the Sovereignty to the House of *Alabezi*, and by all means endeavoured to root out the whole stock of the contrary faction, fled into *Spain*, where for the favour they bore to his Family, for the many good offices his Ancestours had done to the Countrey, he was kindly received. Only *Juseph* opposed him, and gathering an Army, met him in the field, but was defeated, and fled to *Toledo*. *Malaca*, *Astidona* and *Sevil* had before this yielded to *Abderrahman*, and now he laid Siege to *Bela*. *Juseph* privately stole away to *Corduba*, where making no long stay, he passed to *Granata*, and there *Abderrahman* got him into his hands. But using him, it seems, too mercifully, from *Corduba* he fled to *Emerita*, where getting together nigh twenty thousand men, he made Incursions into the Territories belonging to the Friends of *Abderrahman*, till by a stronger force he was restrained, and driven to *Toledo*, where thinking himself in security, he was slain. The Town quickly yielded to *Abderrahman*, who by universal consent of the *Mooris*, began a Kingdom at *Corduba*, to which they all subjected themselves without any dependence upon, or duty acknowledged to, any other *Miramamolin* or Potentate whatsoever. This New Kingdom, *Roderic* *Tobed* by the means of this *Abderrahman Abenbumea*, surnamed *Adabil*, began in the hundred and forty second year of the *Arabians*, in the seven hundred fifty ninth A. D. 759.

*Abderrahman* begins a *Morish* Kingdom at *Corduba*.

Is beaten by *Froila*.

Who is murde-  
red.

*Aurelius* chosen  
in his place.

28. Against this New *Morish* King, *Valentia*, a City of the *Edetani*, in the *Tarracan* Province, was the only place that stood out, and refused to acknowledge his Jurisdiction. But ever long it found reason to yield, and whereas some of his own Nation rebelled against him, he had the good fortune to suppress the Rebellion, and animadverted upon the principal offenders by several sorts of exemplary punishments. The Barbarian cleared by so great felicity, made War upon the People of *Galicia*, and laid Siege to *Pax Julia*, a place of *Portugal*, at this time called *Beja*. But he had to doe with one in those places, who knew as well to keep, as he to get, viz. *Froila*, by whose victorious Arms he was repulsed, as well as all the Mutineers which possibly held intelligence with him. For *Froila* by the same course of felicity reduced to obedience the Inhabitants of *Galicia*, as also the Rebellious *Vascons*, in which expedition he married *Menina*, some call her *Momera*, the Daughter of *Endo* Duke of *Aquitain*, and Sister to *Aznar*. Thus he proceeded, and might be ranked amongst great and good Princes, but that he blemished all by cruelly murthering his Brother *Bimaran*, a Prince beloved by the People for the beauty both of his Body and Mind, with his own hand, though probably he might not want provocation. Indifferent persons suspect there might be Ambition in the case, and that those whom the King's severity alienated from him, might push on *Bimaran* to some dangerous attempt. Whatever the cause was, he could not wath away with all he could doe, the crime of reputed Paricide, being ill thought and spoken of, both alive and dead upon this account, although to redeem his credit he adopted *Veremund* for his Successour, the Son of his slain and lamented Brother. But this would not doe the work, whatever he did was either ill done or ill taken, so that running out of one fault and inconvenience into another, he was killed at last at *Canica*, and was buried at his *Onetum*. He reigned eleven years, five months and twenty days, as some ancient Histories relate, although *Roderick* the Archibishop gives to his Reign no fewer than thirteen years complete.

29. *Froila* by his Wife *Menina* had a Son named *Alfonso*, and a Daughter called *Ximena*. But *Aurelius* who flew him to revenge the death of *Bimaran* (his Brother or Cousin, it's uncertain, for some make *Aurelius* the Son of *Froila*, *Alfonso* his Brother) by consent of the Nation was made King in the seven hundred sixty eighth year of our Lord. He reigned six years and as many months, being famous for no great matters performed. He suppressed indeed the Slaves, which now trusting to the confusion and uncertainty of the times, rebelled. But the fame of this Action, and more than this could not equal the dishonour he got by the League which he made with the *Mooris*, by virtue whereof he was to pay a yearly tribute of Virgins to those Infidels. The terror of *Abderrahman*'s Name was so great, that it frightened them into this compliance, left he, a man very fierce and active, should bring all his strength against their weak and scarcely settled Kingdom. *Aurelius* having no children (it doth not appear he had any Wife) gave his Sister *Adofinda* in marriage

\* *Albaschensis*  
*Codex*; *Aliud*  
*Chronicon perenni-*  
*quum & Historia*  
*Compostellana*.

† *De Reb. Hisp.*

*Ilib. 4. c. 62*

## CHAP. II. Contemporary with the Conft. Roman Empire. Ifsem.

Next *Silo* is made King, who takes *Alfonso* the Second for his Partner.

*Alfonso* reigns alone.

30. After *Silo*'s death, *Alfonso* was confirmed in the Government, the People having forgot his Father's faults, which his own and excellent demeanour had in a great measure also covered. Only *Mauregatus* his Uncle (and that by a Concubine) found himself concerned, alledging that he himself was nearer in blood to the former Kings, and there wanted not some Male-contents, who flattered him with continual suggestions that he was injured. But finding not strength enough at home, he betook himself to the *Moors*, and to get assistance from them, offer'd, that in case they made him King, to pay them a yearly Tribute of fifty Noble Virgins, and as many out of the inferior sort. These Infidels being a people above all others given to leachery, to gratify their lust, and out of Ambition to have a Christian King, their Tributary, granted his request, and by permission of their King an Army was levied, which *Alfonso* finding himself unable to resist, being as yet unfefted in his place, gave way to fortune and his Competitor, and returned into *Cantabria*, being now twenty five years old, hoping there to find good friends, by reason of his Mother's kindred. *Mauregatus* then obtained the Throne, and was eminent for nothing but the dishonesty and filthiness of his manners, wherein having spent five years and six months, he then left this world, and was buried at *Pravia* in the seven hundred and eighty eighth year of our Lord. In the same year died *Abderrahman* King of the *Mooris* at *Corduba*, having reigned nine and twenty years, and adorned that City with an excellent Castle, rarely contrived Gardens, and such a Mosque, as being now turned into a Cathedral-Church for its beautifull Structure, multitude and variety of Pillars seem miraculous. He left eleven Sons and nine Daughters. Of the Sons, the eldest *Zuleman* he had made in his life time Governor of *Toledo*, and *Tolosano Hispan*, *Alfonso Regi* *ca. Ratis* *Imperii*, at his death appointed him his Successour. But *Ifsem* his second by his presence at *Corduba*, having got the opportunity of Cajoling the People, set up for himself, and what he juyly or unjustly got, in the same manner kept and preferred.

31. Against *Zuleman* he so stoutly defended himself, that he forced him to fell his Pretensions for sixty thousand *Aurei* and to go into *Africk*, as did his other Brother *Abdalla*, with whom he also compounded, after he had made an Infurrection.

Having conquered all opposition, he lengthened out his Reign to seven years, seven months and seven days. To *Mauregatus* succeeded *Veremundus*, though upon what title is not agreed, for Authors differ about his Genealogy, some making him the Son of *Bimaran*, who was killed by his Brother *Froila*, and others of *Froila* the Brother of *Alfonso* the Catholic, which seems most probable, being most approved by learned men, and attested by the Chronicle, which hath gone under the Name of *Alfonso* the Catholic. He reigned three years and five months, and of his Wife *Numilo* (or *Uzenda*) begat two Sons *Ramir* and *Garsias*; but forasmuch as he was in Orders, and a Deacon, he is said afterwards to have abstained from her company. Otherwife she was a modest and temperate man, by confession of such as were against his marriage, of a peaceable spirit, neither by art nor nature fit for Arms. But herein his care for the Publick appears, that being not fit himself for busyness, he chose for his Colleague such an one as to whom those things were most proper, viz. *Alfonso* his Kinsman, whom *Mauregatus* had banished into *Cantabria*, solemnizing his Inauguration or Restitution on the nineteenth day of *July*, in the seven hundred ninety first year of our Lord. *Alfonso* after this governed a long time, and was second to none for his perpetual felicity, his Clemency, Munificence, his Religion and his Skill in matters relating to War.

32. The hope of this his Skill was much confirmed by the victory he obtained over the *Mooris*, in the third year after his Restitution. For whereas by virtue of the agreement made by *Mauregatus*, such a Number of Christian Virgins was yearly to be delivered to them as a Tribute, he abhorring it as a most wicked thing, when for want of payment they made Inroads into the Countrey, he met and gave them battel at a Town called *Ledes*, where they received to total a defeat, than seventy thousand men were slain, and his Subjects now began to lift up their heads

*Sect. 3.* as freed from bondage. For the Moors were hereby so weakned, that having work made them elsewhere, they had no opportunity or power to revenge the loss; the *Vascons* putting them to it on one hand, and the Arms of *Charles the Great*, who now began to grow famous, much molesting them on the other; so that by one means or other they lost many Towns upon the Borders. This caused *Iffem* the *Miramamolin*, to send away *Abdelmoic* a Captain of great Note, to restore his Interest in those Quarters, who retook *Geranda* and *Narbon*, whence he had Slaves to help to perfect the structure of the *Mosque* at *Corduba*. He caused another Bridge to be built to the Castle in that City. He first of all the Moorish Kings used three thousand of Renegado Christians as a Guard, and had constantly two thousand Eunuchs that followed his Court. He died in the seven hundred and ninety fifth year of our Lord, leaving *Alhaca* his Son his Successour, who Reigned six and twenty years, ten months and fifteen days, being a Prince of great prudence, Justice and Liberality as can be imagined amongst that People. And to him we ascribe the Guard of five thousand men, Apotheate Christians and Eunuchs, which others say, was first raised by his Father.

*Veremund dies  
muring Alfonius  
the Monarch*

*A Rebellion a-  
mongst the  
stars.*

33. In the mean time died *Veremund*, and was buried at *Onetum*, where the Monuments of him and his Wife were seen long after. Then did *Alfonius* govern alone, and abstaining from the imbraces of his Wife, *Bertha*, obtained the Surname of the Chaste. His former Glories were within a little while forgotten, at least so he thought, by a Clandestine Marriage of his Sister *Ximena* to *Sandius*, or *Sandius* the Count of *Soldania*; from which Marriage proceeded *Bernard*, who had the Surname of *Carpensis*, and is much celebrated for his great Atchievements by the Writers of the *Spaniæ Story*. *Alfonius* for all his Virtue could not bear such an Indignity offered to his Family, but calling the Count to *Leon*, upon pretence of the Assembly of the Estates, he was accused of Treafon, and having his Eyes put out, was condemned to perpetual Prison, there to bewail his own Ambition, or rather the Cruelty of the King. *Semena* was constrained to go into a Monastery; but the Infant well provided for, bringing him up with as much Care and Respect, as if he had been his own Son. In the mean time the Moors could not be quiet amongst themselves. *Zuleman* and *Abdalla* the Uncles of the new King grudged him his preferment, and left nothing undone to remove him from it. Some say, that *Abdalla* craved aid of *Charles the Great*, who sent his Son *Ludovicus* to assist him, and that the Army of the *Franks* pierced into *Spain*, as far as *Oca*. Others write, that both the Brothers at this time came over out of *Africk*, *Abdalla* having by connivance of the Citizens first feized upon *Valentia*, and then sent for the other. Making frequent Irruptions into the Country, they made great waſte round about, and at last had the Boldness to give Battel to *Alhaca* the *Miramamolin*, who had the good Fortune after great Effusion of Bloud, to get the Victory. *Zuleman* was slain in the Battel: *Abdalla* escaped to *Valentia*, where ſeriously conſidering of his Affairs, thought it best to be quiet, and made Peace with his Nephew on this Condition, to have ſuch an allowance as might maintain him according to his Quality. To the King he ſent his Sons, who ued them with great Respect as his Cousin *Germans*, and to one of them he Married his Sister. These things happened in the fifth year of the Reign of *Alhaca*, in the hundred and eighty fourth of the *Arabians*.

34. These disturbances amongst the Moors, made well for *Alfonius*, who had thereby opportunity to strengthen and enlarge his Kingdom. Some Writers now relate, how by the Afſtance of *Charles the Great* he recovered *Olippo*, or *Lisbon* the principal Town of *Lusitania* out of their hands, as also *Barcelona*; and that *Alfonius* ſent to *Charles* a very ſplendid Embaffy, the Embaffadours being *Fruela* and *Bafilius*, who carried with them a rich Preſent of Horſes, Arms and Slaves, beſides a Pavillion of admirable ſize and Workmanſhip, the ſpoils of the conquered City of *Lisbon*. But ſuch Writers as tell theſe ſtories, are \*Strangers concerned for the Honour and Reputation of *Charles*, the *Spaniæ* Historians being herein wholly ſilent. *Barcelona* indeed in theſe times, was by *Charles the Great* taken from the Moors, and twice was *Lisbon* freed from the Tyranny of the Moors, and each time *veri*. The thing was done by an *Alfonius*. But this was long time after, viz. it was first taken by *Alfonius* the fifth, who also recovered *Toledo*, about the one *oder Alba*, & *versus* *Chronicon apud Job. Vofsum ad* thousand and ninety third year of our Lord, and again by *Alfonius Henricus* the first King of *Portugal* about fifty years after. That it was taken by *Alfonius* the Chafe, (for no other *Alfonius* lived in the time of *Charles the Great*) is no where to be found in any *Spaniæ* Monument of Antiquity. This we find conſtantly

*The Original of  
the Catalans  
whence.*

flantly reported, that *Charles the Great* was more than once in *Spain*: First immediately after his Father's death, ſolicited by *Ibnabala the Moor*, with hope of taking *Spain* from that People, and at this time they will have him to have made himſelf Maſter of *Pompeſona*, which he diſmantled at his retreat after that he had ſettled *Ibnabala* King of *Saragofa*. In his return, as he paſſed the Straits of the Pyrenean Mountains, he was ſet upon by the *Vascons*, and with the losſ of his Treasures, and many men, returned with ſmall Reputation into *Germany*. He had *Gerunda* and *Barcino* put into his hands by the Moors, and thence came the Counts of *Barcelona* and the Original of the *Catalans*, the *Cathelani*, who lived formerly about *Tolouſe* now coming and planting themſelves in this part of *Spain*. For as for their Opinion, who make *Catalanum* a word compounded of *Goths* and *Alans*, and theirs who derive it from *Catalo* a Goverour of *Aquitain*, at ſuch time as *Charles Martell* feized on that Dukedom, and oued the Sons of *Eudo*, they ſeem improbable to Learned men.

35. A certain French Authour hath written, that *Charles* after a little time having taken *Narbo* from the Moors returned again into *Spain*, and made himſelf *Mariannus*, de *Rebus Hisp. l. 1.*

Maſter of that which hath the Name of old *Catalauſia* amongst the *Cretani*, and *c. 1.* gave the Moors Battel in that Valley, which afterward received a Name from him. Others add that he came into *Spain* again, to view the Body of St. James, which they ſay was now found at *Campofella*, and that the Prelate of that place, by his Order and Command, was made Primate over the rest of the Churches of *Spain*; Stories that have no Foundation in Antiquity. After this he went to *Rome*, where by means of *Leo* the Bishop, he was ſaluted *Augustus* or Emperor, as we flew at large in its proper place; and then again returning into *Germany*, they thence bring him into *Spain* upon this occaſion. *Alfonius* being now old, and tired with the tedious War, he had conſtantly with the Moors, wherein his Succels anſwered not his great pains and Travel, invited *Charles* into *Spain*, to whom he offered the Succession in his Kingdom, as a reward, he himſelf having no Children. *Charles* the French King in- with the tedious War, he had conſtantly with the Moors, wherein his Succels anſwered not his great pains and Travel, invited *Charles* into *Spain*, to whom he offered the Succession in his Kingdom, as a reward, he himſelf having no Children. He, although he was alſo ſtricken in years, yet deſigning *Spain* to *Bernard* the Son of his deceaſed Son: *Pipin* whom he had already made King of *Italy*, refuſed not the terms, but with a great power of men, began his march, not doubting to carry all before him, when the Councils of both the Princes, as it's hard to conceal the purpoſes of ſuch Expeditions, were betrayed. The Nobility of *Spain* preſently began to exclaim, they ſhould never endure to be ſubjeſt to the *Franks*, an infantile Nation, and Cruel, for thereby they ſhould not ſhake off the yoke they underwent, but onely change for an heavier. Every one muttered theſe things in private, yet none publicly dared to reſift the King's intentions, till *Bernard* Sirnamed *Carpensi* his Nephew, a man whose Bloud boyled in his veins, and the more by reaſon of the hope, he had hitherto had of his Uncle's good Inclinations towards him, offered himſelf as Captain to all that would follow him; and then began *Alfonius* to cool in his Deſires he had to *Charles* his coming. *Marflus* the Moor King of *Cesar Auguta*, who was at Enmity with the Emperor, upon the Accidencie, unde count of *Ibnabala*, whom he had driven away, was drawn to the *Spaniæ* fide. Now the Tide is turned, and *Charles* not willing to put up ſuch an affront marcheth forward.

36. Here now we are at a loſs, if he be not, wanting a certain guide to Conduct us in the Relation of this adventure. The French Writers tell us, that he pierced into *Spain*, and returned not till he had waſted the Country far and wide, after a Victory obtained in a ſet Battel, which done, he was oppoſed at the Straits in his retreat. On the contrary, the *Spaniæ* deny that he ever reached the Inwards of the Country, but in the Valley of *Rofida* in the Foreſt of the *Vascons*, a ſtop was put to his Expedition. The Battel of the *Frank*, was led by *Roland* the Count of *Britain*, *Anſelme* and *Eginard* principal men in the Court of *Charles*; but the place would not give them leaue to open their Ranks, or march in any brethd; the *Spaniards* therefore, before they could get themſelves into any poſture of fighting from the higher ground killed many. In the firſt encounter *Roland* was slain, concerning whom many Romances or fabulous Stories have been told, and written by both Nations. *Charles* heretofore exceedingly ſtarlited, is ſaid by a Speech to have reprehended and quickened his men, as forgetting their former Trade of Victory, and by his Art to have put them into as good a poſture, as the place and Inconveniency of it would ſuffer him. Then followed a moft bloody Confeſt; wherein great number of the beſt and nobleſt *Franks* fell; being diſcouraged by a report, that the Moors were come to the Afſtance of the *Spaniards*, and had got beyond

Sect. 3. beyond them, and were ready to fall upon their backs. No place, now cry our Spanish Writers, was ever more noble or famous for an overthrow of the *Franks*, but they are so ingenuous as to tell you, that *Charles* did not take revenge, and wipe off the disgrace of this defeat, because he was prevented by Death, dying at *Aguisgrave* not long after. *Roderick*, the Archibishop writes, that *Alfonus* was present at the Battel. The *Vascons* affirmed, that the Victory was obtained by the means of *Garcias* of the King *Suprarbis* especially. On the contrary, the Writers of the French History do not ascribe this Victory at all to the Valour of the *Spaniards*, but to the Treachery of one *Gatalon*, such diversity of Opinions there is founded upon that of Interest; and while both Nations strive one to get the renown, and the other to prevent disgrace, they have so confounded the story, that by-standers can find nothing that's certain in it. And to speak impartially, not only the Circumstances, but the substance of the thing may justly be called into question: As those Historians that have written of it, can scarcely in one accident as to time and place agree, so those who had most reason to know, write nothing at all of it. *Egmont*, who was Secretary to *Charles*, and from whom nothing could be hid, never makes mention of the Fight, in the History he wrote of his Life yet extant. The *Spaniards* might have some cause herein to suspect his Partiality and Malice, but that if they turn over the Chronicle of their own King *Alfonus* the Great, which not long after these times, he dedicated to *Sebastian* the Bishop of *Salmantica*, though by reason of his living so near to those days, he might have opportunity to know the truth, and it concerned him not to omit any thing that tended to the Glory of his own Nation, yet they shall therein find as deep a silence. Let the Reader therefore, either take the story of this Expedition, and defeat of *Charles* the Great for a truth, or let him if he please joyn it as an Appendix, as near akin to the famous Adventures of *Orlando Furioso*, the issue of the fruitfull Brain of *Ariosto* the Poet.

37. To return into *Spain* and take our leave, the rest of his time *Alfonus* passed with Quiet and Tranquillity, giving him sufficient opportunity to practise the Arts of Peace and Religion, as he had done formerly that of War. And this was his great Commendation, that whereas other Princes too often make the publick Interest truckle to their private concerns, whether of Profit or Pleasure, he measured every thing by the Standard of the Kingdom, Sacrificing his own particular advantages of Pomp and Revenue, to the Enrichment and Ornament of his Countrey. The dissention and Enmity which afterward arose betwixt him and his Nephew *Bernard*, seems to have been the greatest part of his infelicity. *Bernard* having done so great Services in the Field, thought he had deserved so great a favour at his Uncle's hands, as the setting at Liberty of his blind Father, and when it would not (out of some deep Mystery of state doublets) be granted, conceived so great Indignation therat, that first obtaining a dismission from Service, he departed to *Saldanya* his Father's Town, revolving to watch for an opportunity to be revenged. And the extreme Age of the King, together with the good Inclinations of the People to him gave him opportunity enough of making Incursions and Depredations in his Territories, without controll. This proved very unhappy for them both, for whereas *Bernard* if he had had but a little patience might within a little while have expected to have been in Possession of the Kingdom it self, and all other his Wishes with it, now was *Alfonus* so provoked with the revolt, that in the Assembly of the Estates in his extreme Age, he procured *Ramir* the Son of *Veremund* to be chosen his Successour, and *Bernard* to be laid aside, who could never after make good his Pretences, but notwithstanding all his Indeavours died without ever obtaining that Crown he had so great reason to expect, though where, or in what condition Writers differ. As for *Alfonus*, not long after he had made such a choice, as neither suited his Judgment, nor his Relation as an Uncle, he shortly after died when he had lived eighty five years, and Reigned fifty two, five months and thirteen days, in the eight hundred forty fourth year of our Lord, which Account differs a little from the Copy of the Chronicle of *Alfonus* the Great, who began his Reign but eighteen years after, but agrees with the Life of *Compostella*, and other ancient Monuments of History.

38. The Quiet and Peace which we said *Alfonus* enjoyed, was very much effected by the Seditions and Troubles under which the Kingdom of the *Moors* laboured at the same time. Safe and plenty make a People tumultuous, and a state if it have no Enemies without it, will not very long stand without bringing some fourth out of its own Bowels. The Inhabitants of *Toledo* for no sufficient cause must

Sect. 3. must be quarrelling with the Government, many burthens and Grievances are pretended.

*Albaca* their King being a cunning and very close man, and knowing *Ambrosius* the Governor of *Oca* to be very acceptable to them, sends him to them with Letters, wherein he casts all the blame upon his Officers. They being more inclined to rebell than furnish with the Abilities of prudence and resolution to carry them through a bold attempt, admit him int otheir Town, suspecting nothing. He as cunningly Counterfeits himself the King's Enemy upon the account of several pretended disfobligations, and persuades them to fortify the City, by building a Castle (there where now stands the Church of St. Christopher) and receiving a Garrifon. These things being noised at Court, the King sends *Abderrahman* his Son now twenty four years of Age to tame these Rebels, and he Counterfeiting the same Dissatisfactions as *Ambrosius* had done under a shew of discontent revolts to them in the like manner, and is also received in. Now all things being prepared, five thousand of the principal Townsmen are invited to a Feast, and when they least thought it, have their throats cut, and so the Revolt of *Toledo*, as was congruous, Tragically ended. This might have been an example to their fellow Subjects; but yet such as inhabited the Suburbs of *Corduba* were not hereby deterred from renouncing their obedience to *Albaca*. To reduce them, one *Abdercarin* was sent who had got reputation by taking the City *Calagunis*, and wasting the Country round about it, he with less trouble reduced the Mutineers, the whole Controversie being decided, by hanging three hundred of them, all *Moors*. And this was at such time as the Christians obtained a double victory over the *Moors*, who had invaded the Territories of the Christians in a double body. As a consequent of this victory, *Ores* the Governor of *Emerita* thought himself obliged to raise the siege of *Beneventum*, upon the coming of *Alfonus*; and *Alcama* the Moor, the Governor of *Pax Augusta*, was constrained to rise from before *Sentica* which he had besieged. Not long after, one *Mabomet* an eminent Citizen of *Emerita* for what cause is uncertain, yet out of fear of *Abderrahman* committed himself to the Protection of *Alfonus*, and had a place assigned him to inhabit within the Territories of *Galicia*: But eight years after he rebelled and feised on the Town of St. *Christine*, yet were his designs frustrated by the timely coming of the King, and fifty thousand were slain on both sides, amongst whom *Mabomet* himself, the Great revolter. *Albaca* had the happiness to see this Rebellion quieted, and then died in the twenty seventh year of his Reign, the two hundred and sixth year of the *Arabians*; the A.D. 821. eight hundred and twenty first year of our Lord. He left behind him nineteen Sons, and one and twenty Daughters, and was succeeded by *Abderrahman* his Son now above the Age of forty years.

*Albaca* the Moor, mandarin dies, leaving *Abderrahman* the Second his Successour.  
Several petty Kingdoms.

39. So went the Affairs of *Spain*, and such was the State of the *Saracenia* Kingdom, which containing the greatest part of that vast Countrey, gives denomination to this Part of our History. The other Kingdom began by *Pelagius*, and the rise and progres of which we have seen was so small and contemptible, in respect of that which was in being before the Coming of the *Moors*, that though it was founded by those of the same stock, and its Subjects consist of men of the same Nation with the former, yet bore not the Name of the *Goths* as the other had done, but that of the *Astures*, *Galicia*, *Legio* (or *Leon*) or *Onetum*. But besides this newly raised Kingdom, there was another start-up at this time, of which hitherto we have taken no notice. For that of the *Goths* being broken in pieces as out of the Ruines of a vast building, several little ones were erected. Some of the poor distressed *Spaniards* flying as far as they could from the publick calamity, went into *Asturia*, and there set up the Kingdom of *Leon*, as we have already shewed. Others seized on the tops of the *Pyrenaeon* Hills and the places difficult of Acces, where the *Cantabri* and *Vascons* were seated, besides the *Luctani*, *Ilergetes* and *Ceretani*, where now are seen *Ripagorsa*, *Surparbe* and *Urgelia*. The name of one *John*, a Religious person, caused many more to flock to those parts, where being encouraged by the natural strength of them, and invited to emulation by what their brethren had done in the Countrey of the *Astures*, they began to lay their heads together, how not only to protect themselves where they were, but to doe something for casting off the yoke of the *Saracens* from the neck of their Nation in general. After long and serious deliberation they resolved, as *Pelagius* reigned in *Asturia*, to have a King of their own to govern them, and made choice of one *Garfas Ximenesius* to be the person, whom some will have descended of the Noble blood of the *Goths*, otherwise nothing a-kin to the Royal family, but rather a *Spaniard*, as shoud seem

*Bernard* revolt  
which makes *Alfonus* chuse *Re-*  
*mir* his Successour.

*Alfonus* 3d dies.  
A.D. 844.

*Garfas Ximenesius* King of *Se-  
parbe*.

*Rem tam fujas*  
*Rodericus Tolosa-*  
*nos prosequitur in*  
*Arabia stifferit*  
*et post illam in*  
*Sp. post Alfa-*  
*sus Rex.*

Sect. 3. seem by his Name, yet doublets of a most Noble Race, the *Regulus* of *Amenena* and *Abarfusa*. His Wife by Name *Eneca* was of as great Nobility.

40. At what time he began his Kingdom, Authors do not agree, though the most knowing place the Original of it near to the Advancement of *Pelagius*. But neither do they consent about the Name or Title of this New Kingdom, some calling it the Kingdom of *Suprarbiis*, others of *Navarre*, and others of the *Vascons*, so great is the obscurity we have been forced to struggle with in these Spanish matters. The Arms of this Kingdom was a plain white field, without any Pictures, say the Learned, or Charges, that we may not be blamed by our Heralds for speaking improperly. But *Garfas* having, it's said, no greater an Army than six hundred men, with them did wonders. He took several Towns from the *Moors*, as *Jasa* and *Suprarbiis*, the chief of all *Municipia* or free Towns which afterward had the honour to be esteemed the Metropolis of a Kingdom. This is agreed on on all sides, that he did much for his time, and died after he had reigned, say some two and forty years, and was buried in a Church called *St. John a Peggia*, from the high Rock where it was built by *John the Anchoret* first, but was much enlarged, beautified and enriched by *Garfas*, and afterward became the *Mansiolem* of the Kings his Successors. He dying in the seven hundred and fifty eighth year of our Lord, was succeeded by his Son *Garfas Exucus*, who took his two Names from both those of his Father and Mother. This was a Prince of great abilities, and as great felicity. By his industry and valour were the *Vascons*, who hitherto fluctuated betwixt the Kings of the *Astures*, the *Moors* and the *Vascons*, fully settled in the obedience of him and his posterity. He recovered *Pompolona*, the chief City of *Navarre*, with many other Towns and Forts, and extended his victorious Arms as far as that part of the bordering *Cantabria*, which bears the name of *Alava*. He is said to have reigned forty four years, and then in the eight hundred and second year of our Lord *Fortunius Garfas* to have succeeded, of whose actions many Romantick Stories are told by the Historians of the *Vascons*. He was at the Defeat (if a Defeat there was) of *Charles the Great* in the Valley of *Rocida*. He reigned thirteen years, and then gave place to *Santius Garfas* his Son.

Who dying,  
*Garfas Exucus*  
his Son succeeded.

Who subdues  
the *Vascons*.

Recovers *Pom-  
polona*.

Dies.

*Fortunius Garfa-*  
*s* to succeed.

Then *Santius*  
*Garfas*.

Who recovers  
the greatest part  
of *Navarre* from  
the *Saracens*.

His fine failing.

The Nobility e-  
nact the *Forum*  
*Suprarbiis*.

And the *Juflina*  
of *Aragon*.

And elect *Enecus* for  
their King.

And the Count of  
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